URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF KADUNA METROPOLIS, 1957-2007.

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APPROVAL PAGE

This work meets the requirements for the partial fulfilment of the award of a Master of Art (M.A.) degree in the department of History, Faculty of Arts ABU, Zaria.

DECLARATION PAGE

This thesis entitled URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF KADUNA METROPOLIS, 1957-2007 has been carried out by me in the Department of History. 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 institution.

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CERTIFICATION PAGE

This thesis entitled URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF KADUNA METROPOLIS, 1957-2007 by Benjamin Oladokun meets the regulation governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literacy presentation.

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is on how the manufacturing industries in Kaduna metropolis have impacted on the development of the area during the period 1957-2007. And, the main areas it has impacted the city include: migration, urban economy, urban development, spatial patterns, class-formation, effects of Kaduna's growth on its immediate hinterland. Thus, we attempt to answer the question: In what ways did the manufacturing industry contribute to the development of the Kaduna metropolis?

This is significant because of the shift in economic importance from agriculture to manufacturing that has led to the transformation of Kaduna metropolis especially in spatial terms; values, attitudes and population increase of the residents. For example, within a decade Kaduna almost had a fourfold growth from 39,000 in 1952 to 149,000 in 1963. The demand for a workforce in the industries and the consequent boom in the commercial and service sectors account for this rapid growth in the area. Equally important, is the emergence and rapid growth of satellite villages around the urban core of Kaduna. Of these villages, Makera and Kakuri, were transformed from rural communities into cosmopolitan sub-urban areas due to the concentration of the textile factories in the area. Therefore, Kaduna during this period grew from a military garrison and administrative town into an industrial city, which was commonly known as the 'Manchester of Nigeria'.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U = Ahamdu Bello University, Zaria

Bpd= Barrel per day

I.M.F. = International Monetary Fund

K.A.S.U.P.D.A = Kaduna State Urban Planning and Development Authority

K.E.P.A. = Kaduna Environmental Protection Authority

K.T.L = Kaduna Textiles Limited

K.R.P.C= Kaduna Refinery and Petrochemical Company

P.A.N. = Peugeot Automobile Nigeria

N.A.K = National Archive Kaduna

N.H.R.S = Northern History Research Scheme

O.P.E.C = Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries

S.A.P. = Structural Adjustment Program

U.N.T.L. = United Nigeria Textiles Limited

Vol = Volume

W.A.F.F = West African Frontier Force

GLOSSARY

Abstract Space:- The dimensions of size, location and profit, rather than the ideas of local people.

Administrative or political city: A city established primarily for governmental purposes, such as national capital

Agglomeration of Industries: Interdependent economic enterprises located close to one another that provide some element in the creation and distribution of a product.

Amenity city: A city primarily known for its specialised recreational opportunities, such as the worker supervise and control their functioning, adjust and repair them.

Acrologies: Self-contained urban mega-structures designed to be environmentally safe, architecturally beautiful, and total efficient.

Central Business District (CBD): A concentration of commercial activity within a city that includes banking, entertainment, offices, restaurants, retail stores and public transit.

Central Place Theory: Christaller's thesis that the more important a city's economic function is to a region, the more its population will increase.

Chain Migration: The pattern of migrants settling near family or friends.

City-States: A socio-political organization that controls surrounding regions, including a number of other towns, villages and rural lands.

Class: Different social and economic groups of people belonging to e.g. race, gender, religion and occupation.

Colonization: When a dominant group or country establishes control over another country or area, often for purposes of exploitation.

Cosmopolites: Highly educated urban sophisticates who choose to live in the city because of its wide range of activities, experiences and social contacts.

Culture: The basic beliefs, values and technology that characterises a city in a particular historical era.

De facto segregation: Unequal treatment of people based on social customs and traditions.

De jure segregation: Unequal treatment established by law.

Decentralization: The outward migration of people and business from the central city to outlying suburban regions.

Devaluation: To reduce the value of the money of one country when it is exchanged for the money of another country.

Districts: Medium to large sections of the city, reinforced by physical clues to convey a sense of 'being in' them.

Division of Labour: The way that different tasks are apportioned to different people in a given society.

Dumping: To get rid of goods by selling them at a very low price, often in another country.

Economic Restructuring: When companies or cities move away from manufacturing as their primary economic activity and evolve into more service-oriented activities.

Edge City: A new, sprawling, middle-class, automobile-independent center, typically located at the fringe of an older urban area.

Embargo: An official order that bans trade with another country.

Ethnic Village: Migrants who sustain life patterns in the city, cluster in a local area, emphasize traditional religious beliefs and family ties, and display suspicion of outsiders. That area is considered an 'ethnic village'.

Gated Communities: Residents neighbourhoods that restrict entry to residents and their guests.

Ghettos: Segregated neighbourhoods with high unemployment and poverty rates.

GIS Mapping: A computer-based methodology to gather, transform, manipulate, and analyse information related to the surface of the Earth.

Globalization: The development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked by connectivity and interdependence of the world's business and markets.

Green Belt: An area surrounding a city or town where no development is permitted.

Hostile Environment: A setting in which members of a particular group are made uncomfortable because of comments made, images displayed or other inappropriate behaviour.

Hyper-Ghettos: Segregated neighbourhoods with extreme levels of poverty and unemployment.

Hyper-Segregation: An intense groupings of a racial group within a specific geographical area.

Ideal Type: A Model constructed from real-world observation that highlights the crucial elements of some social phenomenon.

Industrial Location Theory: Explanation that industry would locate where the transportation costs of both raw materials and the final product would be the lowest.

Industrial Parks: Areas zoned for cluster of manufacturing entities on campus-like setting.

Inner-City Neighbourhoods: High-density, low-income areas with substandard housing located near the central business district.

Invasion-succession: The ecological process in which one group or activity replaces another in a particular area.

Lifestyle Communities: Gated communities for those who want separate, private services and amenities within a homogenous, predictable environment.

Mega-polis: When two or more metropolitan areas expand so that they intermingle with one another to form a continuous or almost continuous urban complex.

Metropolis area: A large population center and its adjacent communities, with which it has a high degree of economic and social integration.

Mode of Production: The things needed to produce goods and service, such as land, tools, knowledge, wealth or factories.

Natural areas: Places that evolve as unplanned clusters with specialised activities.

New Towns: Large-scale, holistic, and planning of a mixed-use, self-sufficiency community.

New Urbanism: Incorporates sociological principles in physical design, such as walkability, mixed building types and activities, and social interaction.

Nodes: Anchor points of strategic activity, such as major transit station or square.

Paths: Streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, and railroads along which the observers moves.

Prestige communities: Gated communities that are status-oriented enclaves emphasizing exclusion and image, with the gates symbolizing the eminent status of their residents.

Primacy ratio: The extent of the dominance of a country's primate city, computed by dividing its population by the second-largest city.

Primate cities: Principal cities that are extremely large in comparison with other cites in the country.

Productive surplus: The production of a food surplus to enable some people to engage in pursuits other than farming, such as arts, crafts and science.

Push-pull factors: Combination of factors that drive one from the homeland and lure that migrant to another locale.

Racial profiling: Targeting individuals of a specific group on the assumption they are more lively to commit illegal acts than are individuals of other groups.

Radio-Centric Cities: Cities in which the physical layout expands outward in all directions from a common center.

Relative Poverty: The lack of resources of some people in comparison to others who have more.

Slums: Low-income neighbourhoods with substandard housing.

Social Impact Analysis: The study to determine the likely consequences of a project before it is executed.

Social Space: What individuals who live, work and play in area think about their environment.

Social Stratification: The hierarchical ranking within a society of various social class group according to wealth, power and prestige.

Social Structure: The recurrent patterns of city life that are shaped significantly by the unequal distribution of important urban resources including wealth, power and prestige.

Sprawl: Spread-out or low-density residential development beyond the edge of services and employment.

Urban agglomeration: A city with continuous spread around it encompassing a few other towns and outgrowths based on the core town; a metropolitan area.

Urban cluster; A combination of contiguous urban areas that extend across city, country or state boundary lines.

Urban explosion: Ever-greater numbers of people moving into the city.

Urban renewal: A federally funded program to demolish old buildings in decaying areas of a city and build new ones in their place.

Urban utopia: An idealized city in which the inhabitants are content because everything works perfectly.

Urbanism: The culture or way of life of city dwellers

Urbanization: The changes resulting from people moving into densely populated areas.

PREFACE

Kaduna, like all other cities, has a biological form and a function of its own, whose healthy regeneration rests on the application of hard basic principles.[1] And, one of these basic principles for Kaduna is that the economic basis of the city stands on a tripod, a 'three firm legs'. It is first a government capital, second, a military garrison, and third, an industrial town. The focus of this study of Kaduna pivots on one of the legs, i.e. as an industrial town.

The aim of the thesis is not to discuss the nitty-gritty of the industrialization process in Kaduna, rather it attempts to study how the manufacturing industry in Kaduna has impacted on the development of the city. Hence, the research question is: In what ways did the manufacturing industry contribute to the development of the Kaduna metropolis?

It is worth-noting that theoretically, 'industrial city' is a well established theme in the field of sociology. Its concern is with the interaction between urban space and its social effects[2]. For example, the location of an industry in a city is not too relevant. But when the location of a factory in a given neighbourhood, however, transforms it and the kind of population that lives near it, then we are in effect dealing with social space[3]. Thus, it is from this paradigm of social space that the researcher conducted this research.

The discussion in this thesis is organised as follows: Chapter one focuses on the general background to the study. It examined the following: the aims and objectives of the study; the statement of the Research problem; Scope of the study; Justification of the study; Literature Review; Theoretical Framework; Methodology of the Study; Limitation of the study; and Notes on Source.

[1] Marx Lock and Partners, **Kaduna 1917, 1967, 2017: A Survey of Federal Capital**, 1967,p.4
[2] Leonard Reissman, **The Urban Process**, 1970,p.15
[3] Ibid, p.15

In chapter two, we gave a brief history of the establishment and development of Kaduna, from 1913-1957. The period was characterised by the creation of the city by the colonial government. The development of infrastructure and population growth of the city was also discussed. It was shown that during this period, the growth of the city was slow. For example, in the first forty-four years of its history, the cit barely numbered 39,000 people according to the 1952 census.

However, the chapter ends in 1957, the year the first large-scale manufacturing industry commenced operation in the city[4]. It was the establishment of the Kaduna Textile Limited (KTL) by the Northern Regional Government that stated this phase of industrial history in the development of Kaduna metropolis.

In chapter three, Industrialization and Urban Development in Kaduna, 1957-1986 we attempted to examine the Theoretical foundation of Industrialization. We argue that the concept of 'manufacturing' and 'industry' are not synonymous to each other. We also discussed factors that influenced the choice of Kaduna as a centre for the establishment of industries. These include availability of water, raw materials, strategic/geographical location, and role of government. And lastly, we showed how the large-scale manufacturing factories in Kaduna have impacted on the development of the metropolis. The impacts are demonstrated in the following ways: Migration, Urban Development, Spatial Pattern, Class Formation and Proletarization, and its impact on the surrounding hinterland.

Chapter four, Industrialization and Urban Development in Kaduna, 1980-2007, we discussed a special manufacturing industry that was established in Kaduna, the Kaduna Refinery. It was established in the city in order to meet the fuel and energy needs of the Northern part of the country. Then, we looked at the nature of this industry and the decline in

[4] Max Lock, op.cit,p.145

its production. Also, we showed the contributions of the industry to the economy and development of Kaduna metropolis. The emphasis being that, its major contribution to the Kaduna economy is at the level of revenue generation for the state government, as well as in the wage differential between the high salary received by the staff of the refinery, on the one hand; and the low income of the self-employed and casual urban workers, which affect the level of inflation in the economy of Kaduna, especially at it relates to the cost of living.

Chapter five, examines the problems of the manufacturing industry in Kaduna and its eventually collapse which led to the economic crisis in the city. The problems of the industry include: foreign control and ownership of firms, executive recklessness (primitive capital accumulation), high cost of importation of capital goods and raw materials shortages, smuggling and counterfeiting, scarcity and high price of black oil, and urban violence.

Chapter six, Prospects and possibilities for Industrial Growth and Sustainable Urban Development in Kaduna, attempts to proffer solutions to the problems of industrial growth and the development of the Kaduna metropolis. The major issues raised for the growth and development of the city are: the importance of agricultural development and modernization as a means of increasing rural incomes, the importance of organizing and strengthening urban institutions.

Chapter seven, concludes the work highlighting the thesis. On the whole, in the thesis we highlighted among other things the importance of the factor of the influx of people into Kaduna metropolis, driven by expectations of securing jobs that terminates in frustrations due to the decline and the de-industrialization of the Kaduna industrial hub.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the study, ***Urbanization and Industrialization in Nigeria: A Case Study of Kaduna Metropolis, 1957-2007.*** To achieve this objective the chapter will be organized as follows: Introduction; the aims and objectives of the study; the statement of the Research problem; Scope of the study; Justification of the study; Literature Review; Theoretical Framework; Methodology of the Study; Limitation of the study; and Notes on Source.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Industrialization can be defined as the extensive introduction of the latest scientific and technological achievements in production in the comprehensive technical re-equipment of the natural economy[5]. Specifically, in Kaduna this process of introducing scientific and technological achievements in production led to the establishment of a factory equipped with 14,000 spindles and 300 automatic looms, costing the Northern Regional Government £1,250,000 in 1957. Thus, the Kaduna Textiles Limited (KTL) was established[6]. This was the first large scale manufacturing industry in Kaduna. Subsequently, other large scale establishment that employed many people in the mass production of industrial or consumer goods were also established. These factories include Paper products, printing and publishing, brewery, car assembly plant, Asbestos-Cements Products, Fertilizers and Petroleum Refinery Plant.

It is in this light that the study will focus on the interrelationship between urban growth and industrial development in Kaduna metropolis. This is because the challenge of

[5] Tyaguneko V.L.(ed) **Industrialization of Developing Countries**, p.18
[6]See: Paden J, **Ahmadu Bello: Sardauna of Sokoto**, p.252; and E. Oyedele, "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna, 1913-1966" Ph.D Thesis, 1987.

cities in the developing world can be seen in the unprecented rates of urban growth and industrialization in combination with poverty[7]. Hence, the essence of this research will be to examine the impact of the manufacturing industries to the development of Kaduna metropolis, from a historical perspective.

Significantly, a lot of factors explain the failure of the industrial sector. First is the capital intensive nature of technology being adopted in the industries. These industries are to a great extent skilled oriented. Consequently, inability to absorb labor influx from the rural areas that are mostly unskilled. Second, is the high dependence of the industries on export. This dependence is particularly in the area of capital, technical know-how and machinery. Also, this dependence factor makes the industrial sector seriously vulnerable to international crisis, such as economic depression. Thirdly, is the diverse internal contradictions, that includes: corruption, porous borders, Government inefficiency, unstable power supply, dumping of foreign goods, etc.

The implication of this circumstance is obvious, Urban Crisis. These include rural-urban migration, high urbanization, high cost of living, shortage of food, rise of unemployment, squatter settlement, inadequate water supplies, and urban violence.

1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The research intends to examine the unparallel relationship between the rapid urban growth of the city and its retrogressive industrialization process. A circumstance that has led to low income, urban poverty, slums, ghettos and social disorder experienced by residents in the city.

The objective is to show that a city is not static; rather it is dynamic with effect from diverse sources such as regional, inter-regional, national and international economic forces.

[7] Elliot, J.A. **An Introduction to Substainable Development**, p.16

Also, it aims at developing a framework that would enhance a mutually sustainable development for our urban centers.

It aims at contributing to the existing researches that have been done in Kaduna metropolis of which other works would lay the foundation basis for the research

It aims at using the interdisciplinary approach, techniques and methods in understanding the relationship between urbanization and economic development in Nigeria.

It is hoped that the research will contribute positively to knowledge.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study concerns itself with the relationship between two phenomenon. It focuses on the relationship between Urbanization and Industrialization. Therefore efforts were made to explain how the manufacturing industry contributed to the growth and development of Kaduna metropolis. Hence, the thrust of the argument would be:

Problem Statement: In what ways did the manufacturing industry impact on the development of Kaduna metropolis?

Research Questions: A number of questions are addressed in this research including (although not limited to) the following:

What influenced the location of industries in Kaduna metropolis?

How did industrialization impact on urbanization?

What has led to the high rate of urbanization in Kaduna metropolis?

How was the city administered over time?

What is the nature of inter-group relation in Kaduna metropolis?

Which settlements developed as a result of the industrialization process in Kaduna metropolis?

What caused the industries to decline?

The answers to these questions would help us understand the importance of the manufacturing industry to the growth of our urban area. This is significant because it would unfold the nature of rural migration and urban poverty to Kaduna metropolis today.

1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study was delineated along the dimensions of space and time. Kaduna metropolis was chosen for the study due to the large number of industries established in the Kaduna area, making it only second to Kano in terms of concentration of manufacturing industries in northern Nigeria. Also, the choice of Kaduna for the study is hinged on its position in the politics of Nigeria from its inception and after independence. This is because its position was enhanced by Northern bureaucrats who decided that Kaduna should remain the site of major federal departments and boards. For example, multi-millionaire naira industries like the fertilizers factory, Peugeot Automobile industry, the Kaduna oil refinery amongst others are located in Kaduna.

Furthermore, the infrastructural demands of modern manufacturing activities have tended to be concentrated in the Kaduna metropolis. This explains why the thesis focused on Kaduna metropolis instead of Kaduna state as a whole. Actually a case can easily be made for the concentration of manufacturing in metropolitan Kaduna. When we talk of modern manufacturing activities, the industrialization of Kaduna state is synonymous with the industrialization of Kaduna South L.G.A., a densely populated area. Outside this area, there are very few modern manufacturing plants and even such are small-scale manufacturing plants in the state.

The period 1957 is significant in the study of industrial growth and development in Kaduna. Prior to this time, the industries were small or medium sizes employing about 10-50 people, but the coming into operation of the Kaduna Textiles Limited in 1957 marked a

turning point in the industrial development of Kaduna. Since then, the rate of industrial development in both Kaduna, and the northern region has been fairly rapid. Besides the textile industries, a wide range of other industries also exists. These include paper products, printing and publishing, brewery, a car assembly plant, asbestos-cement products, etc.

In addition, the 'spirit of the time' of our study is the post-colonial era. It started with the 1954 constitution when a large share of the increase in governmental activity was attributed to the regions[8]. Hence, a large numbers of publicly- owned and operated firms were established by the regional governments. While the federal government played the role of technical adviser and provided support to the various regions.

The termination of the study in 2007 is also instructive. First, it is the year that the last surviving textile industry finally collapsed, that was the United Nigerian Textiles Limited (UNTL), thereby, heralding a period of industrial decline in the history of the nation's manufacturing industry. Secondly, the Kaduna Refinery was operating at 1/3 its installed capacity of 110,000 (bpd) and was sold. Hence, it became known as Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company (KRPC). Thirdly, the year marks a significant political transition in the nation's history. For there was civilian to civilian transfer of power, the presidency was transferred from President Olusegun Obasanjo, who served from 1999-2007 to Alhaji Musa Yar'adua. Thus, the choices of 2007 as the terminal date for the research is important. In sum, the study spans a period of fifty years, 1957-2007, was designed to comprehensively carry out a proper historical study of the subject.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Central to this study is the belief that the city is an instrument of economic change and growth. Specifically, the contribution of the manufacturing industry in the development of

[8] Eicher C.K. and Liedholm C. (ed) **Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy**, 1970,p.62

Nigeria, in general and Kaduna, in particular, has been underplayed in historical studies. Research in Economic History is usually focused on Agriculture and to a lesser extent on the extractive mining industry, with little or nothing on historical studies that focus on the role of manufacturing industry in the economic development of Nigeria, and particularly on urbanization.

However, studies from the social sciences discipline have contributed immensely to our understanding of the manufacturing sub-sector of the economy. These works include: Economist like Peter Kilby's study of **Industrialization in an Open Economy: 1945-1960**; Geographer like Ludwig Schatzl's study of **Industrialization in Nigeria: A Spatial Analysis**. This study therefore, is an attempt to bridge this gap and fill the vacuum created in Nigerian historiography. The essence is to contribute to our understanding of the importance of industry in the development of Nigeria, from a historical perspective.

Equally important, is the social aspect of the industrialization process. The subject of industrialization provides a vast study for historians, especially as industrialization and technology, are the most important aspects of production in the twentieth- century. It is the factor that explains the transformation of the society's economy from manual production to machine production. Therefore, this research attempts to study the social aspect of the industrialization process in Kaduna.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Enoch Oyedele's Ph.D thesis titled, Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960. The study starts by raising conceptual issues on term urbanization. According to him, urbanization is a problematic concept to define, due to its perception from different disciplines and its roots in socio-cultural setting. He categorized the approach of studying urbanization into groups namely: Evolutionist and Political Economy Perspectives.

The proponents of the former include Lampard E and Akinola Mabogunje amongst others. According to this school of thought, urbanization is defined as an increase in the sheer number of people who live in large, heavily settled geographic domain, or as a rise in the ratio of town to farm and village dwellers.

On the other hand, the second school of thought, Political Economy has proponents such as David Harvey, Manuel Castels and others. And it is this perspective that the author ascribes to. Crucial to this paradigm is that the city and indeed urbanization process must be seen as a historical configuration reflecting the particular political economy and prevailing class relations in an historical epoch.[9]

It is line with the political economy approach, that Oyedele defined Urbanization as

> 'a process of increasing functional or structural social differentiation and specialization in human society. A social process involving people in social relationship within a new kind of physical environment, this process involves population agglomeration, increasing transformation of the economy from agriculture to a predominantly non-agricultural one, a structural change in the form of settlement.[10]

Though, urbanization is the creation of large urban centers, this creation serves a specific interest of a particular class in a particular epoch. Thus, for Oyedele, colonial urbanization in Northern Nigeria in general, and Kaduna in particular, must be understood from the framework of organizing and restructuring production in Nigeria to meet the requirement of British Capitalism.

The author, specifically focused on the establishment and development of Kaduna as the capital of Northern Nigeria. He argued that colonialism through the use of the railway system disrupted the prosperity of towns that depended on the pre-existing East-West and North-South trade routes and commerce, by replacing them with towns which developed as

[9] E. Oyedele, op.cit,p.12
[10] Ibid, p.16-17

terminals or junctions.[11] Examples of such towns are Kaduna, Gusau, Makurdi, Kafanchan, Kaura Namoda, Port Harcourt, Aba, Enugu and Umahia. These cities were established to serve British interest in Nigeria. Also, he showed that Kaduna which became the capital of the colonial government of Northern Nigeria, from 1917 was the fourth location chosen by the colonial state.[12] Previous capital locations of colonial administration in Northern Nigeria were Lokoja, Jebba and Zungeru.

Furthermore, Oyedele argued that pre-colonial cities were first and foremost centers of agricultural and industrial production. The pre-colonial economies of the polities were essentially self reliant in which most members of the society were engaged in productive activities and in which there was great integration of the various sectors o the economy, all linked with production. However, it is this fundamental basis of pre-colonial urbanization which places the process in great contrast to colonial urbanization.[13]

In addition, he argued that migration was an important factor in the development of settlements, especially the 'birane'. Immigrants were easily assimilated and identities became mainly based on the factors of residence and occupation[14]. He showed that the motives for migration into the cities were diverse, that some came in search of economic opportunities for crafts and trade while others came for religious and political reasons. He also made it clear that crucial reasons for urbanization were military, political and commercial.

Relevant to this current research, is Oyedele's sixth chapter, titled, Kaduna 1946-1960: Political Development, Commerical and Industrial Development. In this chapter, the author stressed that there was increased provision of infrastructures such as water, electricity and roads as well as the establishment of some industries mainly import-substitution and

[11] Ibis,p.114
[12] Ibid,p.116
[13] Ibid,p.104
[14] Ibid,p.105

processing. However, this did not lead to any marked development. The various projects depended on foreign capital, expertise and machinery.[15]

Also, he showed that industrialization in Kaduna of the fifties and sixties was due to the interplay of several factors. Fundamentally, there was the external factor related to the post-world war II general crisis of imperialism, which gave rise to Euro-American Neo-Colonialism. Thus, western industrialists saw places like Kaduna, a regional capital, as the logical place to locate new industries due to the factor of good transport facilities, abundance of water and cheap labor and the presence of raw materials. The Nigerian government on its side encouraged industrialization especially from 1955 when it experienced an unfavorable balance of trade because of her total dependence on imported manufactured goods. As a result, there was intense immigration into Kaduna of industrialists, such as British, Chinese, Indians, Sudanese, Japanese and others.

Also, three important issues were revealed in Oyedele's thesis: First, the establishment and development of Kaduna in 1917 was to serve the British Capitalist development; Second, although Kaduna's population was quite heterogeneous with ethnic groups from all parts of the country, it was not well-integrated especially at levels of residence, occupation and classes. Therefore, it was characterized by maximal aggregation but with minimal integration; and lastly, Kaduna's establishment and rapid growth was the product of the export orientation of the colonial economy. Consequently, urbanization took place without a significant industrial and agrarian transformation.

The second thesis reviewed is that of B.U. Ekuerhare, titled, **The Economic Appraisal of Import-Substitution Industrialization, with Special Reference to the Nigerian Textile Industry**. This study seeks to investigate the general hypothesis that import-

[15] Ibid,p.422

substitution as a strategy of industrialization has resulted in inefficient allocation and utilization of resources.[16] Using the economic cost of import-substitution, the author sets out to assess the performance of the textile industry in particular and industrialization in general. The author used the social cost benefit analysis to show that the growth of the textile industry in Nigeria has been extremely inefficient and that there have been wide differentials in relative inefficiency among firms and sectors in the industry.

Ekuerhare further, explained that Nigeria experienced rapid industrial growth since the second half of the 1950's because of government intervention. According to him, as in many less developed countries at the early stage of industrialization, the structure of Nigerian industrial expansion has been dominated by the import-substitution in the simple technology, consumer goods such as textiles, food, drinks and tobacco. Characteristically, the development of the capital goods sector of the Nigerian economy has been insignificant. As a consequence, industrialization has basically consisted of importation of plants and machinery inputs for the domestic production of the consumer goods to replace imports.[17] This pattern of industrialization has been induced by government policy.

In an attempt to contextualize development strategy, the author argued that it is concerned with the problem of how the current resources should be allocated among activities sectors within the economy in order to achieve a desired level of economic development[18]. This implies that a development strategy is related to the identification of the 'prime-movers' which propelled the resource allocation processes in the economy, and has been shaped and determined by historical process. This is because its purposes are by far not the same in different countries and in different socioeconomic and historical condition.[19]

[16] Ekuerhare B.U., op.cit, p.7
[17] Ibid,p.9
[18] Ibid,p.11
[19] Tyagunenko, V.L. **Industrialization of Developing Countries**,p.8

Hence, the identification of 'prime-movers' sector in the country helped to produce the two different kinds of industrialization strategy we have. The first is the Capitalist Industrialization Strategy, which begins with Light Industry; and the Second is the Socialist Industrialization Strategy, which arose from the need for the creation and development of large-scale machine production in all sectors of the economy.

Also, the author's evaluation of the textile industry through the use of *'social cost benefit analysis'* reveals that of the thirty firms in the sample industry evaluated, only five firms were socially efficient and the remaining twenty-five firms were socially inefficient. In his explanation, the author asserts that the relatively least inefficient firms have been in the cotton broadwoven sectors whilst the relatively least inefficient firms have been in the synthetic broadwoeven and the thread and yarn sectors. Given the fact that the net addition to naturl income, as indicated by value added at world prices, which ten firms generated was negative; He concluded that the operation of firms in the industry generally reduced the growth rate of the Nigerian economy.[20]

He summed up his argument by saying that 'the decline in the broadwoven sector exhibited negative value added at world prices. In other words, the operation in the broadwoven activities aggravated rather than alleviated the problems of foreign exchange shortage in Nigeria. He added that, this problem was further worsened by a substantial repatriation of payments made to foreign-owned resources. This is because the cotton broadwoven and other broadwoven sectors were not savers of foreign exchange, whilst the synthetic broadwoven sector was the greatest net foreign exchange using sector.[21]

Contextually, Ekuehare's thesis can be categorized as an 'Appraisal of Industrial Project'. It is a stage in the development of a project when a group of outside expert probe

[20] Ekuehare B.U., op.cit,p.402
[21] Ibid,p.410

into a project to find weaknesses and to arrive at an objective conclusion as to whether it is acceptable or whether it could be so changed as to be acceptable.[22]

The purpose of the exercise are as follows: to assess whether the project is sound-technically, economically, financially, managerially and to determine whether the technical investigation, analysis and the design have been adequate. Also, it investigates whether the economic research, firm estimate and forecast have been well done; evaluating the value of the project to the national economy. Of these points, it is the one that refers to the national economy, that Ekuerhare set out to do, as he tries to investigate the pattern of resources allocation and growth associated with Nigerian import-substitution industrialization strategy in the context of the textile industry.

Importantly, the failure of the industrialization process in Nigeria is more than the issue of allocation of resources, which Ekuerhare sees as important. Fundamental to the failure of the industrial development is the fact that most of the policies implemented were either crafted by 'development experts' seconded from abroad or borrowed outright from external sources.[23] This deficit of independent development thinking in Africa, in general, and, in Nigeria in approach is connected to the terms in which Africa researchers were trained to conceptualize the problematic of socio-economic and political transformation.

Other reasons for industrial failure include: a carefully programmed project of neo-colonialism by the departing colonial authorities which ensured that independent Africa sank deeper into dependence; the outright betrayal of the national liberation project by many of the nationalists who inherited project state power; the vulnerability of economics built on a narrow resource-base and sectoral imbalances to external shocks; the unhealthy impact of multinational corporations that exploited monopolistic or oligopolistic advantages to the

[22] Gordon E, et.al, **Industrial Development**, p.241
[23] Olukoshi, CODERSIA BULLETIN, Nos 3 & 4, 2005,p1

disadvantage of their African hosts; the destabilizing pressures mounted on African governments soon after independence by the principal protagonists of the East-West Cold War, etc.

Another critical work is Arthur Vukile Dhiliwayo's Ph.D Thesis, "A History of Sabon Garin Zaria, 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration". In his analysis of colonial urban administration in Sabon Garin Zaria, 1911-1950 Dhiliwayo examined the relations of production and distribution which formed the base of the colonial society in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. Central to his study is the position that the nature and character of each society, its structures and institutions been conditioned by the system of social relations, particularly the relations of production which people enter into in the process of production. It is from such relations one type of society is distinguished from another.[24]

His thesis was divided into eight chapters. The first chapter was mainly introductory and aims at providing the theoretical framework which informs the study of Sabon Garin Zaria. The second chapter tackled pre-colonial urbanization and administration in the Zaria area. This was intended to prove that the colonial settlement was not planted on virgin soil but in an area which had a rich heritage of urbanization. This was also intended to afford the reader the ability to make a meaningful comparison between pre-colonial and colonial urbanization and administration.

In the third chapter, the author, discussed about the founding of Sabon Garin Zaria and the Sabon Gari system. Chapter four critically examined the establishment and evolution of the urban administrative control of Sabon Garin Zaria. Chapter five then focused on the colonial administration and economy. In chapter six, the author examined the nature and character of the urban utilities and social facilities of Sabon Garin Zaria. Chapter seven

[24] Dhiliwayo A.U. " A History of Sabon Garin Zaria, 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration",1986, p.xi

handled urban administration, society and politics. In the final chapter the author focused on the issue whether the Sabon Gari phenomenon was perculiar only to Zaria or not.

Relevant to this ongoing this research is Dhiliwayo's sixth chapter, titled, Urban Utilities and Social Facilities. In this chapter the author discussed the nature and character of urban utilities and social facilities which were provided by the colonial government in the Sabon Garin settlement of Zaria. He noted from the onset that the provision and availability of social facilities and urban utilities such as housing, electricity and water supply, markets, hospitals, and other medical facilities and schools go a long way to determine the standard, quality and style of life which the urban dwellers live. However, the provision of adequate, suitable and healthy facilities for urban dwellers constitutes one of the thorniest problems facing governments and planners.[25] And the colonialists were not exempted from this problem in their administration of Sabon Garin Zaria.

The author argued that the provision of social facilities and amenities constitutes one of the major battle grounds for class struggle and this problem of provision and availability of social facilities and urban utilities is linked with the whole issue of the appropriation and utilization of the surplus value originating from the labour power of the exploited people.

In his view, the central problem in the provision of social facilities and amenities, particularly as this related to Sabon Garin Zaria is connected with the miserably limited funds allocated for its overall administration. For example, as early as 1912 the colonial government insisted that the cost of the administration of Sabon Gari was not supposed to exceed half of the revenue of the Township. This position remained so during the period of study and general feeling among the officials was that Sabon Gari was supposed to fend for itself. In his report

[25] Ibid.,p.365

of 1950, Residents C.V. Williams stated this unequivocally when he said the funds for these social provisions "would have to be provided by the community (itself)".[26]

However, the bulk of the funds for social services and amenities allocated for use in Sabon Gari were generated by taxing the residents therein and the rest was derived from what the colonial government termed 'grants-in-aid'. Even the 'grants-in-aid' had their source in the production process, that is, in the production of industrial raw materials. So in the final analysis it was the colonized themselves that provided everything.

Besides discussing the source of revenue relating to the problem of revenue to the problem of social facilities, Dhiliwayo also examined the provision of these facilities and amenities. He focused on housing, water, electricity, medical services, sanitation and education. The reason he focused on these utilities is because they are fundamental for the very existence of an urban community. For instance no urban community has ever existed without houses. The provision of housing in a compact area immediately makes other facilities such as sewerage collection, water, medical facilities etc vital and necessary.[27]

For instance in his discussion on Medical facilities, he argued that, this service failed woefully to measure up to the needs of the community. The little that was offered to the community and to other African communities in Zaria town was a result not so much of the deep seated concern for the health and lives of the communities for which these services were meant but rather of the concern for the health and well being of the Europeans.

Another important work reviewed with focus on Economic Development, is that of Ukpong Ignatisu Isaac Ph.D thesis, titled, "Infrastructure and Economic Development: A case Study of The Electricity Industry in Nigeria, 1954-1974." The author pointed out that the term 'infrastructure' is problematique. But simply defined as basic social and economic overhead

[26] ZARPROF 4844 NAK. C.V. Williams, "Annual Report for 1950"
[27] Ibid.,p.375

facilities[28]. In another word, it is the large-scale public systems, services and facilities of a country or region that are necessary for economic activity.

Economists, such as, Paul Rosenstein-Rodan, Ragnar Nurkse and Albert Hirschman are the proponents of the view that infrastructure is a 'social over-head capital'. Importantly, the term encompass activities that share technical features (such as economies of scale) and economic features (such as spillover from users to non-users)[29].

The author categories infrastructures into the following three groups: first, Public utilities consist of power, telecommunication, piped water, supply sanitation and sewage, solid waste collection and disposal, and piped gas. Second, Public works entails roads and major dams and canals for irrigation and drainage. Thirdly, Transport sectors are urban and interurban railways, urban transports, ports and waterways and airports.

Arguably, infrastructure has been credited with laying the foundation for economic development of a modern society. According to the World Bank, it is a necessary concomitant to the exchange economy and that it is indispensable to growth.[30] In another word, the absences of infrastructure in any society restrict economic activity to subsistent level.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework which informs this study is that of Dependency theory. This theory argues strongly that poverty and economic backwardness experienced in the developing nation was not accidental. The primary factor behind this economic backwardness in developing nation is the unequal relationship between the developing nations and the developed nations.

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[28] Ukpong Ignatius Isaac, "Infrastructure and Economic Development: A Case Study of Electricity Industry in Nigeria, 1954-1974", Ph.D Thesis 1976, p.15

[29] World Bank, **World Development Report**, 1994, p.1 excerpts from **Development Studies: A Reader**, (ed) Stuart Corbridge, published in Great Britain, 1995

[30] World Bank, 'Transportation', **Sectoral Working Paper**, January, 1972,p.3 cited in Ukpong Ignatius Isaac, Op.cit p.18-19

This framework of analysis provides a scientific picture of the urbanization process in Kaduna metropolis. Utilization of this framework involves examining the nature of the links existing between cities of the satellite regions and those of the metropoles and also the nature of the rural-urban links in the satellite areas. This involves seeing cities as constituting important conduit pipes by means of which the surplus extracted from the workers and peasants is siphoned to the metropoles. Therefore, these cities are important bases in the underdevelopment of the satellite regions.[31]

In line with this theory, Frank Andre Gunder, in his study of **The Development of Underdevelopment in Latin America** argued strongly that, "the developed capitalist world underdeveloped the dominated countries, and therefore rendered them backward, because the economic surplus of the dominated countries was transferred to the capitalist countries".

Thus development and underdevelopment should be seen dialectically as two sides of the same coin. Frank's ideas had tremendous influence on scholars that worked on Africa, such as Samir Amin, Walter Rodney, etc. These scholars have used this underdevelopment perspective in their analysis of change and transformation on the African continent. Significantly, M. Castells on his part used this perspective to explain the phenomenon of urbanization. He stressed that the study of urbanization in the 'underdeveloped' regions has to be integrated into an overall analysis of underdevelopment[32]. For him, urbanization in the underdeveloped regions must be characterized as 'dependent urbanization'. This is because the social structure and the other characteristics of the underdeveloped regions are conditioned by the role of cities as the major bases through the surplus produced in the underdeveloped regions were siphoned abroad.

[31] Dhiliwayo A.V. "A History of Sabon Garin Zaria. 1911-1950: A Study of Colonialism Urban Administration" Ph.D, 1986.p.34-35

[32] M Castells, **The Urban Question. A Marxist Approach**.p.43 cited in Dhiliwayo A.V. "A History of Sabon Garin Zaria. 1911-1950: A Study of Colonialism Urban Administration" Ph.D, 1986.p.32

Oyedele summarized this theory, by saying that, the developed and the underdeveloped countries did not emerge independently. That the development of the one was integrally related to that of the other. He added that, in the twentieth century the domain of social formation and productive system emerged in response to colonial and capitalist development. Hence, both social and economic formations as well as urban forms have clearly been affected by the historical process of British expansion. In the light of this argument therefore, this type of urban forms is known as "Dependent urbanization". This is an urbanization of a unique type wherein the economic basis of the settlement in the colony was geared towards serving the interest of the metropolis.

Therefore, it is this theory that influenced our understanding of urbanization and industrialization in Kaduna metropolis.

1.7 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The approach adopted in this research is multidisciplinary but fundamentally sociological. This study rests on research and theory developed within many disciplines. It draws together the work of historians, sociologists, political scientists, economists, geographers, urban ecologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, architects as well as city planners. This implies that in studying the city, one must not merely ask: 'what is it?' (facts of urban life, such as concrete buildings, bureaucracies and unemployment rate), but, one must probe beyond the descriptions and the statistics to the broader and deeper reality of urban life.

Another aspects of the methodology used is interview. The interviews were conducted in English language and recorded in notebooks. For the various factories visited, the approach was to present a Letter of Introduction to the authorities concerned. Thereafter, permission was granted to interact with officials who provided the relevant information to the study. Besides, the industrial establishment, there were series of discussions with several individuals

from diverse backgrounds. Some them were ex-factory workers and others are still working in factories, while some never worked in the factories, but have information of interest on the contribution of industry to the growth and development of Kaduna metropolis.

It must be stressed at this point, that it was the retired and ex-industrial workers that provided the information apt for the research. For the individual informants, structured questions were administered to elicit response. The interviews were mainly with individuals and their accounts cross-checked with ones given by other informants and other sources.

Also, some government officials in various agencies such as the Kaduna Environmental Protection Agency (KEPA); Kaduna State Urban Development Agency (KASUPDA) were interviewed. The Ministry of Land and Survey w7as visited but it was an effort in futility. This is because the agency did not provide any document or information of interest to the researcher.

Importantly, the Textile Labour House in Kaduna, was visited. The opportunity of talking at length with labour leaders, further provided information from their own perspectives. The labour leaders also provided the researcher with materials, such as their monthly magazine, titled, *The Textile Worker*, and reports of their *National Delegates Conference*, amongst others.

It is worth-noting that the interviews with officials were conducted at the industrial establishments or government agencies. While, interview with some of the individuals were conducted at their homes, and the others in their new place of work. Research institutes were also visited in the course of this research. The National Archives of Kaduna was visited for archival materials. The Arewa House Kaduna, Kashim Ibrahim Library of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS) of History Department, ABU

ZARIA and the Bala Usman Research Center, Zaria amongst other research centers provided lots of published and unpublished materials for the ongoing research.

1.8 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The absent of comprehensive data collection has being a serious set-back to this research work. For example, it was difficult to describe growth-rate patterns in Kaduna metropolis and the country at large because of the absence of vital statistics. There were no censuses of housing, production and distribution. Furthermore, most urban centers are not organized internally to facilitate the collection of data about their activities and growth. Similarly, access to functional ministries, library and data collection for the purpose of inquiry was also another challenge. In particular, the Ministry of Industry, situated opposite the A.B.U. main campus was supposed to be a landmine of gold, in terms of data and information for the researcher. However, on getting there, the researcher discovered the ministry was operating an epileptic service and the library condition was worse. This is because the Librarian was sacked and the library has been shut down for decades!

Another setback to this study is the issue of closure of most of the textile industries. These firms which are large-scale government industries have over the years, stopped production due to government failure to pay their outstanding salaries. This industrial dispute between the government and the workforce of the textile industry led to the closure of most of the textile firms. The closure of these firms hindered the researcher from interviewing some of the workforce that would have offered information for this study.

Also, at a closer look the focus of the research seem to be the textile industry. This is not far-fetched because of the following reason: Firstly, the textile industry is the largest single manufacturing industry in the Nigerian economy. For example in 1973/74, out of the 7 percent of the contribution of manufacturing to the Gross National Product, the textile

industry alone accounted for 28 percent of this contribution.[33] Secondly, eighty-seven (87%) of all those employed in manufacturing industry in Kaduna were working with the textile mills.[34] Given this consideration, it can be argued that a study of the Nigerian textile industry is representative of a study of other manufacturing industries.

1.9 NOTES ON SOURCES

A consideration of some of the details of the character of the sources used in this research is important. This will help give readers an idea of the basis for the analysis and conclusion reached in the study. The sources used for the research can be divided broadly into primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are classified into two categories, the first being the colonial records available in the National Archive, Kaduna, and second category of primary source are the oral interviews, which were conducted in different parts of Kaduna metropolis. On the other hand, the secondary sources include textbooks, which are further classified into published works.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Primary sources are classified into two, as earlier pointed out. In the first category, are colonial document. Archival materials were not extensively used in this research work. This is because the period of study is mainly the post-colonial era. Nonetheless, archival materials provided information on the location of industry in Kaduna. In particular, we obtained a critical document titled *Industrial Area Kaduna Policy* from the archive. This file contained various correspondences between government officials, and industrialists interested in establishing factories in Northern Nigeria. The records were targeted at the industrial development of the Northern Region.

[33] Ekuerhare B.U., "The Economic Appraisal of Import-Substituting Industrialization, with Special Reference to the Nigerian Textile Industry", Ph.D Thesis 1978,p.4
[34] Max Lock,**op.cit**,p.141

Importantly, the documents used were from the SNP series. These are documents from the office of the Secretary, Northern Provinces and hence accounts of each provincial administration on quarterly, half-yearly and annual basis. They also cover various subjects as interests the colonial officer to note, such as taxation, industrial locations and reports on ongoing projects.

In addition, the regular reports of Stanhope White, director of Local Industries to the Secretary, Northern Provinces provide valuable information on the selection of a suitable site for industrial development in the Northern Provinces, specifically, the choice of Kaduna as the most suitable site for the establishment of industrial developments in the region.

The second primary source used are the Oral Information. These oral information have been quite valuable to this study. Information derived from informants have helped to authenticate or verify and elaborate on information contained in archival sources. They have also contributed to the reconstruction of the various phases of the city's growth and development. We have checked the account of each informant against others to establish their accuracy and reliability.

Oral information was gotten in the form of interviews, constitute a major source for this study. My informants were largely middle-aged men in their 40's and 50's. And whatever the social strata they belonged to, were expected to have lived in Kaduna for at least 30 years to appreciate the growth and development of Kaduna.

Our informants spread through the various segments of the society such as: administrators, labourers, petty-traders, contractors, textile workers, labour leaders, and self employed individual and professionals. More importantly, they were supposed to have worked with one of the industrial establishments in Kaduna, or possibly to have participated during the 'golden era' of the industrial sector of the city. For example, their knowledge of

how the manufacturing industries in Kaduna contributed to the growth of the metropolis was important.

The following are some of the published works from which this research benefited:

Government Publication: - The first is, titled, ***The Industrial Potentialities of Northern Nigeria.*** This official publication pointed out that the future growth and potentialities for industry in the Northern provinces were exclusively studied and published by the Ministry of Trade and Industry in October, 1963 based on a report by Sir Alexander Gibbs and Partners. A number of forecasts made in this report for Kaduna had already taken place, e.g. the brewery and the expansion of the textile's industry.

It was a report on the possibilities for industrial development in Northern Nigeria and a discussion of the economic background of the Region. The objectives of the report was to consider the possibilities of expansion and modernization of existing industries and the establishment of new industries based particularly on the use of indigenous raw materials. In the citing of new industry, the report stressed that, consideration should be given to location, the suitability of land, manpower, necessary training scheme, proper management and Nigerian participation in the economic enterprises.

Furthermore, the report identified the opportunities for industrial development in North Nigeria as lying primarily in the production of goods, or the processing of raw-materials or produce, all for local consumption. The industries offering better opportunities for development or expansion are textiles, leather, footwear, sugar refining, tobacco, building materials and brewing.

The second, government publication titled, Kaduna, ***1917, 1967, 2017: A Survey and Plan of the Capital Territory for the Government of Northern Nigeria*.** It was published by Max Lock and Partners who were commissioned by the Northern Government to prepare a detailed

master plan in 1967 for the period until 2017. The plan shows clearly the cumulative benefits of rationalizing land use and roads and rail together. Many of the military activities scattered throughout the center and the south of the city at that time were to be absorbed in the large Army's cantonment in the north-west. Army's land in the extreme south therefore permitted limbs of industry to extend to where they best served by rail and road.

In addition, this 'Blue-print' for the future of Kaduna attempted a diagnosis of the social and economic realities that both mould the history of Kaduna and are still being moulded by it. To plan the city effectively, the document focused on issues such as: Delineation of Kaduna's Capital Territory, Traffic, Administration of Land Use, The people and their work, Housing, amongst others. The plan also addressed the issue of the rapid development experienced in the city.

Published Works: - This research benefited from the book of Ibrahim James, titled, ***Kaduna State: The Challenge of Industrialization.*** Based on the researcher's knowledge, this book is the only published material that discusses specifically the problems and prospects of 'industrialization' in Kaduna. Some of the issues raised in the book include: the emergence of Kaduna state as an Industrial Hub in Nigeria; the decline into lethargy of the Kaduna Industrial Hub; The De-Industrialization of Kaduna state; and the Imperatives for the Re-Industrialization of Kaduna State. Other topical issues include: Industrialization of Kaduna state Hinging on the Resources Based Approach; and the Re-Industrialization of Kaduna State through the Tourism industry. The book provided a lot of information and insight for this ongoing research.

Other published works were also significant. Some of them focused on the theme of the study but not the spatial location. On the whole, the thesis is not an island of itself, as it depend on various sources for information, analysis and discourse.

Unpublished Works: - The major unpublished work consulted is that of Enoch Oyedele's Ph.D thesis (1987), titled, "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna, 1913-1960". This study examines the nature, functions and growth of Kaduna from its inception in 1913 a 'small settlement into a bustling and cosmopolitan colonial city of tremendous status'. His study argues that the pre-colonial urban and administrative systems were reorganized drastically to serve British economic interests and where necessary new-ones such as Kaduna were added.

Also, Oyedele's work laid the foundation on which this present research is built. For in the post-script he highlighted aspects of post-colonial Kaduna that would be important for future research. Amongst them is the growth of industries and the expansion of commerce in Kaduna and, how it has radically transformed the economic base of the urban economy. Similarly, it provides insight into a major distributive center of goods and services in the region, only rivaled by Kano. Arguably, the on-going research is an off-shoot of Oyedele's work; for his work contributed immensely to understanding the establishment and development of the Kaduna metropolis from a historical perspective.

Another work of interest is Bright Ekuerhare's, Ph.D thesis (1978), titled, 'The Economic Appraisal of Import-Substitution Industrialization, with special reference to the Nigerian Textile Industry'. The study seeks to investigate the general hypothesis that import-substitution as a strategy of industrialization, has resulted in inefficient allocation and utilization of resources in most developing countries, like Nigeria. Using the economic cost of import-substitution, the author sets out to assess the performance of the textile industry in particular and industrialization in general.

Other crucial scholarly works include those of Medugbon Andrew Kayode's Ph.D Thesis (1976), titled, "Kaduna , Nigeria: The Vicissitudes of A Capital City"; Arthur Vukile

Dhiliwayo (1986) “A History of Sabon Garin Zaria, 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration”; Abdulkadir Adamu’s Ph.D Thesis, (2001), “The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis. C.1902-1960”; Idris Dauda’s Suleiman’s B.A. Project (1975), “Industrial Locations in Kaduna”, amongst others.

1.10 CONCLUSION

The chapter has discussed the organizational sequence for the study. For example, the aim of the study was to examine the unparallel relationship between the rapid urban growth of the city and its retrogressive industrialization process. A circumstances that led to low income, urban poverty, slums, ghettos and social disorder experienced by residents in the city. Besides, aims and objectives of the study, other organizational sequence during the study were: statement of the research problem, scope of the study, justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, methodology of the study, limitation of the study and notes on Sources.

CHAPTER TWO

A BRIEF HISTORY OF KADUNA, 1913-1957.

2.0 Introduction

The chapter attempts to focus briefly on the history of Kaduna. Its emphasis centers on the process that led to the establishment and development of the city. Graphically, the process demonstrates itself as standing on two 'firm legs'. The first leg represents the establishment of the town as a military garrison, and secondly, as a colonial administrative town. It is the combination of these two forces that set the motion in place for the wage earning group in the city and the demography growth of the city experienced during this period.

This chapter spans a period of forty-four years. It dates from 1913-1957[35]. The significance of this period in the history of the city is fundamental, for it lays the solid foundation on which the city is built on. The period begins in 1913, the year the first group of soldiers moved from Zungeru and Zaria into Kaduna town. On the other hand, the period concludes in 1957, the year that marked the beginning of the large-scale manufacturing industry in the city. Thus, the period plays a great role in laying the foundation for the establishment and development of the Kaduna city.

For proper understanding of the study, the chapter will attempt to study various phases of the city. First, the geographical condition of Kaduna will be looked at; then a brief narration on the early history of Kaduna city; Afterwards, it will examine the economic basis of the city; Next, it will examine the nature of the residential pattern of the city; Lastly, the chapter will discuss the growth and expansion of the city during this period. The essence of

[35]. Oyedele, E. "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Kaduna, 1917-1960". Ph.D Thesis. For a more detailed study of the History of Kaduna up to 1960.

this is to show how the city grew from a small scattered Gbagyi settlement into a busting and cosmopolitan colonial city of tremendous status[36].

2.1 LOCATION AND GEOGRAPHY OF KADUNA

This section on the geography[37] of Kaduna will focus on areas such as: relief and drainage; soil; vegetation and climate; temperature; topography and geology.

2.1.1 RELIEF AND DRAINAGE:

The city of Kaduna is situated at latitude $10^0$30' North and longitude $7^0$28'. It lies in the southern part of the savanna region of Northern Nigeria with a topography that consists mainly of a rolling country having broad and flattish interfluves. The city is located in the range of 2,000 to 2,245 feet above sea level in what is generally called the High Plains of Hausaland.

The most important river is the Kaduna, which flows from the western edge of the Jos plateau entering Kaduna township at Kano from the north-east direction. From where it flows south-westerly until it gets to Kabala, where it turns at right angles to the north-west, turning again below the railway bridge.

2.1.2 SOIL

The soils over the Kaduna area are general to the northern plains and are of laterite formed from drift deposits which mantle the solid sedimentary and pre-Cambrian basement (granite) rocks. Kaduna lies within what is known as the 'Zaria' soil group where the covering material may be up to 14 feet in depth. Being of fine texture this soil is relatively difficult to work because it tends to become waterlogged with heavy rain and to dry out and crack during

[36] Ibid,p.
[37] See: Medugbon, A.K., "Kaduna, Nigeria: The Vicissitudes of A Capital City". Ph.D, 1976, and Max Lock, ***Kaduna, 1917, 1967, 2017: A Survey and Plan of the Capital Territory for the Territory of Northern Nigeria***, 1967

the dry season. This has favoured the growth of cotton in Zaria Province, and cotton harnessed to the water resources of the Kaduna River, has been responsible for the Capital's rapidly rising and flourishing textile industries.[38]

2.1.3 VEGETATION

The climax vegetation of the area is the Northern Guinea Zone type which consists of broad-leaved savanna woodlands. The tree cover, when mature, may attain heights of 40 to 60 feet. The area was originally generally well wooded, especially along the rivers. Where these trees have not been disturbed, they are dense enough to suppress grass. Much of the wooded terrain has been demanded of its vegetation by the fuel demands of the people, and by clearing for agricultural and residential purposes.

2.1.4 CLIMATE

During the dry season from November to March the dust laden Harmattan wind, dry, cold and often strong, blows parching wind from the north-east straight off the Sahara regions. On the arrival of the first rains in April, the prevailing wind veers to the south-west and continues from May to October from that quarter.

But paradoxically the rain storms, usually violent with thunder and lightning, preceded by a driving wind, come from the north-east. And it is from this quarter that, climatically speaking, people needs the most protection throughout the year.

During the wet season Kaduna has some 40-60 inches of rain which rises to a peak from late July and into September. This is mostly due to the high intensity of many storms and the narrow front with which they sweep across the countryside. It is rare for any rain to occur

[38] Max Lock, op.cit,p.21

between November and February. Consequently, this invariable seasonal regimen of dry and wet exerts a major and permanent influence on agriculture as well as on man's habitation[39].

2.1.5. TEMPERATURE

Highest temperatures are in April and range between 95^0 and 55^0 Fahrenheit and the lowest ar in January between 45^0 and 55^0. The mean range is greater than that found in temperate climates and the extremes of hot and cold in a single day places a strain upon the inhabitants aggravated by considerable changes in humidity which in the dry season may well be below 10 percent in the afternoon and 30 percent at dawn. This causes skin and lips to crack and fine dust blown by the Harmattan aggravatates the nasal passages. Paper dries and curls and even season wood warps and splits. Whereas in August, a relatively cooler month because of the rains, the humidity at midday can be over 70 percent and at dawn 95 percent. [40]

2.1.6. TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

Kaduna's regional topography consists of a rolling park-like terrain with little relief situated about one hundred feet above and below the 2,000 feet contour line. The solid granite 'inselbergs' rise as much as a thousand feet above the general level of the plain which to the east and south-eastwards from Kaduna abruptly ends in the escarpment to the Jos Plateau. The whole area is crossed by wooded streams flowing in broad, shallow valleys separated by inconspicuous water sheds.

The basic geological structure is magmatic of mixed streaky rocks, granite in parts with darker softer bands. Over most of the area the surface has decomposed to laterite. Erosion is mainly by the small streams that cut deep gulleys leaving the residual laterite caps to be gradually eaten away at the edges by natural forces of rain, wind and vegetation. The

[39] Max Lock, op.cit,p.21
[40] Ibid

water table in Kaduna is usually quite high and wells are sunk to a comparatively shallow bore depth of about fifty levels. However, there is no evidence of any mineral wealth in the Kaduna region.[41]

On the whole, the physical characteristics of the Kaduna site where regarded as superior to those of Zungeru by the colonial administrator. Although, both had the advantages of location on the railroad and the Kaduna river, but Kaduna was sited in more open country where the indigenous population was sparse and where it was therefore possible to set aside large portion of land for governmental or military purposes.

2.2 THE EARLY HISTORY OF KADUNA

The early history of Kaduna and particularly its establishment has to be within the framework of colonialism. This is because Kaduna, like other colonial cities, was created fundamentally with the aim to serve British economic interest in Nigeria. It is this primary function of domination and exploitation[42] that the establishment and development of Kaduna. Hence, to achieve this goal, Kaduna was created as a colonial headquarters and a military garrison of British colonialism in Northern Nigeria.

The roles played by the colonial government in Kaduna, like other colonial economies, were both conscious and deliberate. This role was essentially through peaceful extraction of primary products from the hinterland and export to the British industries in the colony that facilitated the processes of economic exploitation.

The infrastructures established, consist of facilities such as roads, railways, ports and bridges. Other measures adopted include maintenance of law and order, at the minimum cost

[41] Max Lock, **op.cit**,p.20
[42] Bello S and Oyedele E, "The City of Kaduna" in Usman Y.B (ed) **Cities of the Savannah**, 1979,p.63

and the development of social services such as health, education etc, were from government revenues generated from import-export duties and direct taxation'.[43]

It must be stressed that Kaduna is the fourth capital of the colonial government in Northern Nigeria. The colonialist made use of different cities in the past as their administrative headquarters. The first capital was Lokoja, followed by Jebba, while, Zungeru was the last capital. The colonialist spent a brief moment of thirteen years, amongst these three various colonial headquarters, Lokoja, Jebba and Zungeru. It finally stopped its transitory movement in 1917, with the establishment of its headquarters in Kaduna.

Prior to the establishment of Kaduna, the colonialist in their search for a permanent capital for colonialism in Northern Nigeria introduced a lot of factors/criteria for a capital city, Lord Lugard set up a committee to investigate and recommend the location of a new capital[44].

The committee was handed a 'term of reference' that would enhance their selection of a suitable site for the establishment of the colonial headquarters. The 'terms of reference' states as follows:-

i. To find a site suitable for

(a) A local capital of Northern Nigeria

(b) For a central capital of Nigeria and

(c) For (a) and (b) combined, together with a large railway site.

ii. To find such a site or sites at or near one of the two points (Zungeru or Kaduna) at which the railway crosses the River Kaduna.

iii. To secure from the river a water supply, at once abundant and reasonably pure.

iv. To find a site affording ample room for future expansion; a sufficiently generous soil for sanitation, planting, gardening, and absence of undue radiation; and an area either remote from or to wind-warm of marshy land.

[43] Oyedele E., "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria", Ph.D Thesis, 1987,p.109
[44] Medugbon, Ibid,p.28, cited in SNP15/191

This 'term of reference' influenced the choice of Kaduna as a colonial capital for the Northern Province. Specifically, the report identified the site near mile 216, where the railway crosses the Kaduna River fifty miles before Zaria, as presenting a good prospect, for military purposes and the local capital of Northern Nigeria. According to the report:

> "..without actually establishing a capital in the Hausa country proper the region of Kaduna affords a site which has Hausa environment and which will be in close touch with the east of the protectorate when that portion of the country is linked up by railways…"[45]

Generally, the factors that favored, the choice of Kaduna include: Relief and drainage, soil, vegetation, climate and land. For example, the climate in Kaduna was judged as modest for the British administrators. This is because the city was not as hot as Sokoto. In clear terms, the factors that represent the struggle between the colonial government, representing the new force and the Northern emirates representing the old forces in their quest for dominance. This view was expressed clearly by the Palmer Committee, thus:

> For military purposes and for a local capital of Northern Nigeria this region presents commanding advantages. Without actually establishing a capital in the Hausa country proper, the region of Kaduna affords a site which has a Hausa environment, and which will be in close touch with the East of the Protectorate, when that portion of that country is linked up by the railway. Probably the only portion of the two protectorates, where a concerted and extensive rising is liable to break out is the North. Kaduna is, with the exception of Zaria, the most central part for military purposes in such a contingency'. [46]

On the whole, crucial to the choice of Kaduna is the inherent nature of colonialism that is essentially brutal. Oyedele pointed out that the colonialist were '…particularly suspicious of a strong resistance against their rule from the north'.[47] It is this suspicion that was used by the colonialist to justify, their need for force inorder to crush and brutalize any form of resistance against their goals. Consequently, the Kaduna site was selected by Lord Lugard as the capital

[45] NAK, SNP, 15/190 See Oyedele
[46] Palmer, Report on Site, p.7, cited in Medugbon, ibid, p.46.
[47] Oyedele, Op.cit, p.150-151

of Northern Nigeria. According to him "… I recommend, therefore, that the capital should be moved to the point where the railway crosses the Kaduna River at mile 572 from Lagos…"[48]

In sum, the interplay of many factors was at play in the selection of Kaduna as a colonial capital city. These factors ranging from geographical, political and military considerations have all in diverse ways influence the choice of the Kaduna site. Prominent among these factors is the central role of force; that is used to illegal legitimizes the colonial administration. It is the cumulative of all these that led to the selection of Kaduna for establishment and development as a Colonial Headquarter. It is also worth noting that beside the creation of Kaduna, the colonialist structured the design of the area to facilitate and express their imperialist dominance. This they did by developing the landscape of the area through the act of physical and spatial layout of the site. In the pursuit of the design for the city in 1913, the government was guided by a team of its experts[49].

The team was led by Captain Howell, the intelligent officer of the Northern Region, others members were: A. Collard, the Chief Surveyor from Lagos; Fred Dawson, acting Director of Public Works Lagos; Dr F. Manning, the Principal Medical Officer, Zungeru; Dr. C. Blair, the Senior Sanitary Officer; Mr. E. Cummins an architect from Lagos, and a Nigerian. The plan was, however, approved by Dawson and submitted to the Governor.

Urquhart pointed out that the British officials were very influential in the design and building of colonial towns[50], such as Kaduna. Central, to these towns is the colonial policy that determined the kind of construction and other details to be carried out in the colonial towns. The structure and functions of such cities in general and Kaduna in particular are as follows:

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[48] See Oyedele and Kirk Greene (ed) **Lugard and Amalgamation**, 1968, p.93
[49] Oyedele, E. Op.cit, p.150-151
[50] Urquhart, A.W. **Planned Urban Landscape of Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Zaria**, 1977,p.25

European Reservation

- Government station and European Residential Area
- Railway Area
- Commercial Area

Non-European Reservation (Sabon-Gari)

- Government Clerks Area
- Clerks and Artisans and Laborers Areas
- Railway Area
- Market and Traders Area

Tudun Wada (not part of Township)

Special Areas

- Non-residential Area (Building Free Zone)
- Police station, Prison, Barracks
- Army lines
- Fell-mongering plots[51]

Similarly, one of the informants, Biodun Olugbami, pointed out that even up-till date, the evidence of the planned and organized nature of Kaduna is still visible. He identified the presences of religious institutions, such as mosques and churches, along Ibrahim Taiwo road and Kano road in Kaduna[52]. These religious institutions are so closed to one another, that the dividing line between the two groups is just a fence. In his view it is only, the planned nature of the city that can explain this evidence, especially when compared to the religious tolerance being experienced in the city presently.

Fundamentally, the 1913 plan of Kaduna landscape goes beyond its meticulous arrangement. It also, laid the foundation for future segregation of diverse social classes in the town. The British Ordinance for Town planning demarcated the city along ethnic, religious and economic lines. This sets in motion the process that significantly influenced and shaped the future growth of the city.

Geographically, Kaduna is situated on latitude $10^0$26' North and $07^0$28' East. Is on the southern margin of the Northern plateau and occupies a fairly central position in the northern

[51] Ibid, p.30
[52] Biodun Olugbami, interviewed in his house, 25th February, 2012

region. Hence, it was well placed to serve as its capital. Furthermore, it lies close to River Kaduna, and like Nigeria, which derives its name from the River Niger it is generally believed that Kaduna derived its name from River Kaduna[53].

Kaduna and its environs are situated within the territorial jurisdiction of Zaria emirate. The Kaduna area during this period was scarcely populated by the Gbagyi's, who are identified as indigenous inhabitants of the place. For example, a military report of 1912 on Northern Nigeria listed several Gbagyi settlements scattered throughout the Kaduna area.[54] These settlements include Barnawa, Kurmin Mashi, Rigasa and Kupei, Palilu, Dan Hono, Tokahe, Bugai, Kujama, Gwa-Zunu and Kanrafi. Apart from the Gbabyi, the other linquistic groups in the area are the Atyab (Katab), Aninka (Ninzam) and related groups. Though, they were organized into a small liquistic polities or political communities, they did not form a large state system up to the 19th century.

The essence of this historical background is to dispel the notion of Kaduna as a 'virgin land'. This is because the colonialists made use of such terminology to justify imperialist their forceful acquisition and control of the land of all colonial people. Oyedele, pointed out that:

> "…the Gbagyi's had inhabited the area from about the 14th A.D. They were forcefully ejected from Kaduna area southwards beginning from pre-colonial times when they came under pressure of Zazzau, a process which became more severe with the establishment of colonial presence in Kaduna after 1900…."[55].

Hence, the usage of the term 'virgin land' by the colonialist is a fallacy. Rather it is an attempt used by the colonialist, particularly the British to justify their illegal and forceful acquisition of land of the colonized for their imperial goals and purposes.

Consequently, it is in the light of British acquisition of Kaduna for their imperial goals that the city is regarded as a new creation. In another words it is an artificial town created

[53] Oyedele, E. Op.cit, p.161
[54] Ibid, p.5
[55] Ibid, p.175

fundamentally to serve the interest of British imperialism. The city functioned in the dual capacity as a garrison town and administrative center of colonialism in 1913 and 1917 respectively. It is these two which were the important causes for migration in Kaduna,[56] in the period under study.

The phenomenon of migration into Kaduna started with the colonial government decisions of establishing the area as it headquarters. This decision of the government brought about two groups of different migration to the area. These are, the transfer of the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) and the movement of firms e.g. the Royal Niger Company and people, (clerks, administrators, professionals, artisans, laborers etc) following the transfer of the seat of the government of the colonial administration from Zungeru to Kaduna in 1913 and 1917 respectively.

The first group of migration started was the W.A.F.F. These were transferred from their earlier stationed at Zungeru to Kaduna on 21 February, 1913. The troops raised in 1897 to protect the British colonial frontiers, especially after the French attempt at Borgu, was a military force comprising men recruited most especially around the riverain provinces and from the French Border. It is said that the troops were organized under a single commandant (Brigadier-General Cuntiff) and consisted of two infantry battalions and a battery of artillery being stationed to the north and south respectively with the headquarters at the central position of Kaduna. The total strength was 174 British officers, 192 British N.C.D's and 4,977 rank and file with 440 non-combatants including gun and maximum carriers. Hence, the earliest immigrants to Kaduna were basically an invading force of 366 British immigrants and 5,417 Africans. All in all, they numbered 5,783.[57]

[56] Bello, S. and Oyedele, E "The City of Kaduna" in Y.B. Usman (ed) **Cities of the Savannah**, 1979,p.64
[57] Ibid,p.66

In addition, as pointed out earlier, this early migration to Kaduna influenced a subsequent flow of individual migrants to provide the essential services of trade and the supply of food items for the wage-earning migrants. On the other hand, the second group of migrants to Kaduna in 1917 was as a result of the transfer of the seat of government from Zungeru. This category of migrants comprised the clerks, laborers, administrators and professionals as well as colonial firms and their employees. The immigrants consisted of Nupe, Yoruba and Hausa immigrants. Other groups are the Igbo, Edo, Kanuri and Fulani immigrants.[58]

The cumulative effect of these two important migrations to Kaduna from 1913-1917 was that it ushered in the epoch of urbanization and the creation of the city. Worthy of note amongst these early migrations are: first, to a large extent these migrations could be termed rural-urban migration. This is because the British conquest dislocated the indigenous rural economy. Consequently, all forms of material life were affected thereby forcing Africans to migrate to other areas of colonial activities such as the new settlement of Kaduna[59]

Secondly, these immigrants were essentially wage-earners. A factor which in turn stimulate the volume and rate of subsequent individual migrations to the city, to provide essential services e.g. trading for this wage earning class. Hence, the period from 1917 onwards saw an increased rate of individual migrations into Kaduna. This drew in immigrants from the Northern Emirates (Borno, Kano, Sokoto etc) and Yoruba, Edo, and Igbo speaking groups from the south. Most of these later immigrants came to dominate the retail trade in both imported and local foodstuffs. This trade was quite prospective for some time, hence, more traders were attached to the city.[60]

[58] Ibid, p.67
[59] Oyedele E., "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria", Ph.D Thesis, 1987,p.179
[60] Oyedele, E. "The History of the Establishment and Development of Kaduna: 1917-1957", B.A. Project 1977, p.18-19

It should be noted that the idea of voluntary migration into areas of colonial activities for greater and better social and economic rewards than village life is a fallacy. This view argues strongly that the glamour in Kaduna was what drew migrants to the area, during its early history. However, this view is not tenable. The early migrants to the area such as Mr. Victor Williams described the mood of the migrants to Kaduna, as follows:

> 'the inconvenience suffered by the early arrivals were many. This made the new headquarters very unpopular and it came in for all sorts of bad names and abuses. It was called by some 'A hole in the bush'. … By others 'Lugard's Folly'… and by others still 'Goldsmith's deserted village''.

H.S. Goldsmith was appointed Lieutenant Governor in 1917, and that's how he came in for his own share of the unpleasant remarks. There was one water tap in Sabon Gari at the junction of Ibadan Street and Kano Road and one at the Clerk's Quarters.[61]

The dislocation of the rural areas by the colonialist during this time, led to intense migration of labour into Kaduna. This is because colonial urban areas like Kaduna were motivated essentially by economic conditions related to the needs and the pressure of the new colonial order, as earlier pointed out.

The importance of migration to the development of the city can be demonstrated by statistical figures. In the light of this, statistical figures of this period would be used to show how the city grew during this period.

[61] Max Lock, **op.cit**, p.84

The statistical figures are as follows:

Table 1: Kaduna Township Population: 1929[62]

1	Police Lines	338
2	West African Frontier Force Lines	761
3	Warder Lines	179
4	Native Hospital Lines	209
5	Clerks Quarters	493
6	European Quarters	893
7	Kaduna Junction	713
8	Prison	188
9	Native Reservation, etc	7,082
	Total	10,861

Source: The NAK, SNP 15/11617, cited in Medugbon, op.cit, p.110

The table indicates that by 1929 there were more than 7,000 people in the native registration. At that time the total population of Kaduna was almost 11,000 Table 1 shows the breakdown of population distribution at the end of 1929.

Table 2: Population Outside Kaduna Township: 1929[63]

1	Ungwan Sarkin Noma	29
2	Ungwan Munshi	107
3	Ungwan Waziri	72
4	Ungwan Yan Keke	26
5	Ungwan Jatau Helman	30
6	Ungwan Kwangila	188
7	Ungwan Abdul Helman	65

[62] NAK, SNP 15/11617 cited from Medugbon, Op.cit. p.110
[63] NAK, SNP/15/11617

8	Ungwan Yan Penchi	38
9	Ungwan Ebanu	49
10	Ungwan Kawo	339
11	Tudun Wada	700
12	Birnawa	130
13	Makera	540
14	Kurmin Kakuri	487
15	Mashi	89
16	Kudenda	102
	Total	3,072

Source: NAK, SNP 15/11617 cited in Medugbon, Ibid, p.113

While the Township, in 1929, had almost 11,000 inhabitants, the suburbs which were not part of the township administration had over 3,000 inhabitants, the following figures show the population outside the township and within a five-mile radius of the post-office.

Table 3: Distribution of Population in Kaduna Township By Nationality or Tribe[64]

Nationality or Tribe	1	2	3	4	5	6 (total)
Non-Natives (Europeans)	2	152	10			144
West Indian	432	38	2	41	121	637
Hausa	3,194	160	9	65	159	441
Fulani	129	56	-	56	200	371
Kanuri	143	46	2	3	127	185
Munshi	94	15	2	2	62	709
Nupe	614	14	1	5	25	315

[64] NAK, SNP 15/11617 cited in Medugbon,Op.cit.p.113

Yoruba, N.P.	221	5	5	72	12	1,076
Yoruba, S.P.	956	36	27	5	32	1,272
Igbo	1,051	84	21	4	361	622
Other Natives N.P		45	9	9	49	536
Other Natives S.P.	305	114	21	7	20	78
Unclassified	43	8	-			

1. Native Reservation; 2. European Compounds; 3. Kakuri including some barracks; 4. Kakuri Hausawa and other Native Compounds at Kakuri; 5. W.A.F.F Lines, Police and Prison.

The table shows the distribution of the population by nationality and tribe in 1931. It shows that the largest amount of indigenes came, the Northern Protectorate is pronounced. This is attributed to the appeal made by the colonial officials to the Emirs to encourage their people to settle in Kaduna. Also, a wide and diverse tribes settled in the city.

Table 4: Population of Kaduna, 1924-1929[65]

Europeans				Natives		
Year	Males:	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1924	80	18	98	2,517	2009	5,206
1925	100	18	118	3,440	2098	6,094
1926	100	18	118	4,301	3,091	8,649
1927	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1928	120	30	150	4,965	3,482	10,048
1929	149	28	177	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Kaduna Township Annual Report for 1917

[65] Kaduna Township Annual Report for 1929, 17 cited in Medugbon Op.cit.p.115

The table shows the population of the city between 1924 to 1928 of the Europeans and the Africans. The population of the sexes is also brought out. The dominance of the male population over the female became less pronounced as the population of the city grew. This dominance was especially evident among the British, who found it expedient to leave their families back in Britain.

Table 5: Kaduna and Suburbs: Male Population (1930)[66]

S/n		Adult Males	Total Population
1	Kaduna Township	5,094	10,291
2	Makera	229	610
3	Gwarin Kakuri	60	142
4	Birnawa	40	141
5	Tudun Wada	453	973
6	Kawo	167	496
7	Afaka Angwa	29	70

Table 5 shows the adult male population of Kaduna in 1930. Of the over 10,000 people in the Township almost 50% were adult males. This means that the remaining 50% consisted of the adult females and children of both sexes. This trend existed in many of the other settlements at this time. Table 6: Township in Northern Protectorate 1931: Population by Tribes[67]

S/n	Tribes	Jos	Kaduna	Kano	Zaria	Total
1	Non-natives	122	164	262	121	699
2	Native-Foreigners	325	637	963	403	2,469
	Total	447	801	1,225	524	3,168
1	Hausa	376	371	2,566	2,109	9,474
2	Fulani	125	185	383	208	1,219
3	Kanuri	54	709	410	181	1,043

[66] NAK, SNP 15/116117
[67] NAK, SNP 17/15008

4	Manshi	13	315	45	39	299
5	Nupe	27	1,076	255	329	1,514
6	Yoruba S.P.	324	1,272	1,337	1,164	4,570
7	Yoruba N.P.	324	622	1,337	1,164	3,776
8	Ibo	722	536	747	794	3,776
9	Other Natives N.P.	142	78	429	482	3,491
10	Other Natives S.P.	198	9,852	210	482	3,491
11	Unclassified	35	78	21	260	415
	Total	2,019	9,852	6,412	5,566	25,801
	Total	2,466	10,653	7,637	6,090	28,969

Table 6 shows the comparison of the ethnic composition of Kaduna with that of the other urban centers of the North. Except for the Yoruba's, Kaduna had more representatives of each tribe than the other cities, and the total of all tribesmen was greatest in Kaduna.

In sum the 'by the end of 1931, Kaduna had a population of almost 11,000. This implies that despite the group immigration to the area, the population growth was to a great extent minimal, particularly when compared to the subsequent period of its history. It must also, be noted that great events during this period affected the city negatively. Particularly, the great depression of the early 1930's and the Second World War, were a set back to the growth of the city during this period. Therefore, whatever gains Kaduna made during this period of its early history, was then lost in the war. It was not until the early 1950's that the city grew into a sizeable urban center.

On the whole, despite migrations into Kaduna during this period, population growth barely numbered 11,000. This point to the fact that population growth during this period was essentially during slow and gradual. The population of the city grew slowly during this period, as compared to the rapid population growth experienced in the subsequent period of its history.

2.3 THE POLITICAL SETTING OF THE CITY

The enactment of various ordinances has significantly impacted on the landscape of Kaduna. The essence of these ordinances, passed into Law, is to direct and control the use of land in the city. Successively, these edicts in various ways altered the landscape of the city. These edicts are the 1917 Township Ordinance, the 1946 Town and Country Planning and the Law of 1956. Thus, it is these ordinances that enabled Kaduna to attain its status as a planned city.

In this section, we shall attempt to look at some salient issues in the history of Kaduna during this period. This is in order to come to terms with the forces that have affected and impacted on the setting of the city. It must be stressed that a major feature of British colonial urbanization in Nigeria was the residential segregation of urban centers along racial, ethnic religious and class-lines. The standard residential pattern in colonial Northern Nigeria was the city in the case of old established cities: the Township consists of the European Reservation Area (E.R.A) and Native Reservation (clerks quarters and Sabon Gari); and the Tudun Wada and the Satellite (village) settlements.[68]

Importantly, the major ordinance that affected the urban landscapes of Kaduna was the Racial and Class Segregation. The ordinance was based on the Principle of Segregation. Its features will be briefly examined.

The Racial and Class Segregation of the ordinance emphasized on the guidelines for the separation of the Europeans and Non-Europeans. It also pointed out that the various requirements of buildings, streets and general layout of the city.[69] Thus, the ordinance shaped the spatial characteristics of the growth of Kaduna.

[68] Oyedele E., op.cit, p.209
[69] Medugbon, A.K., op.cit,p.28

Some of the important features of this ordinance are:

For the better presentation of health and for the mutual convenience of the European and non-European inhabitants of a township, the governor may

66 (a) By order, declare any portion of a township to be a European reservation, a non-European reservation, or a non-residential area.

67 a) Any non-European who, except with the consent of the Governor, shall reside in or occupy land within a European reservation; or

b) Any European who, except with the consent of the Governor, shall reside in or occupy land within a non-European reservation, shall be liable to a fine of five pounds and, if the offence shall be continued or repeated after conviction, to a fine of twenty pounds or to imprisonment for three months:

provided that this section shall not apply to non-European being a domestic servant residing on the premise of his European employer, or to any European or non-European in lawful occupation of any land within a reservation.[70]

Hence, the emergence of exclusive places for the European, such as the European Areas (E.R.A) Later called the Government Reservation Area (G.R.A).

The Principle of Segregation is the second feature of the ordinance. This ordinance entailed segregation among the 'Natives themselves'. The categorization is between the Northerners and the Non-Northerners. The Northerners are supposed to be Muslims and predominantly Hausa. And the Non-Northerners were other Nigerians and immigrants from other countries. The former were to stay exclusively in Tudun Wada, while the latter were to stay in the Sabon Gari and the Clerk Quarters.

One of the architects of this principle was C. Temple, a colonial administrator. He argued that the underlying principle of this policy should be to separate Africans of non-Northern origins in a special location. It is from this precedence that the idea of Sabon Gari developed.[71] The 'Native Locations' in Kaduna are the Clerks Quarters, the Sabon Gari

[70] Section 66 and 67 of The Township Ordinance of 1917, cited in Medugbon, A.K., op.cit,p.28
[71] Medugbon, Ibid.73

(Native Township) for Africans of non-Northern origin, and Tudun Wada and other smaller settlements around for Northerners.

Similarly, the Native Township and the Clerks Quarters were planned in line with the colonial policies and building requirements, while the area meant for Northerners, though initially planned, was left to develop according to people's will. Thus, Tudun Wada, originally known as 'Ungwar Lebura', along with nearby Kakuri and Kawo villages, became areas primarily settled by Northern Muslim immigrants whose cultural values could be met in an area where would be no interference either by the Europeans or other Africans.

The nature of administration in Kaduna and of Northern Nigeria during this period is the indirect-rule system. The system entails two levels of government, the local and the foreign administrations. The local administration was headed by the paramount local ruler, who was either the emir or its equivalent. On the other hand, the foreign administrator was usually the Resident who was in control and supervised the local ruler. Also, the resident was charged with the maintenance of law and order, prevention of crime and arrest of criminals, collection of taxes, etc.[72]

The colonial structure of administration gave official recognition to the various ethnic groups in the city. For example, the administration of Sabon Gari consisted of a village head nominated by the Emir and four ward heads. These were ward-heads represented by the major ethnic groups that reside in the area. These are: Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and Nupe. In addition, an advisory council was also established to which all the communities of numerical importance were represented.[73] Thus, the new town of Kaduna was not exempted from the socialization process of voluntary and tribal associations. Importantly, the British were the rulers of the provinces and the Nigerian officials were mainly employees of the colonial

[72] Oyedele E.,op.cit,p.248
[73] SNP Kaduna Township/c.2479/vol.ll.219 (11TH August, 1938)

system. It is worth-noting that fundamental changes in political development by the 1940's to the fifties impacted significantly on the nature and purpose of the city. This change was the transfer of power to Nigerians by the colonialist.[74] This transition led to structural and managerial changes in the country.

In particular, Northern Nigeria became a region of the Federation of Nigeria. It was therefore, set-up with a government of its own, Ministers and House of chiefs. Also, with the steady constitutional progress, regional government became self-governing in all affairs which fall within its responsibility from March 1959.[75] These political developments led to change in the status of Nigerians. This change enabled some Nigerians to assume responsible positions in both government and private concerns and also began to live side by side with the colonial officers in the G.R.A., which had previously been an exclusive preserve for Europeans.

Similarly, the decade 1950-60 saw Nigerians taking an active part in the running of the affairs of the country and a concomitant rise in the standard of living for a privileged class in the urban areas. The plots of land within Kaduna Township that were not developed, estimated to be almost 2/3 of the whole area, were developed at an accelerated rate.

In summary, the various ordinances meant to control the landscape of Kaduna city impacted strongly on its development. These ordinances laid the foundation on which the city was erected and also to an extent it negatively affected the nature of inter-group relationship within the city. Furthermore, the transition of government from the British to Nigerian citizens also impacted strongly on the development of the city. As a result some Nigerians assumed responsible positions and moved to the G.R.A, which had previously been an exclusive preserve for the Europeans.

[74] Helliner G.K., **Peasants Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria**, 1966,p.311
[75] Ibid,p.311

2.4 THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE CITY

The economic basis of Kaduna city during this early period of its history was the dominance of the government. The government dominated the economy of the city in conjunction with few colonial firms.[76] The administrators remained the major source of employment. It provided job opportunities for clerks, local government functionaries, artisans and various types of unskilled labourers.

For example, by 1929 about three-quarters of the city's total population depended directly, in terms of income, on the administration and the military. This was unlike the case of Kano and Zaria where a small proportion of the urban population depended directly on the colonial government. Also, in comparison with these cities, Kaduna did not develop into an important commercial center of note.[77]

The implications of the colonial administration as the chief generator of economic activities in Kaduna city are: firstly, the commercial activity of the city tended to be geared to the interest of British exploitation and a few African elites. Secondly, since earning wages was economically more profitable (because of the economic hardship which the colonial administration created) Kaduna attracted several farmers and local craftsmen away from their trades to the city. Thirdly, as a result of the state monopoly of the economy of the city, the economy of Kaduna remained restricted; it had no opportunity for expansion.[78]

In addition, because a large proportion of the population of the city depended on wages, this created a large market opportunity for foodstuffs and consumer products. This made Kaduna to develop from a small trading post of the Niger company into an extensive commercial centre where many commercial houses competed with one another for profits. At

[76] Oyedele E., "The History of the Establishment and Development of Kaduna: 1917-1957", B.A. Project, 1977,p.27
[77] Oyedele E.,op.cit,1987.319
[78] Ibid,p.30

first, food items were got from its immediate hinterlands like Sabon Birni, Zagon Aya, Pambegua, Riga Chukum etc. Later food items consumed in the city were brought in from very long distances. For example, yams from Lafia and Keffi, Rice, Beans and Guinea corn etc. from the Niger Valley area, other food items like Gari were procured from the south. [79]

Importantly, Kaduna served as a collecting point for cash crops. Although, unlike Kano and Zaria which were in the center of groundnut and cotton production, Kaduna despite its relatively poorer hinterland also served as a collecting point for cash crops such as cotton, shea nuts and hides. This is so due to the transportation network connecting the city to various parts of the country, particularly the coast.

Similarly, the city served as a major wholesale and retail trade center, supplying manufactured goods to the large market in the city and to the surrounding rural areas. In this respect, Kaduna can be regarded as 'ware-house' from which colonial manufacturers were distributed to the surrounding areas, and local produce collected for evacuation to Europe. Consequently, Kaduna developed an indigenous class of traders. In the earlier periods, the main body of traders came from Hausaland, Borno and Nupeland as well as Yorubaland, especially from Ogbmoso. However, there was a major change in spread in terms of the geographical area from which traders served as middlemen between the peasant producers of food crops (mainly in the surrounding villages) and the urban consumers.

It is worth-noting that industrialization which is the development of economic activity in relatively large units of production, making use of machinery and other capital assets with the task of labour finely divided and the relationships of employment formalized was rare in Nigeria until the 1950's.[80] The only enterprises equipped in organization and finance for these activities were the trading companies which imported manufactures and beyond them, the

[79]Ibid,p.30
[80] Ibrahim James, **Kaduna State: The Challenge of Industrialization**,p.6-7

overseas manufacturers who produced for the Nigerian market and neither saw compelling reasons to locate production in Nigeria.

However, circumstances changed with the appearance of new competitors as Nigerian markets expanded in the post-world war II period and the consequential pressure on the profit margins of the established overseas producers and local distributors of manufactured imports; and the recognition of the possibility of preempting the market through establishment of a local manufacturing plants with outside competition diminished by means of a protective tariff.

Furthermore, government inducement of manufacturing investment in Nigeria dates back to the 1950's from this period, income tax relief was available for 3 to 5 yrs for firms certified as belonging to pioneer industries, rebates or concessional rates of duty on imported raw materials might be obtained and capital could be written off for tax purposes at accelerated rates. More importantly, as a catalyst were contributions to the equity and loan capital of industrial ventures by the Federal and Regional governments and public development institutions in the late 1950's and early 1960's. These contributions were important directly in shifting risk from the private investors, and indirectly in setting off sequences of market-protecting investments in industries such as cement and cotton, textiles where the initial investment was made with government encouragement and financial assistance[81].

Taking advantage of the above enumerated government inducements, the Kaduna metropolitan region inaugurated the growth of new manufacturing surfaces. Between 1950 and 1960 there were altogether only about 6 industrial establishments namely:

[81] Ibid,p.7-8

- The Adejumo Farm Nigeria Ltd. Established in 1952 for the Fertilizer and pesticides manufacturing
- The Baraka Press Publishers Limited established in 1956 for printing, publishing and allied activities.
- The Kaduna Textile Limited established in 1957 for salt shirting drill, bod/F Carding, Yarn production, P/Propylene sacks, D/Cotton Production, Spinning and Weaving.
- Abo Eleas Stores established in 1959 for wearing apparels, footwear and clothing
- Berger Paints Nigeria Limited established in 1959 for the manufacture of paints, varnished and lacquers.
- Flag Aluminum Products Limited established in 1959 for the manufacturing of non-metallic products e.g. Block industry etc.

From this modest beginning, the number of the new manufacturing surfaces had increased to about 332 by 1985. At this point it must be pointed out that the act of history writing does not regard events as isolated phenomenon but it places event in context of time.[82] From this point of view, it is important that we do not limit ourselves to Kaduna city alone, we should examine happenings in neighbouring communities in order to have a proper picture of the changes unfolding. It is line this that the Zaria metropolis would be examined. Zaria emirate during this period of time, the colonial period, was under British administrations.[83]

The British therefore were after the agricultural resources of the region, because they saw in as a solution to one of their major economic problems. The supply of raw materials especially cotton for the Lanchaster textile mills and an unlimited market for British manufacturers[84] were the major economic problem.

The colonial major economic problem becomes quite evident when we consider the role of colonial policy on transport, agriculture and activities of the colonial firms. First, is the role of the transport policy. British colonial policy on transport in Nigeria was influenced by

[82] Hans Kohn, **Reflections on Modern History**, 1963,p.3
[83] Abdulkadir Adamu, "The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A Study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis" Ph.D Thesis, 2001. For a more detailed study of how the British Colonial Administration shifted the focus from food crops to cash crop production in Zaria metropolis.
[84] Ibid,p.44

the desire to open Northern Nigeria to British trade, particularly the desire to boost the production of cotton for exports to Lancashire cotton mills in Britain. That was what prompted the construction of the railway from Lagos to Kano. The preliminary survey of transport conducted between 1903-1904 stated that cotton growing was

> "the industry which would be of most importance as a source of traffic for the railway and for which the country (was) especially well-adopted. Cotton production has been carried on for centuries to meet local requirements; and for its development as a great export trade it require only transport facilities[85].

Also, Alan McPhee understood the implications of transport development for the imposition of the socio-economic system of colonialism in Nigeria, hence he advised the British colonial administration: "if 'Natives' are taxed land expected to pay their tax out of the surplus crops, the government must see to the position of adequate transport in order that the produce may be brought to the market at a remunerate price."[86]

Alan further claimed that the development of transport would put money in the hands of labourers who would expend it on English goods; it would induce labour and the circulation of English currency amongst Africans. However, Abudlkadir contented that 'the provision of transport and the development of the colonial economy did not follow the simple pattern envisaged by McPhee nor did it bring prosperity to the peasants. Rather peasants were forced through taxation, forced labour and propaganda to enter into commodity production.[87]

Secondly, this point comes out when we consider the role of colonial policy on agriculture. The colonial policy on agricultural production was mainly influenced by the needs of imperial Britain. This was principally; the production of raw materials for its industries, generate revenue for the administration of the colony and to produce enough food to feed the

[85] SNP 17/c 111 cited in Ibid,p.51
[86] SNP 10/2 597,P.11914 cited in Abdulkadir Adamu, Ibid,p.51
[87] Ibid,p.51

populace. At the beginning of the 20th century, the cotton mills of Lancashire constituted the largest manufacturing industry in Britain. This meant that Britain would do its utmost to protect this industry from disintegrating or suffering any mishap as happened in the opening year of 20th century.

The United States was the major supplier of cotton to British textiles industries, but between 1901-1902 there was substantial reduction in American cotton exports to Britain, because American cotton belts were hit by the 'bull weevil plague'. This led to the crisis of the 'Lancashire cotton famine of 1902' which had serious repercussion for the British Textiles industry. It forced many mills to operate on short-time from 1901 to 1904 with financial losses running up to two million pounds sterling per annum. This crisis led to the formation of the British Cotton Growers Association (B.C.G.A) with the of finding an alternative source of raw cotton for the Lancashire mills within the British Empire. The focus was on Northern Nigeria and was amongst the reasons for the construction of the railways from Lagos to Kano.[88]

At the beginning, the colonial administration of Nigeria left the responsibility of promoting cotton production in the hands of the B.C.G.A.[89] until 1910. Funds were allocated to it to be used: for experimenting work on several seed varieties and fertilizers, distributing seed to farmers, discovering the best cotton districts, for missionary work to persuade farmers to take-up cotton growing.

When the government took over in 1910 with the establishment of the department of agriculture, it also opened an agricultural experimental farm at Maigana for the purpose of experimenting in several varieties of seed cotton. However, the B.C.G.A faced serious competition from local weavers who offered higher prices to farmers.

[88] Ibid,p.55
[89] SNP8,4252 'Taxation and Industrial Organization of the Hausa Towns of Zaria Emirat', Ibid,p.56

The imposition of British colonial administration and policies paved the way for the emergence of the colonial economy which rested on the production of cash crops by the peasantry of the area and the development of colonial commerce in these products and in imported British merchandise.

The cotton crop emerged as the single most important crop in the Zaria province. This was followed by other crops like tobacco, groundnuts, sugarcane and the staple food crops notably millet, corn and yam amongst others. The emergence of the cotton crop and the other crops was made possibly by a number of factories all of which were based on colonial policies.

Thirdly, are the activities of the colonial firms. The firms that operated in Zaria up the 1930's were the B.C.G.A, John Holt, Patterson Zachonis and Sons (P.Z.)., G.B. Olivant, and the United Africa Company (U.A.C) amongst others.[90] The B.C.G.A was mainly introduced involved in the purchase of cotton. It appointed its agents to go to the various gazette cotton but extended to ginning it as well. That was why it established a Ginnery in Sabon Gari where it cotton was ginned for export to Britain. In addition to the cotton buying the firms, it also purchased groundnuts, sugar and skins.[91]

In addition to the above economy, Zaria was also characterized by the trade in imported manufactured products. These goods were imported by the colonial firms and sold in their companies wholesale to Nigerian business men. These goods were in turn retailed in the various markets of Zaria and the interior districts. The imported items ranged from bicycles, pots, radios to clothes, salt, sugar and other foods and beverages.

The operation of the colonial economy in Zaria led to the rise and development of a wage earning group in large number in the town. These people were employed by both the

[90] SNP1638/1920: Agriculture Ordinance 1916, Regulation Safeguarding the Cultivation of America Cotton
[91] Ibid,p.58-60

colonial government and the firms. The colonial government employed people in the railways, the residency i.e. provincial office and the Native Administration in-various capacities ranging from cleaners, clerk-administrators and teachers. While the firms necessarily recruited workers especially in the tannery, B.C.G.A., P.Z., John Holt, the U.A.C. and others.

On the whole, the British colonial conquest, colonial policies and the colonial economy had serious impact on the society and economy of the Zaria metropolis and environs. These changed the socio-economic and even political organization of Zaria by transforming it from serving the needs of the people and government of the area towards serving the British imperial interest. The consequences were the disruption of the economy's products, distribution and consumption; the monetization and commercialization of the economy; the deepening of exploitation and inequality amongst the various social strata of the population.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter has attempted to examine the process that led to the establishment and development of Kaduna. It has shown that the city was fundamentally a colonial creation, established to facilitate the interest of British colonialism, which is domination and exploitation. It has also shown that the city had a plan from its establishment and it continued to have plans that guide its development through time.

We stressed that migration into the city was influenced by the forces of colonialism. His was characterized by two group migrations namely: the movement of the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F) and the movement of the workers of Colonial Administration from Zungeru to Kaduna. Consequently, several individuals moved into the city to meet the needs of these wage earners. These include immigrant clerks, local government functionaries,

artisans and various types of unskilled laborers. This was facilitated by the destruction of the rural economy of the region.

In addition, we showed that political developments in the country and the world affected the development of Kaduna greatly. The political development of independence during this period improved the status of Nigeria and Nigerians. Particularly, the new constitution of 1954 led to the transition from colonial rule to Independence. This constitutional development led to self-rule in the country and the establishment of the regions. Also, with the 1956 Kaduna Capital Territory Law, the territory of Kaduna was expanded from its previous limits to a wider one. Previously, it was only a township, and an exclusive of the Europeans, but with the KCT Law it now included other village settlements.

Nonetheless, the population of Kaduna did not grow rapidly. Essentially, its population during the period of colonial rule grew slowly and gradually to 39,000 by 1952. This slow growths is in contrast with subsequent period of its history when its population grew rapidly especially with the establishment of industries in the city from 1957. This will partly be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN NIGERIA, 1957-1986

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter we discussed the establishment and development of Kaduna up to 1957. It was shown that the economic basis of the city was dominated by the colonial administration. The administration was the major source of employment. It provided job opportunities for clerks, local government functionaries, artisans and various unskilled labourers. Therefore, the expediency of colonialism enhanced the development of the service sector of the economy. In addition, we also discussed the fundamental changes that took place in the latter part of the period. For instance, the 1954 constitution instituted the regional governments and saddled them with the responsibilities for formulating and implementing economic policies in the areas such as agriculture, education, regional roads and industry.

Our focus in this chapter will be to examine the nature and impact of the industrial establishments in the city from 1957 to 1986. The chapter has been organized as follows: First, we established the theoretical foundation of industrialization. Second, we examined the factors that led to the location of industries in Kaduna. And lastly, we analysed the implications of the location of industries on the process of urbanization of Kaduna.

Equally important, is the scope of the chapter. It starts in 1957, with the establishment of the Kaduna Textiles Limited, which was the first large scale manufacturing industry in the city.[92] The chapter terminates in 1986, with the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (S.A.P.) in the nation's economy, with its devastating effects on the industrialization process in the country.

[92] Paden J. **Op.cit**.,p.252

3.1 THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN KADUNA

3.1.1. What is Industrialization?

Industry is the characteristics institution of modern advanced societies. It is seen as the prime mover of political and social change in European and America during the past two centuries and because, of this, is in large measure the 'sub-structure' of the present social and cultural order.[93] The concept of 'industrial process' has no definite processes in all countries where it occurs. Rather, there are certain identifiable changes in the economic organization which could be described as an industrial revolution. According to Phyllis Deane, they include the following related changes:

> 1)widespread and systematic applications of modern science and empirical knowledge to the process of production for the market; 2)movement of economic activity directed towards production to national and international markets rather than for family or parochial use; 3)movement of population from rural to urban communities; 4)enlargement and depersonalization of the typical unit of production so that it comes to be based less on the family or the tribe and more on the corporate or public enterprises; 5)movement of labour from activities concerned with the production of primary products to the production of manufactured goods and services; 6) intensive and extends use of capital resources as a substitute for food and complement to human effort; 7)emergence of new social and occupational classes determined by ownership of or relationship to the means of production other than land, namely capital.[94]

It is these identifiable changes in the methods and characteristics of economic organization that has separated the industrialized and the non-industrialized countries of the world. The industrialized countries enjoy high income per head, in contrast to non-industrialized countries which constitutes the low-income group that compromises more than two-thirds of humanity. As a result, the gap in the standard of living between these two groups of rich and poor countries is not only in terms of quantity but also in terms of quality.

[93] Burns T (ed)., **Industrial Man**, 1973
[94] Phyllis Deane, **The First Industrial Revolution**,1974,p.1

This disparity in the standard of living and quality of notwithstanding, countries of the world are in a race of industrialize their economy and society. There are a number of factors for this rush towards industrial progress. First, it provides gainful employment to an increasing number of new entrants to the labour force. Second, it increases the per capital productivity by raising the living standard of the masses and generates sufficient savings for capital formation. Third, it improves the balance of payment situation, of the economy by producing goods for import-substitution and increasing exports.[95]

It is in the light of this, that industrialization has become a subject of interest to both government policy makers and researchers. And, its meaning varies. However, we have identified three different definitions of industrialization. For this study, industrialization as a concept will be seen in three ways:

First, according to Fairchild:

> It is the process of technological development by the use of applied sciences, characterized by the expansion of large-scale production with the use of power machinery for a wide range of market for both producers and consumers goods by means of a specialized work with division of labour, the whole accompanied by accelerated urbanization.[96]

The definition of Fairchild, like more definitions of this concept illustrates the role machine plays in displacing the manual mode of production. It entails the technological innovations that brought about the shift of production from home and small workshop to the factory system.[97] Like a leap and a moth, the concentration of factories in a particular place, automatically attracts labour in search of work. Hence, the economy and development of a settlement in established.

[95]Bahir.S.C. 'Large-Scale industries in India' in J.S. Uppal (ed) **India's Economic Problems**, p.71
[96]Fairchild, H.P. (ed) **Dictionary of Sociology**,1976,p.155
[97] Ibid,p.154

The second, definition is from the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, it states thus:-

> The creation of large-scale machine based production in all sectors of the national economy, especially manufacturing. Industrialization assures the predominance of production of manufactured goods in a country's economy and makes possible the transformation of an agrain or mostly country into a predominantly industrial country.[98]

The Soviet definition of the industrial process is industrial. For it points to the qualitative changes that industrialization brings to the society or an economy. An industrial economy basically employs more of the people in the manufacturing sector and less in the agricultural sector. On the contrary, in the pre-industrial economy, agriculture is the principal economic activity.[99]

Therefore, this definition points to the transformation of the economy from agrarian to predominantly industrial society. It is this feature of industrialization that transforms a peasant economy to an industrial economy.

Lastly, Alkasum Abba et.al, in their book ***The Nigerian Economic Crisis: Causes and Solutions***, defined it as:

> The process of developing the capacity of that country to master or locate, within its borders, the whole industrial production process: production of raw materials; production of intermediate products for other industries; fabrication of the machines and tools required for the manufacture of the desired products and of other machines; skills to operate, maintain and reconstruct, the machine and tools; skills to manage factories and to organize the production process[100].

To arrive at this definition, they discussed the nature of industrialization. It starts by identifying the wrong perception of the industrial process. It points out that it is wrong to assume industrialization to be industrial growth, increased number of plants available and indigenization of ownership of companies. Importantly, the definition is emphatic about domestication of the whole process of industrialization in a particular country, before the

[98] Prokhorov, A.M. (ed) **Great Soviet Encyclopedia**, vol.10,1970,p.264
[99] Phyllis D., **op.cit,**p.13
[100] Abba A., (et.al) **The Nigerian Economic Crisis: Causes and Solutions**,1985,p.18

process of industrialization can be attained. It focuses on the need to specialize on the production and organization of the industrial process without support or dependence from other countries.

On the whole, the definitions above have identified various aspects of industrialization. The definitions have shown how the dominance of factory system of production displaced home and small workshop production. It is this mass production of goods and services that led to the rise of industry. Also, industrialization as a concept, points to the transformation of the economy from a predominantly agrarian to industrial. It is this qualitative change that transforms a peasant economy into an industrial economy.

In concrete terms, mechanization proper of Nigeria's productive technique started in the 1950's. A number of indicators led to the rapid growth in the industrial sector were visible in the country. The process of industrialization however was accentuated by the competition of foreign enterprises for the Nigerian market and accelerated by the industrial policy of the Government[101]. This was in order to meet the post-independence aspiration of the electorate.

It is in line with meeting this national aspiration, that the ***First National Development Plan (1962-68)*** states:

> The basic objective of planning in Nigeria is not merely to accelerate the rate of economic growth and the rate at which the level of living of the population can be raised; it is also to give her an increasing measure of control over her own destiny. Nigeria should be in a position to generate from a diversified economy, sufficient income and savings of its own to finance a steady rate of growth with no more dependence on external sources for capital or manpower than is usual to obtain through the natural incentives of international commerce.[102]

Thus, the need to accelerate economic growth and the standard of living of the citizen became the driving force for the diversification of the economy. Ultimately, the various National Development Plans have led to more industrial establishments in the country.

[101] Ludwig Schatzl, **Industrialization in Nigeria: A Spatial Analysis**,1973,p.27
[102] Ministry of Economics Development, **National Development Plan 1962-68**,p.3

At this point, it is important to clarify two terms often used interchangeably but ought not to be the case. There is an ambiguity between the word 'manufacturing' and 'industry'. The two words are often used interchangeably in the literature. So that progress in manufacturing is ordinarily conceived as 'industrialization'. However, the use of the terms interchangeably is problematic.

The term 'industry', as a sector of the economy, is a combination of other sub-sectors. According to the United Nations, the term industry, embraces extractive mining, construction, electricity, water, gas as well as manufacturing. All these aspects of the industrial sector play significant role in the economic development of a nation.

On the other hand, 'manufacturing' is defined as the mechanical or chemical transformation of inorganic or organic substances into new products whether the work is performed by power driven machines homes or by hand, whether it is done in a factory or in the workers home and whether the products are sold wholesale or retail.[103] In line with this definition, the manufacturing sub-sector has been classified according to its performance by the "International Standard industrial Classification of All Economic Activities" (I.S.I.C) drawn up by the United Nations. And it is on this classification of the manufacturing sub-sector that this study was conducted:

[103] Roger Riddell, (ed), **Manufacturing Africa**. 1990,p.4

CLASSIFICATION OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES[104]

I.S.I.C Division	Code Major group	Industries
31	311/312	Manufacturing of Food, Beverages and Tobacco
	313	Food Manufacturing
	314	Beverage Industries
32		Textile, Wearing Apparel and Leather Industries
	321	Manufactures of Textile
	322	Manufacture of wearing apparel
	323	Manufacture of leather and products of leather, leather substitutes and fur
	324	Manufacture of footwear (from leather and textiles)
33		Manufacture of Wood and Wood Products, including Furniture
	331	Manufacture of wood and wood cork, products
	332	Manufacture of furniture and fixtures
34		Manufacture of Paper and Paper Products, Printing and Publishing
	341	Manufacture of paper and paper products
	342	Printing, publishing
35		Manufacture of Chemicals and of Chemical, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products.
	351	Manufacture of industrial chemicals
	352	Manufacture of other chemical products
	353	Petroleum refineries
	354	Manufacture of miscellaneous product of petroleum and coal
	355	Manufacture of rubber products
	356	Manufacture of plastic products

[104] Ludwig Schatzl, **op.cit**,p.40-41

36		Manufacture of Non-Metallic Mineral Products
	361	Manufacture of pottery, china and earthenware
	362	Manufacture of glass and glass products
	369	Manufacture of other non-mineral products
37		Basic Metal Industries
	371	Iron and steel basic industries
	372	Non-ferrous metal basic industries
38		Manufacture of Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery and Equipment
	381	Manufacture of fabricated metal products
	382	Manufacture of machinery
	383	Manufacture of electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies.
	384	Manufacture of transport equipment
	385	Manufacture of professional, scientific, measuring, controlling equipment, and of photographic and optical goods.
38		Other Manufacturing Industries (jewelry, musical instrument, sporting goods etc)

It is worth-nothing that the above classification of manufacturing is categorized into three basic group: These are Consumer/Light goods Industries; Intermediate goods Industries; and, Heavy/Capital Goods Industries. And, this categorization has produced 'models of industrialization'; namely the Capitalist Industrialization and Socialist Industrialization model.[105] The goal of industrialization has been achieved in many countries of the world through the adoption of one of these models.

Similarly, industries may be classified as primary, secondary, or tertiary industries. Primary industries use raw natural resources as major inputs. Agriculture, commercial fishing,

[105] Alkasum Abba, Comparative History of Industrialization, Hist403, Lecture Note

mining, and the forest industry are primary industries. They use farmland, oceans, mineral deposits, and forests, respectively, as their major inputs.

Secondary industries use producer goods to assemble their products. For example, the construction industry produces houses, other buildings, and roads. Its inputs include lumber manufactured by the forest industry. The largest group of secondary industries is the manufacturing industries. Manufacturing industries produce a vast array of consumer and producer goods, such as processed food, clothing, heavy machinery, automobiles, electronics, and household appliances.

Final products manufactured by secondary industries are classified as durable goods and nondurable goods. Durable goods are products that are used repeatedly over long periods of time, such as automobiles and washing machines. Nondurable goods are products that are used for a short period of time, such as disposable contact lenses, clothing, food, toothpaste, soap, and other items.

Tertiary industries are those that provide services. For example, retail stores, universities, hotels, banks, television stations, hospitals, and travel agencies are all tertiary industries. Also classified as tertiary industries are all forms of government activity, ranging from local trash disposal to the armed forces.[106]

From the above analysis/discussion, it is clear that the words 'manufacturing' and 'industry' are not synonymous. For, the manufacturing sub-sector is an aspect of the industrial sector. While, industry is a combination of many other sub-sectors; that include gas, water, electricity, construction, and extractive mining. Therefore, industry is not manufacturing and vice versa. The focus of this study is on the manufacturing sub-sector.

[106] James H and Hector S, "Industry", Microsoft Encarta, 2009.

3.1.2 WHAT IS IMPORT-SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIALIZATION

The source of growth analysis in the manufacturing sector is divided into three elements. These are domestic demands, export growth and import-substitution industrialization. Import substitution industrialization involves a channeling of resources in the direction of consumer goods production, often behind tariff walls.[107] This tariff protection was set up in order to establish industrial enterprises and correct the balance-of-payment deficit.

Nigeria after the Second World War, like most developing countries, experienced deteriorating balance-of-payment deficit which led to tariff protection. In particular, the merchandise imports for Nigeria, by the 1950's surpassed her exports every year until 1966, reaching a cumulative balance-of-payment deficit on current account of £621m, by the end of that year.

This deficit has been financed by the drawing down of accumulated reserves, private foreign investments, receipts of foreign aid grant, and external borrowing (£227m as of April 1965). In response to increasing balance-of-payments pressure as a result of the growing burden of debt servicing and the continuation of aggregate investments at a higher level than domestic savings, tariffs have been progressively raised to curtail imports and to increase public savings.[108] It is this exemption form income tax that laid the foundation for the import-substitution industrialization.

In order to establish the import-substitution industrialization in Nigeria, a series of fiscal incentives were promoted. The most important instruments for stimulating investment were held to be temporary exemption form income tax for enterprises which are accorded

[107] Abdullahi S.H., "A Critical Evaluation of Nigeria's Industrialization Strategies within the Context of the National Development Plans" in Usman Y.B.and Kwanshie G. (ed) in **Nigerian Economy and Society Since the Berlin Conference**, 1985,p.2
[108] Peter Kilby, **Industrialization in an Open Economy: Nigeria 1945-1966**,p.15

pioneer status, generous depreciation rates and a great variety of tariff concessions.[109] It is this exemption from income tax that laid the foundation for the import-substitution industrialization.

Stimulate both foreign and domestic investment in Nigerian manufacturing, the following incentives were put in place in the 1950's:

a. Income tax relief
b. Import duties relief on industrial inputs,
c. Accelerated depreciation allowances particularly on plant, for which 40 percent was chargeable in the first year.
d. Protective import duties or quota
e. Government purchases of domestic manufactures-the 'approved manufacturers'
f. The establishment of industrial estates
g. Reassuring declarations of intent with respect to foreign investments
h. Provision of capital, both by Regional and Federal Governments.[110]

These array of incentives and aid were very important for import substitution industrialization in Nigeria. For it constituted the largest source of Nigerian public revenue, and also protected Nigerian industries. Thus, incentives for private manufacturing and establishment of several of publicly-owned and operated firms[111], marked the beginning of modern (manufacturing) industrial development in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, import-substitution strategy of industrialization occurred in two forms. First, it occurred in the form of foreign trading enterprises and, second, it occurred in the form of industrial policy of government.

[109] Ludwig Schatzl,**op.cit**,p.30
[110] Helleiner G.K., **op.cit**,p.312
[111] Sara Berry and Carl Liedholm, 'Performance of the Nigerian Economy, 1950-1962' in Eicher C. and Liedholm C (ed) **Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy**, 1970,p.76.

3.1.3 ESSENTIALS OF THE IMPORT SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIALIZATION

Import substitution industrialization has played a vital role in the industrial history of Nigeria. The late premier of northern Nigeria in an address on the attainment of Regional self-government was emphatic on his government's belief that for successful industrial promotion, finance and experience must be imported from overseas. He remarked:

> My government clearly recognizes the vital role that overseas capital, and management and technical skills must play in expanding the northern region's economy. We warmly welcome the industrialist from abroad whose capital, ability and experience can earn an ample reward and at the same time bring progress to the north. It is in particular those who come here in a spirit of partnership who are welcome, we do not believe in rigid schemes designed to retain local control of business, but we are prepared to help sound schemes with local capital, especially those which make satisfactory arrangements for the employment, training and advancement of people of the region.[112]

Consequently, there was complete freedom to convert and transfer funds from Nigeria to other sterling areas believing that such liberalism and generosity would attract foreign investors. As a result of this 'open door policy' centres like Kano and Kaduna became attractive to such resident investors.[113] Also, the post-war trade boom became attractive to such resident investor from the national merchant class started to attract prospective investors to think of manufacturing some of the imports in the colonial territories instead of importing and distributing them. The result of the combination of these factors coupled with the equation that industrialism is power, was the vigorous pursuit of import-substitution industrialization in the major centers of Nigeria.

Essentially, import substitution industrialization has its manufacturing sectors oriented predominantly to domestic demand.[114] The domestic demand of this pattern of industrialization focuses essentially on consumer goods. The focus on consumer good is

[112] See: **The Industrial Potentialities of Northern Nigeria**, 1963; **Industrialist Guide to Northern Nigeria**, 1967; these publications provide information on the official views on the issue of industrialization in Northern Nigeria. Also John Paden,op.cit,p.53-54

[113] Bashir I.L. 'The Growth and Development of the Manufacturing Sector of Kano's Economy, 1950-1980'p.3

[114] Roger Riddell,**op.cit**,p.41

because of the low cost of investment. Also, the abundant demand for consumer goods is more, compared to the demand for capital goods and intermediate goods. The products of light manufactured sectors and consumer goods industries produced in the early years of Nigerian industrialization were beer, soft drink, foot-wear, biscuits, bricks, tiles, ceramics and textiles.

Importantly, this approach of industrialization entail the investment of resources in the direction of the production of consumer goods, behind tariff protection. The imposition of tariff is to increase the price of imported goods, and make it expensive for the consumer. On the other hand, the imposition of tariff excludes manufactured goods produced locally. Therefore, the price of locally produced goods is expected to be more affordable to the consumer than imported goods.

Beside tariff protection other restrictive policies have shown to be significant in promoting import-substitution industrialization. For example, a sum of approximately £73 million has been calculated, to represent a net saving on the import-substituting industrialization that took place between 1963 and 1968.[115] Thus, tariff protection and other deliberate government restrictive trade policies act as determinants of this manner of industrialization. Furthermore, import substitution industrialization is highly dependent on import. The import dependent nature of this strategy of industrialization has been aptly described as a *motley collection of unrelated, small and medium scale, fabricating and assembly plants, often requiring little more than screw drivers or tap waters to finish the manufacturing*.[116] This description gives the vivid nature of this strategy of industrialization. It shows how importation of goods forms the all-in-all of the process. This importation

[115] Egwim C.N., "Import-Substitution in a Theory of Economic Development: The Nigerian Case", Ph.D Thesis,p.154

[116]Sanusi Abubakar, 'A Critical Evaluation of Nigeria's Industrialization Strategies within the Context of the National Development Plans' in Usman Y.B. and Kwanashie G. (ed) in **Nigerian Economy and Society Since the Berlin Conference**,1985,p.13

usually entails items such as new material, machinery, spare parts material, equipment,[117] capital, entrepreneurship and technical skills.

Consequently, the import substitution policy laid the foundation for industrialization in most developing countries. Nigeria in particular adopted this strategy of industrialization in its First National Development Plan (1962-68). The goal was to create jobs and opportunities in non-agricultural occupations.

The adoption of the import-substitution industrialization (ISI) Industrial Development strategy became a logical consequence of the basic thrust of Nigeria's economic policy from 1960-1985. This favoured import-substitution industrial development strategy which influenced and conditioned the objectives of national development planning in the industrial sector.[118]

Kaduna, in particular, from a modest beginning of six (6) industrial establishments between 1950 and 1960, had the number of industries increased to about 332 by 1985. This means that there had been an increase of not less than 21 major Industrial categories distributed over five (5) industrial areas by 1985 namely: the Kaduna South Industrial Area, the Tudun Wada Industrial Area, the Kawo Light Industrial Area, the Kudenda Industrial Area and the Kaduna Refinery Industrial Area. Within a short period of five (5) years and only between 1981 and 1985 not less than 116 manufacturing of different classifications had been established. By 1985 a large number of single industrial concerns with between 3,000 and 11,000 workforce were in operation in Kaduna notably: the Kaduna Textile Limited (KTL), the Arewa Textile Limited, the Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited. These industrial

[117] Roger Riddell, **op.cit**,p.41
[118] Ibrahim James, **op.cit**,p.12

concerns transformed Kaduna from a mere capital city into a bustling commercial entrepot and nucleus of modern commercial hub in Nigeria.[119]

Table 7: The Number of new Manufacturing Surfaces in the Kaduna Region (1950-1985)

s/n	Decade	No of Establishment
1	1950-1960	6
2	1961-1970	36
3	1971-1980	174
4	1981-1985	116
	Total	332

Sources: S.A. Sati, "Industrial Development in the Kaduna Metropolitan Region" Valiant, Journal of the Nigerian Defence Academy-Special Edition. 1990 cited in Ibrahim James, **Kaduna State: The Challenge of Industrialization**,p.10

This strong growth of the industrial sector has been accounted for not only by private indigenous and foreign investment but also by government direct investment, especially under the Alhaji Balarabe Musa's P.R.P. government 1979-1982 that was determined to effect a reduction in spatial disparity involving the promotion of more and a fair distribution of industries in all parts of Kaduna State. The Alhaji Balarabe Musa led government was consistent in advocating for a balanced or equitable distribution in the location of industrial activities within the state.[120]

The stimulating impulse for the Balarabe Musa administration's Industrial policy was the ideological and philosophical foundation and colouration of the people-oriented character of the People's Redemption Party (P.R.P.) of establishing an industry in each of the Local Government Areas of Kaduna State in order to create jobs and enable the rural populace to live in dignity. Secondly, the P.R.P. administration was also probably responding to the new industrial policy thrust of the Alhaji Shehu Shagari's administration which chard the Federal Ministry of Industries with a number of statutory functions which inter-alia include:

i. Accelerating the pace of industrial development in Nigeria

[119] Ibid,p.14.
[120] Ibid,p.9

ii. Ensuring a proper control and direction of industrial development in the best interest of the nation

iii. Monitoring both public and private investments in industry to promote efficiency and encourage even development of the country.

At the inception of the Shehu Shagari administration in 1979, efforts were made to review previous industrial objectives and policy in the face of the past unsatisfactory performance by the manufacturing sector. To this effect, a booklet on, 'Nigerian Industrial Policy and Strategy: Guidelines to Investors' was for the first time in Nigeria's industrial history launched by the Ministry of Industries in October, 1980. The booklet contains basic information which were to guide and assist investors in their investment decisions.

Implicit in the Industrial Policy guidelines is that industrialists are enjoined to adopt a number of approaches in setting up industries in Nigeria, namely:

1. Resource-based approach
2. Integrated approach
3. Export-oriented approach

From all indications, the decision by the Balarabe Musa's P.R.P. led government in Kaduna state 1979-1981 was in consonance and in conformity with some of these industrial policy approaches. For example, the resource-based approach dictated the establishment of the Kachia Ginger Processing Fibre Factory in Kachia town. So also was the decision to establish the Ikara Tomato Processing Factory in Ikara because of the large surplus of tomatoes, pepper, onions etc, recorded during harvest season in Ikara, Soba, Anchau and Lere Local Government Areas of Kaduna State. By the same token, the establishment of the Kafanchan flour Mill in the 1980 was informed by the large grains and sorghum harvest recorded during the harvest season. The spatial distribution of these industries took cognizance of such basic

realities as resource localization, the other considerations were the equity principal underlying this policy.[121]

On the whole, in order to promote industrial commercial enterprises, the state government put in place several facilities. In Kaduna and Zaria up to seven and four industrial estates respectively have been laid out and provided with access roads, water and power. Other incentives include pioneer status scheme to survive the initial capital outlay and other related problems are granted tax holidays for the first 3 to 5 years of their operations. Approved user scheme provides for transfer of profit and dividends arising from investments in accordance with tax. Government also facilitates promotional activities and the provision of the relevant investment investors on consultancy basis. It also facilitates project evaluation to determine viability. Government also assists applicants in their industrial plot-acquisition efforts.[122]

3.1.4. PROBLEMS OF IMPORT-SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIALIZATION

Import substitution industrialization, despite the many industrial enterprises it has established imbued with various problems. This inherent limitation has led to the stagnation of the industrial process after certain phase of growth. This is because the incentives provided, in the form of tariff protection for the establishment of the manufacturing industries overtime often gives rise to inefficiency. It is in this light that Soligo and Stern pointed out that:

> Import substitution, in so far as it departs from the principle of comparative advantage, may saddle a country with high cost industries (which) may turn out to be so inefficient that the amount of protection that has to be provided to them is greater than their contribution.[123]

The inherent contradiction in import-substitution adversely affects the industrialization process and the economy in general. The adverse effects cumulates in inefficiency in the

[121] Ibid,p.14-16
[122] Ibid,p.22
[123] R. Soligo and J. Stern, 'Tariff Protection, Import Substitution and Investment Efficiency' **Pakistan Development**, vol.5 (Summer, 1965)p.249-270. See. Egwim, op.ci,p.156

manufacturing sector. The following are the problems of import-substitution industrialization: The first problem of the import-substitution industrialization is the high cost of manufactured products. This is as a result of the protection provided in the form of tariff and other incentives which results in high costs of the locally manufactured products. According to Egwim, the restrictive trade policies make it possible for the value added of domestic manufacturing activities to exceed what they will be under free trade.[124]

In order words, this high-cost structure has been due to inefficiencies originating in and perpetuated by rising levels of protection and erection of other barriers to external competition. Such as persistence of overvalued exchange rates, but most especially, through quantitative restrictions placed on competing imports.[125] Importantly, the price tariff indicates that where a country's price is distorted by tariff, firms can have positive value added in domestic currency even though its value added is negative when all commodities are valued at world prices.[126] Thus, the highly distorted price by tariff makes manufacturing enterprises record negative value for their commodities at world prices.

Also vulnerability to fluctuations in the international market is another problem of import-substitution industrialization. Essentially, import-substitution is heavily dependent on imports. It depends on imports for raw materials, intermediate and capital goods upon which it relies for effective execution. So, for nations like Nigeria that is dependent on oil for its revenue, any fluctuation in oil-prices is disastrous for the manufacturing sector. And, dependence on foreign sources of supply and exchange is very crucial to import-substitution industrialization.

[124] Ibid,p.156
[125] Roger Riddell,op.cit,p.36
[126] Lewis Stephen and Guisinger Stephen, "Measuring Protection in a Developing Country: The Case of Pakistan", Journal of Political Economy, vol.76(1968) in Egwim,op.cit,p.15

In addition, the manufacturing technology of import-substitution industrialization which is essentially imported from abroad without major modifications[127] is highly dependent on skilled labour. The bias for skilled labour makes income distribution uneven. This is because only a few available industrial workers earn the greatest percentage of the nation's income while the masses are left to near subsistence levels.[128] Also, government's emphasis on industrialization has led to neglect of the agricultural sector. The various incentive programs were formulated to induce more foreign investments in the manufacturing sector, while only a token amount of foreign capital went to the agricultural sector.

Secondly, low technology light industries were observed to dominate in the industrial structure.[129] Thus, the two most elementary subsectors: foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco, textiles, footwear and clothing-contributed just over half of the total value added of nearly ₦500 million and about the same proportion of the total employment of 168,000. Conversely, production of intermediate goods was relatively weak and engineering negligible, more especially in high technology areas. Intermediate production consisted largely in petroleum refining, saw milling type manufacturing and cement and concrete products, and there was very little output of basic industrial chemicals, fertilizers and pesticides. In the mechanical industries, production was mainly of structural and fabricated metal products and metal furniture and fixtures, and there was little real engineering output in the form of mechanical industries, production was mainly of structural and fabricated metal products and metal furniture's, and there was little real engineering output in the form of machinery and transport equipment.

Finally, the ***Fourth National Development Plan, 1980-1985*** aptly states the problem of import substitution industrialization, as follows:

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[127] Helleiner, G.K. **op.cit**,p.330
[128] Egwim,**op.cit**,p.51
[129] Ibrahim James,**op.cit**,p.35-36

> "…the manufacturing sector is still to make significant impact on the structure of the economy by way of contribution to GDP, provision of employment, enhancement of the value of natural resources, foreign exchange conservation and promotion of wider and more effective linkages among the different sectors of the economy. It has also not contributed to the attainment of self-reliance in the supply of goods."[130]

In conclusion, it is these various problems of import substitution industrialization as well as other factors that made the industrial development in most developing countries, like Nigeria, a costly failure.

3.2 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES IN KADUNA

The location of industries in Kaduna must be examined from the background of industrial development in Northern Nigeria. The industrialization of the region became a matter of concern to the House of Assembly in the late colonial era and it dominated the sessions of the House.[131] It is in the light of industrializing the region, that Calico Printers Association (C.P.A.), a large British firm, proposed to build a spinning mill in the northern region.

It was assumed that since industry, for a variety of reason, tends to concentrate, and there is no doubt that this spinning mill will act as the focal point a round which other industries will in time congregate. In another word, the provision of roads, electricity and water will attract other industrial enterprises.

Stanhope White, director of Local Industries, suggested three potential sites. The sites were:-

a. Near Kaduna Town
b. At Jebba on the River Niger, and
c. At Makurdi on the River Benue

[130] **Fourth National Development Plan**, 1980-1985,p.136
[131] NAK, Min-tra-Ind. JB.22-AZ, Industrial Area: Kaduna Policy. Extracted from File 18/3.9/A (24th March, 1952) page46,

All these places are in the Northern Region. Sites (b) and (c) were suggested as alternatives in the event of site (a) proving unsuitable. For Stanhope White and the other top northern officials, Kaduna was the most suitable site for the location of the spinning mill.

But the Senior Resident Zaria Province did not agree with the choice of Kaduna. He pointed out that Kaduna possesses many disadvantages, such as; the absence of surplus population to supply labour force and that there is no high rate of agricultural production in the area to feed such workers. If it is considered desirable that this industrial area should be in a heavily populated area in order to satisfy these requirements, then a site in the Benue Province may have many advantages. In addition, the Senior Resident Zaria Province Zaria point out the failure of policy to attract settlers to the areas in Zaria Province recently cleared of tsetse and the resettlement scheme in Jema'a.[132] These matters are further dealt with in what follows, but a decision must be made, balancing the various advantages and disadvantages of the possible sites, as to where the first industrial site in the Region, should be situated.

This objection to the Kaduna site, because of food supplies, notwithstanding, White insisted that the advantages of a site to the west of Kakuri down stream from the Junction, far outweighs the objections. He, therefore, arranged with the Survey Department to inspect through their stereoscope serial photographs of the area bounded by the Kaduna river to the north, the Lagos railway to the east, the line of the $10^0$25' parallel of north latitude to the south, and the Topo river to the west.

The Civil Secretary of the Northern Region gave approval to the choice of Kaduna as the suitable site for the proposed spinning and weaving mill. Furthermore, he gave Stanhope White permission to make the necessary preparations for examination by representatives of

[132] Kaduna, Development of an Industrial Estate.

the Calico Printers Association.[133] In line with this directive from the Civil Secretary, Stanhope White began preparations in earnest. This he did by informing the directors of the task at hand, through a letter titled 'Industrial Development, Northern Region'. The directors were those of P.W.D, Geological Survey, Survey Department, and the Regional Engineer and Manager. The details of the information are as follows:

Industrial Development, Northern Region

> It is obvious that an area of several square miles is going to be required for the factory area, a residential area for 100 senior service staff, and an operative town of say 30,000 people plus auxiliary services of about another 10,000. Furthermore industry attracts industry, and there is reason to believe that other firms will follow the first and indeed a second, though very small firms is pursuing similar enquiries and I may be able in the next week or so to give their requirements additional to the above. Additionally, such a town will probably require the provision of services which already exists in existing towns in the shape of food supplies, and we may well have to consider a corn storage and milling plant with its extra demands for water etc. such an area needs good communications and water, for a variety of reason…, the area south of the Kaduna River to the west of the present junction area, must first be considered. If as a result of these preliminary enquiries there appear to be insuperable obstacles, it will be necessary to start again with some place in the Region. But for the moment, I would be grateful if you would consider the area lying between Kaduna Junction and the Romi River. I have already confirmed from the Nigerian Railway authorities that, subject to accurate survey and the placing of buildings and railway in the light of that survey, there are no objections to a siding from the reconstructed Kaduna Junction station in a roughly westerly direction to serve one or more factories placed near the river bank. It appears that the high ground to the south-responding to the ridge in which Kaduna stands-would be ideal for a town site.[134]

[133] NAK, Extract from File Sec.29/S.1, 9th Feb 1953, p.89
[134] Ibid, Extracts from File 18/S.9/A , 6TH March, 1953.p.88-89

The factors will be examined below.

Availability of Raw Materials: The availability of raw materials in the region was an important factor in the location of industrial firms in the city. Industries are established in area with high concentration of raw materials to minimize the cost of transportation. The availability of cotton, bafts and shirting in Kaduna accounts for the establishment of several textile industries in Kaduna.

In an investigation for the formation of a large spinning and weaving mill in the north, the role of raw materials was important as a factor of industrial location. The factory to be established will draw its raw materials of cotton from various parts of the northern region, bafts and shirtings, the main forms of textiles used in the region. Also, the Cotton Marketing Board has given an undertaking to make supplies of cotton lint available to approved local mechanized processors at a price related to the agreed price ex-ginnery. It is obvious therefore, that there is enough cotton in the Region to supply Nigeria's needs of bafts and shirtings and still leave, in good year, some for exports.

In order to be near the centers of production cotton lint, and also in order not to be far removed from the main markets for shirtings and bafts, the Textile mill must be located so near to Zaria as possible, but water problems are such that Kaduna is the further-rest place northwards that can supply the water required.

LABOUR

The representatives of the firm asked for full details of local wage rates in the building and allied trades in Kaduna. This is in order to estimate building cost for the possibility of establishing a large factory.[135] The Asst Commissioner of Labour, Proctor G.D., provided

[135] NAK Ibid No.383/S.1/33, 12th March 19653.

details by sending the wage rates for general and special labour in Zaria Province, are as follows:

Table 8: Wage Rate for Labour in Zaria Province

	1. Whole Province excluding Kaduna urban area, Zaria Urban area and Maigana and Awai village areas	2. (i) Zaria Urban Area (i.e. the area within a circle of 15 miles radius from Zaria. (ii) Maigana and Awai village area	3. Kaduna Urban area (i.e. the area within a circle of 15 miles radius from Kaduna)
General Labour: 4 increments at 1d each 4 years	1/8d-2/-	2/1d-2/5d	2/3d-2/7d
Special Labour Grade III 4 increments at 2d each 3 years	1/9d-2/1d	2/2d-2/6d	2/4d-2/8d
Special Labour Grade II 3 increments at 2d each 3 years	2/9d-3/3d	2/9d-3/3d	3/-36/d
Special Labour Grade I 4 increments at 3d each 2 years	3/6d-4/6d	3/6d-4/6d	3/9d-4/9d

Skilled Artisan and Allied Grades

Class III tested	6/-	6/6d	7/-	7/6d	8/-	8/6d
Class II tested	9/-	9/6d	10/-			
Class I tested	10/6d	11/-	11/6d	12/-	12/6d	13/-

Railway Connections: In a corresponding report to S.J. Moore, the Civil Secretary Northern Region, Stanhope White, Director of Local Industries, showed the preliminary steps which are required with regard to the site.[136]

Stanhope, reported that the General Manager of the Nigerian Railway gave the figure of £18,000 a mile for railway extensions. He confirmed that the Railway authorities wish any siding that may be necessary to start from an existing station, and not, as in the case of the

[136] Ibid, File:No. Sec.29/s.1. 19th Feb,1953.p.73

Challawa waterworks sidings at Kano, from open line. He stated the Railway would prefer a C.P.A. factory to be sited on the existing 'metal quarry' siding which lies between the Jos and Lagos main lines.

Geological Department: This department was asked for its views on the site, from several points. Such as: Are the river banks firm or will it meander? Will training banks be necessary? If tube wells and thus thrust pipes are necessary, can they advise? If there was an underground reservoir between the outcrop of rock near the bridge and the rapids west of the suggested site (as at Kano) which will supply a vast amount of water? On the 17th March 1953, the Director of Geographical Survey Department responded back to White's inquiries. He pointed out the following. The main in question is underlain by banded gnesses, similar to that underlying the Kaduna Junction and Kaduna area. Also, the present course of the Kaduna River may, for practical purposes, be regarded as permanent, but it of course be advisable not to site the industrial and residential building right on the river bank. As, there should be no need for the constructions of the training wall. Lastly, the Director pointed out that, water supplies will have to be obtained from the Kaduna River as ordinary wells within the factory area will not yield an adequate supply. It may be necessary ultimately to dam the Kaduna River at some convenient site upstream.[137]

On the whole, Mr. S. White summarized the preparations of the various departments to the Financial and Development Secretary, as follows:

a. Railway: are suitable for a siding to serve an industrial estate subject to proper siting of building, consultation with Railway Authorities will be necessary at all stages of planning.
b. Water: minimum supply six million (6,000,000) gallons per day will give enough for an industrial area plus township of 60,000 people
c. Geology: ground suitable for factory buildings; course or river can be taken as constant; buildings should not be close to bank, however.
d. Survey: area in question is not allocated to any other Government use.

[137] Ibid.p.100

e. Electricity: the area is suitable from the point of view of plant extensions and for a supply from Shiroro. The Corporation wants to deal directly with the firm about this matter.
f. Government Chemists: water analyses were obtained. [138]

It is these criteria to a great extent that qualified Kaduna as an industrial site. Despite the choice of Kaduna as an industrial site, the establishment of industrial development in the area was absent. It was on 3rd December, 1954 that the Ag. Civil Secretary for the Northern Region, Olajide A., made the point as regards the 'Land in Light Industrial Area of Kaduna' that the whole question of the citing of industry in the North is in process of being considered. He added that, it has been necessary to await the receipt of the Report of the International Bank Mission, which just arrived, so that expert view might be available. So that, the question of industrial site can be considered as a whole, and not merely in relation to Kaduna. It would perhaps be desirable to await the outcome of the deliberations on the general question before setting in train action n the particular example in order that the desired scale of the Kaduna project may be known.[139]

On the 13th January, 1955 a definite stage was reached where a definite industrial area was set aside in Kaduna. To meet the International Bank's recommendation that industrial sites should be available.[140] This industrial estate was to provide assistance to industrialization to industrialists in two ways. First, it will provide factory units for letting to tenants whose financial resources are insufficient to enable them build and equip their own independent factories. Secondly, it is intended to run the estate as a commercial venture to determine its viability in Nigeria condition. [141]

[138] Ibid,113
[139] NAK, Ibid,No.62866/13, 3rd December 1954.
[140] NAK
[141] Federation of Nigeria, **The Economic Program of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, 1955-60**,1956.p.24

In October 1957, a major element in the Northern Region industrial strategy started operation, the Kaduna Textiles Limited. The total cost was £1,250,000 and the agreement was between Messrs. David Whitehead and Sons, Ltd of Rawtenstall, Lancashire, the Northern Regional Marketing Board and the Northern Regional Production Development Board. The factory was equipped with 14,000 spindles and 300 automated looms.[142] Thus the establishment of KTL marked the beginning of large scale industry in Kaduna. After the establishment of KTL, other large scale industries were established in Kaduna. They include the following. Industrial Gases, United Nigeria Textiles, Super Phosphate Fertilizer, Peugeot Automobile Assembly Plant, Nigeria Breweries, Kaduna Textiles, Thomas Wyatt, Northern Nigeria Textiles, Moukrim Industries, Critall-Hope, Arewa Textiles, Zamafara Textiles, Turners Cement Asbestos, Nortex and Nigeria Defence Industry.[143]

A brief survey of the major industries is given below to show the rate of growth in relation to the size and the role of the city itself. Until the early sixties, the government and the firms in Kaduna were the main employers of labour, but the opening of numerous factories since 1957 has made the industrial sector the largest employer of labour. One of the first notable industries established was the Nigerian Breweries, Ltd. It first started producing mineral water only, with the plant covering 23 acres and producing 750,000 gallons of soft drinks annually. It employed 300 workers initially, but the number increased to over 600 after the brewery started to produce Star Beer. Later the Guilder brand of beer was introduced. The factory of the Kaduna Textiles Ltd., whose foundation stone was laid by the late premier of the then Northern Nigeria, Sir Ahmadu Bello in March 1956, started production in 1957. The cost was put at two million naria (₦2,000,000) and production started at 80,000 yards of cloth

[142] Paden, J.N.,**op.cit**,p.265
[143] Idris J.N.,**op.cit**.p.265

per week. By March 1958, the factory had 600 workers on the three shifts. Furthermore, the textile mills stimulated other manufacturing and service industries.[144]

These large manufacturing firms led to rapid industrial growth in Kaduna. These firms produced a wide variety of goods and services. Also, it employed about 25% of the population.[145] Besides, it was the highest paying sector of the economy of Kaduna apart from the public sector. (see Table 9)

Table 9: Employment Per Employed Persons By Sectors of Economic Activity in Kaduna

Sector	Employment		Average annual per employer persons (₦)
	No of Persons	%	
Agriculture	7,200	11.1	240
Mining	100	-	260
Manufacturing: Large Scale Small and Craft	 16,000 7,000	 24.7 11.1	 500 400
Commerce	20,000	30.9	440
Building and Construction	3,000	4.6	280
Government in General	6,000	9.3	800
Others	5,000	7.7	360
Total	64,900	100.0	460

Source: Dioxidis Associates International, 1973, p.27, cited from Idris, op.cit, p.16

Importantly, the textile industry is the highest employer of industrial labour in Kaduna. In fact Kaduna had the highest concentration of textile mills in the country, as such it was refered to as 'the Manchester of Nigeria'. In addition to the several textile industries, a wide variety of other industries were also established in the city. These include paper products, printing and publishing, brewery, a car assembly plant, asbestors-cement products etc.

[144] Medugbon, op.cit.p.298
[145] Ibid,p.15

Table 10: The Industrial Structure of Kaduna, 1975 (Major Establishment)

S/n	Industry	No of forms	Labour Employment	Products
1	Textiles	6	14,200	Textile goods
2	Printing and Publishing	3	1,096	Commercial printing and Newspaper
3	Paper products	1	78	Stationeries
4	Industrial Gases	1	17	Oxygen and allied goods
5	Cement-Asbestos	1	308	Pipes, roofings etc
6	Furniture making	3	330	School, office, furniture etc
7	Metal products	3	500	Motor body buildings
8	Surgical products	1	360	Hospital Lint bandages
9	Brewery	1	502	Beer and soft drinks
10	Bakery	2	136	Cakes, bread etc
11	Car Assembly	1	600	Peugeot Cars
12	Fertilizer (June, 1975)	1	260	Super-phosphate fertilizer
13	Defence	1	n.a.	Ammunition
	Total	25	18,387	

Source: Federal Office of Labour, Kaduna and Idris, Ibid, p.18

In sum, different locations in the northern region were suggested as possible sites for locating industries. These locations were Kaduna, Makurdi and Jebba, all proved to have potential for industrial development. The factors in the choice of Kaduna were transportation, market, availability of raw materials, proximity to areas of raw materials and strategic location, availability of labour, and availability of infrastructural facilities like water and electricity etc.

The role of government was another important factor in the choice of Kaduna as an industrial city. Giving approval for the location of industries in Kaduna, Sir Ahmadu Bello, said '….my colleagues and I strongly believe that Kaduna is the showroom for business in the

whole of the northern region.'[146] With this strong declaration from the premier one is not surprise at the concentration of industries in Kaduna.

3.3 IMPLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROCESS ON URBANIZATION IN KADUNA METROPOLIS, 1957-1986

This section focuses on the social and economic and demographic changes that took place as a result of the process of industrialization on urban development in Kaduna. The discussion focuses on: migration, residential development, formation of working class, urban development, and impact of the growth of Kaduna on its hinterland.

3.3.1 MIGRATION

A very important implication of the establishment of industries is the increase migration of skilled and unskilled workers to the city. For instance, within a decade, Kaduna's population grew from 39,000 in 1952 to 149,000 in 1963.[147] The demand for a workforce in the industries and the consequent boom in the commercial and service sectors account for this rapid growth in Kaduna. The census for 1963 shows the breakdown of the population figure in Kaduna into eight different groups. It goes as follows:

Table 11: Kaduna: Population by Age Group (1963)

S/n	Age group	Population	Percentage
1	Under 5 years	23,000	15.8
2	5-14 yrs	28,000	18.0
3	15-24 yrs	40,000	26.9
4	25-34 yrs	35,000	23.9
5	35-44 yrs	13,800	8.0

[146] Sir, Ahmadu Bello,p.190 cited from Oyedele,op.cit,p.475. Importantly, the late premier in an address on the attainment of Regional self-government was emphatic in his government's belief that for successful industrial promotion finance and experience must be imported from overseas. He remarked: My government clearly recognizes the vital role that overseas capital, and management and technical skills must play in expanding the northern region economy. We warmly welcome the industrialist from abroad whose capital, ability and experience can earn an ample reward and at the same time bring progress to the north. It is in particular those who came here in a spirit of partnership who are welcome we do not believe in rigid schemes designed to retain local control of business, but we are prepared to help sound scheme with local capital, especially advancement of people of this region.

[147] Max Lock and Partners,**op.cit**,p.475

6	45-54 yrs	5,100	0.8
7	55-64 yrs	1,700	0.7
8	65 and above	1,000	0.7
	Total	149,000	100.0

Source: 1963 census cited in Oyedele E.op.cit,p.

Kaduna's growth in this period was quite spectacular. The pace and pattern of migration to the city in comparison to earlier periods was rapid and dramatic. In the first place, there was a large influx of job seekers from different socio-cultural backgrounds, and from all parts of the country to Kaduna.[148]

Earlier, it was the British conquest and subsequent evolution of the colonial economy that was the basis for which migration played an integral part in the urbanization of Kaduna, and Nigeria.[149] The conquest of the region by the British had a devastating impact on the economy of pre-colonial northern Nigeria. It resulted into higher taxation, forced labour, compulsory cultivation of export crops and frequent famines for the peasantry. Thus, it was the dislocation of the indigenous economy that forced migrants to areas of colonial activity like Kaduna.

The dislocation of the local economy led to large influx of job seekers from the rural areas into Kaduna. Many of my informants attest to the fact that it was the search for job that brought them to Kaduna. At other times, they stressed that it was a relative who worked with the textile industry that brought them to the city. Cletus Shehu, one of my informants, is a good example of migrants in this category. Cletus was born in Kamantan, one of the rural areas in Kaduna state. He was brought to Kaduna by his elder brother, a staff of UNTL. The brother brought him to fill a vacant position in the company. This implies that the establishment of industry in Kaduna led to rural-urban migrations.

[148] Oyedele E.,op.cit,p.429
[149] Ibid,p.179

Equally important, is the fact that the educational qualification of the immigrants in this period included high level professionals from various fields. These include technicians, artisans, teachers, mechanics, carpenters, masons etc. These migrations led to a major structural change in urban employment, from one that was largely based on administration and commerce to one essentially based on industry and the service. The table beneath clearly brings out the structure of important manufacturing industries in Kaduna

Table 12: The labour Structure of Kaduna, 1973 (Important Industries)

S/No		1	2	3	4	5	Total	%
1	Textiles	370	108	360	8,266	4,596	14,200	77.2
2	Printing and publishing	6	45	247	606	192	1,096	5.96
3	Car Assembly	50	98	42	306	50	600	3.26
4	Brewery	8	16	125	173	180	502	2.73
5	Metal products	12	12	30	280	116	500	2.72
6	Surgical products	111	9	40	120	180	360	1.96
7	Furniture products	6	6	19	75	124	330	1.72
8	Cement Asbestos	3	5	39	28	233	308	1.68
9	Fertilizer	40	68	18	90	44	260	0.41
10	Banking	-	2	13	52	69	136	0.74
11	Paper products	3	3	9	13	50	78	0.42
12	Industrial gases	-	-	1	9	6	17	0.10
	Total	510	372	1,443	10,890	5,890	18,387	100

1. Non-Nigerian (Management)
2. Nigerian Professional and Management
3. Clerical
4. Skilled
5. Unskilled

The figure does not include casual labour which runs into thousands in some cases, especially textiles. (Source: Medugbon,op.ict, cited in Oyedele, Ibid,p.254)

It must be pointed out that during the 1960's, the Nigerian civil war gave an additional push to the process of industrial growth. Even though the war was to shelter the post-independence enthusiasm among residents investors to invest in Nigeria as a whole, this was only temporary. Shortly, after the dust raised by the Igbo's exodus from the North settled, and the euphoria of war faded away, there was created opportunities from which entrepreneurs generated resources which was used to diversify into other businesses. Such opportunities included contracts of all types from which resources were generated alike, the various steps

taken by the government to conserve its foreign exchange by barring certain imports, also provided opportunities and the patronage to manufacture these goods in Nigeria. This together with the other conditions mentioned above, attracted manufacturers to diversify their activities thus boosting the development of Kano's manufacturing sector and similarly Kaduna.

3.3.2. URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The influx of migrants to Kaduna during this period (1957-1986) led to the haphazard organization of its urban space. The city has been fortunate to have plans from its inception in 1913, and two others before 1967,[150] which helped to influence the control of its urban space. But with the establishment of industries in the city as the population grew rapidly. As a result, Kaduna lost its prestige as a planned city and became like other cities.

It is worth-noting that in the organization of urban space in Kaduna, the military establishment constituted an important force. For a large part of Kaduna's land area by 1965 was army land occupied by a population estimated at about 10% of the city's total.[151] This implies that the Armed forces held almost a third i.e. 4,800 acres of the allocated land in Kaduna; and over 90% of this was in the area of the army cantonment and airforce base. Thus indicating the in-proportionate acquisition of land by the military.

The table below shows land usage in Kaduna, as at 1965.

Table 13: Land Use Allocation, 1965

	Land Use	Acres	Percentage
1	Armed Forces (Army Cantonment and Air force base military)	4,860	28.8
2	Housing Low Density	3,490	20.7
3	Housing High Density	2,490	14.8
4	Institutional research establishment and public buildings	2,100	14.8
5	Health, Education and Training	1,100	6.6

[150] Shuaibu A. B., 'Kaduna Conference Center', M.Sc Thesis,1987,p.16-18
[151] Oyedele E., **op.cit**,p.540

6	Railway, Water and Electricity	720	4.3
7	Open spaces, cementries	680	4.0
8	Industrial-productive	680	4.0
9	Commercial-Distributive	520	3.0
10	Government-Administrative (Employment centers of Hospital Road and Survey depts. In Kaduna South)	210	1.3
	Total	16,900	100.0

Source: Max Lock, op.cit,p.91 cited in Oyedele E, Ibid,p.568

The table above shows how some areas were set aside for specific establishments. This is made possible because all land is owned by government. But with the large increase in the population of Kaduna, there was an apparent insatiable demand for houses by industrial workers. The problem of housing was particularly severe with junior and intermediate workers. This is obvious considering their low wages and income that good family housing was beyond the reach of this urban poor.

In fact, several works have shown that urban workers in most African countries spend 20-25% and sometimes up to 40% of their monthly income on rent. The studies have also revealed that low income households spend a higher proportion of their incomes on rent than is the case among middle-income group and the upper ruling class.[152] This high level of urban rent in relation to income seriously affected majority of the population in Kaduna, especially the industrial workers.

3.3.3. RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

The establishment of industries in Kaduna also, led to spatial growth of the metropolis. This is because Kaduna's spatial growth in the early part of its history especially from 1946-to C.1957 was concentrated in Kaduna North. On the other hand, beginning from our period from 1957 onwards, growth was centered in Kaduna South.[153] Essentially, Kaduna's phenomenal growth of the sixties and seventies were concentrated in Kaduna South. Also, the

[152] Ibid,p.548
[153] See.Max Lock and Partner, for graphic details of this illustration.

two parts expanded along the extension of the original main axial route that runs due north and south, parallel to the Lagos-Kano railway.

Importantly, a notably feature in the spatial growth of Kaduna was the emergence and rapid growth of satellite villages around the urban core. This new pattern of spatial development was a direct product of the unprecedented influx of immigrants as a result of the expansion of commerce and industries in the city.[154] The Satellite villages include: Unguwar Sarkin Muslumi, Unguwar Shanu, Unguwan Rimi, Tudun Nupawa, Makera, Kakuri, Kabalan Doki, Barnawa and Kawo. Generally, most of the settlements are characterized by haphazard growth without provisions for access roads, drainage, social uses, markets and restricted building regulations.

Of these village settlements, two of which were established during the period of study following the industrial development came to play a critical role. The villages are Makera and Kakuri, situated in present day Kaduna South Local Government. In particular, the establishment of the first textile mill in West Africa by the Sardauna Sir, Ahmadu Bello, transformed Kakuri from a rural community into a cosmopolitan sub-urban area.[155] And with the establishment of other textile factories in Kakuri, the settlement became synonymous with textiles.

Our findings showed that Kakuri was bee-hive of activities for the textile manufacturing. For example, UNTL alone employed 8,000 workers; and KTL, Arewa Textiles, Finetex and Nortex and other subsidiaries within Kakuri in this period generated employment of about 30,000.[156] The table beneath shows the immense role the textiles

[154] Oyedele E.,op.cit,p.443
[155] The Textile Worker, 'Kakuri: Digging into Kaduna's dying Industrial Center', in **Re-Industrialize Nigeria, Create Jobs!** Vol.4.No.30.April 2009,p.10
[156] Ibid.

factories played in pulling labour to the area through the provisions of employment generation.

Table 14: Textile Factories in Kaduna and Employees (1965 and 1973)

S/No	Firm	No of Employees	
		1965	1973
1	Kaduna Textiles Ltd	2,833	5,000
2	Norspin	1,050	1,965
3	Arewa Textile Ltd	937	1,618
4	United Nigerian Textile Ltd	374	1,850
5	Northern Nigeria	600	1,400
6	Nortex	900	2,060 (1974)

Source: NAK, North Regional Ministry of Social Welfare and Commercial Development; File 1010, statistics; and Medugbon, op.cit, p.209

Besides the Textile industries located in the Kakuri-Makera area, other manufacturing industries also played significant role to the development of the area. These industrial establishments include: Nigerian Breweries, Arewa Metal Company, Peugeot Automobile and Queen's Aluminum. All these industries attracted a large labour force to the settlement, hence the area developed into a working class settlement.

Table 15: Kaduna Employment Structure 1973 (Excluding Government and Public Corporation)

S/No	Industries	No of workers (Including Managerial skilled and unskilled)			
		1963	1966	1969	1972
1	Textiles	5,209	6,789	14,272	17,239
2	Food and Drinks	303	6,046	1,254	1,847
3	Timber/Furniture and Metal	152	146	222	218
4	Paper and printing etc	104	799	888	807
5	Other manufacturing industry.	-	627	297	886
	Total		10,037	17,670	20,987

Source: Oyedele, Ibid, p.302

3.3.4 PROLETARIZATION AND WORKING CLASS FORMATION:-

Following the establishment of industries in the Kaduna metropolis the workers began to organize themselves into labour unions with the development of a large labour force in the

city. The institution of trade unions to protect the interest of the workers is one of the critical contributions of the manufacturing industry on Kaduna. In the textile industry, for example, before the establishment of the textile workers' union, the workers were treated like slaves. Minor offences attracted indiscriminate forfeiture of pay for some days and sometimes weeks.[157] It was this kind of managerial despotism that working class consciousness sought to challenge.[158]

The location of large labour intensive industries in Kaduna was pivotal to this attitude towards industrial relations. The textile mills in Kaduna, in terms of ownership, was dominated by transnational capital, the Chinese in the UNTL Group, Japanese in Arewa Textiles, and government ownership of KTL, later (in the early 1990's) replaced by the Inans[159]. And these transnational firms were modern industrial relations ideologies.

In Kaduna, the predominance of state-led wage economy and of large foreign firms created favourable conditions for the standardization and formalization of labour relations in industry in line with officials' legislation, and influenced in important respects by modern, international practices including the acceptance of collective bargaining and unionism.[160]

However, the industrial employers of labour in Kaduna and Kano differ in their attitude towards collective bargaining and unionisms. Employers in Kaduna gave recognition to unionism. While employers in Kano, who were merchant traders turn industrialist, were often hostile to all forms of union activities by their employees. Workers in Kano, thus had to fight for recognition of their unions. For example, with the 1970 and 1971 Adebo wage revisions, indigenous Hausa-owned industries refused to pay the arrear in full or maintain the

[157] Gunila Andrae and Bjorn Beckman, **Union Power in the Nigerian Textile Industry**, 1992, p.175. This book focuses on Nigerian leading manufacturing sector, the textile industry, its entrepreneurs, unions and its mode of organizing labour for production etc. The book should be studied for more information on Textile and Labour matters.
[158] Richard Sandbook and Robin Cohen (ed) **The Development of An African Working Class**,p.129
[159] Gunilla Andrae and Bjorn Beckman,**op.cit**,1992,p.82
[160]Ibid,p.146

recommended Adebo level of 8s.9d for an eight-hour day.[161] However, the workers in the foreign-owned corporations did not face such problems of non-recognition of their unions.

As a result, a large proletariat or class conscious textile workers union developed. These factory workers were the earliest to identify the wage mechanisms as the means of their exploitation. Also, their work place and its settings such as the congregation of large groups in the process of production was conducive to the communication of ideas (such as the problems of poverty, social inequality etc) socialization and organization. This form of labour organization was non-existent among the atomized self-employed of the informal sector.[162]

This major difference explains, in part, the differences in perspective between those in the formal and informal sectors leading to varying levels of politicization of the various strata of the working class. For instance, industrial workers are more highly politicized than workers employed in other settings, administrative or commercial. The most active unions in Kaduna in this period were the Nigerian Civil Workers' Union, Nigerian Teachers' Union, Nigerian Teachers' Union, Motor Drivers Union, Kaduna Textile Workers Union etc.[163]

These trade unions were able to transcend the parochialism of the various ethnic unions to focus on generic problems of poverty and social inequality. They were also able to articulate the broad politico-economic grievances of the laboring poor. Thus the establishment of industries in Kaduna is a good example of the contribution of the urban workers to the development of the metropolis.

[161] Lubeck, P.M., "Unions, Workers and Consciousness: A view from Below", in Richard Sandbook and Robin Cohen (ed) **The Development of an African Working Class**,p.142
[162] Oyedele E.,op.cit,1987,p.532
[163] Ibid,p.532

3.3.5 IMPACT OF THE GROWTH OF KADUNA ON ITS HINTERLAND

The main rural settlement of Kaduna's hinterland include: Jema'a division including Kwoi, Moroa, Jama'a, Kafanchan and Kagoro to the east; Birin Gwari Chiefdom and Chikum to the south; Igabi, Giwa, Soba and Ikara districts to the north-east and Makarfi and Zaria districts to the north.[164] The main positive impact of the development of Kaduna on its rural hinterland was the growth, especially from 1925, of villages and towns along Kaduna-Zaria road. These villages include: Birnin Yero, Zango Aya (a caravan town) and Rigachikum which expanded during our period of study.

Kaduna's relationship with its hinterland during our period of the study was characterized by unequal distribution of productive assets and unfavourbale production relationships. One of the essential features of this unequal relationship was the unequal flow of investment which was characterized by an outflow of resources from the rural areas and a relatively small backflow from Kaduna. Also, Kaduna as the seat of decision-making and political control had a domineering influence on its hinterland. The region's centralized decision making and political control was central to this unequal relationship.

Colonialism affected agriculture severely, leading to among other things, decrease in domestic production of foodstuffs which gave rise to the high prices of home and imported foods.[165] This deterioration and state neglect of local food crop production clearly created the condition for the mass movement of peasants from the land to cities such as Kaduna. In addition, the dearth of backward linkage in the agricultural sector mean the creation of

[164] Ibid,p.573

[165] Colonialism also, drastically transformed the food economy of the Zaria Province into a capitalist economy. This change had drastic impact on the society as it led to deteriorating standard of living amongst the rural inhabitants. And, ultimately led to rural-urban migration. See Abdulkadir Adamu,op.cit., Ph.D Thesis,2001.

minimal new demand for agricultural products. Hence, the potential for a dynamic agricultural development was not realized.[166]

Thus, the increase in rural migration to Kaduna in post 1952 era gave rise to its rapid population growth (demonstrated by the 1952 and 1963 census). This resulted in the problems of unemployment, shortage of housing, overcrowding etc. which put serious strain on urban services and infrastructural facilities. On the whole, the establishment of Kaduna and its growth had a depressing and negative impact on the rural districts of the region especially its immediate hinterland identified above.

At this point, it is important to raise some salient issues that pertain to urban transformation.[167] Some of the issues to be considered as Urbanization as a process, Levels of urbanization and Urbanization as ways of life.

First, Urbanization as a process focuses on, the changes resulting from people moving into cities and other densely populated areas. This process of increased population concentration occurs in different forms. It ranges from deliberate and planned to spontaneous and unplanned. However it is evident that urbanization transforms land use form rural to urban economic activities-and often the land itself, form a porous surface to a non-porous one of asphalt and concrete. Furthermore, this progression in greater population density also transforms many patterns of social life, altering both the social structure and the social organization of that area. These changes include a more complex division of labour and social stratification, the growth of sub-cultures, and more formal social controls.

[166] Oyedele E., **op.cit**,p.580

[167] See, Macionis, J.J. and Parrillo V.N. **Cities and Urban Life,** 1998. They argued strongly that 'the great promise of urban living, coupled with the daunting problems of actual cities, provokes us to ask how we can intentionally and thoughtfully make urban places better. Although we are realistic about the problems we remain optimistic about the possibilities'.p.xvii-xix

Second, the Levels of urbanization centers on the process of ever-increasing concentrations on areas of land. It also attempts to understand the complexity and scale of human organization and interaction. The following are a brief introduction to terms and concepts that facilitate our understanding of the levels of urbanization:

Metropolitan Area:- A large population center and its adjacent communities, with which it has a high degree of economic and social integration. It is also known as an urban agglomeration, such a region typically has a large city as the hub that extends its sphere of influence into the surrounding communities. These communities may not be urban in character themselves but are linked closely with that through transportation (roads and public transit), employment (commuters) , media (city newspapers, and radio and TV stations) and leisure activities (clubbing, dinning, entertainment and professional sport).

Megapolis: When two or more metropolitan areas expand so that they intermingle with one another to form a continuous (or almost continuous) urban complex. This merged conglomeration typically contains a population in the tens of millions, such as the Lagos-Ibadan express way, although the cities therein retain their individual names (Lagos and Ogun state).

Megacity: A metropolitan area can constitute its own megapolis if the population within its municipal boundary numbers at least 10 million people. A typial example is Lagos state.

Global city:-Also called a world city, it occupies an influential position in the global economic system, attracting investments and exercising considerable economic-power worldwide. London, New York and Tokyo are at the top of the hierarchy of cities because of their role in the world systems of finance and trade.

Third, Urbanism as a way of life. The companion concept of urbanization (population growth and concentration) is urbanism. It is the culture or way of life of city dwellers. It goes beyond changes in values, attitudes, norms and customs. It entails lifestyle patterns and behavioural adaptations influenced by one's residential and/or work environment. Numerous elements affect this interactive relationship between human behavior and environment, and one of the main ones is social structure.[168]

By social structure, we mean the recurrent patterns of city life that are shaped significantly by the unequal distribution of important urban resources, including wealth, power and prestige. One aspect of social structure concerns the wide variety of lifestyles within our cities. Often these lifestyles coincide with different geographical districts of the city. And they also reflect dimension of social difference, often taking the form of social inequality.

Also, social stratification is another index to be noted. It is the hierarchical ranking of people in terms of valued resources. Wealth is certainly one important dimensions of social stratification. In cities wealth often provides striking contrasts between well-heeled urbanites who have lives of material comfort and others who must preserve just to survive. On another level, however, cities intensify the effects of class, race, ethnicity, gender and power, because they concentrate everything human in small space. It portrays examples of wealth and poverty, of power and powerlessness, of such extremity as to be nearly incomprehensible.[169]

It is on these notes that we argue that the interaction between industrial development and urban process impacted significantly on the development of the Kaduna metropolis. This impact significantly altered the landscape of the Kaduna metropolis. Also, it affected the attitude, values, custom, norms, lifestyle patterns and behavioral adaptations of the residents

[168] Ibid,p.7
[169] Ibid,p.10

of the area. Thus the establishment of industries played a vital role in the development of Kaduna.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter has discussed the ways the manufacturing industry has contributed to the development of the Kaduna metropolis. The contributions are in the following areas: migration, impact of the growth of Kaduna on its hinterland, formation of industrial union (proletariat), residential development and urban development. These changes impacted significantly on the development of Kaduna.

For example, before the beginning of our period, the total population of Kaduna according to the 1952 census was 39,000. But by the 1963, the census population of Kaduna had risen to 149,000. Indicating for instance that, because of the industries, Kaduna's population grew fourfold within a decade. The qualitative changes that took place in Kaduna were as a result of the establishment of industries in the metropolis. Importantly, the city grew from a military garrison and administrative town, into an industrial city, which was commonly known as the 'Manchester of Nigeria'.

CHAPTER FOUR

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN KADUNA, 1980-2007

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we discussed the nature and impact of the manufacturing sector on the development of Kaduna 1957-1986. We showed how through the adoption of import-substitution industrialization strategy factories were established in the Kaduna metropolis. This concentration of factories in Kaduna significantly contributed to the development of the metropolis. Particularly, as it led to rural-urban migration and rapid expansion development of the metropolis.

The focus of this chapter is on the impact of the petroleum refinery on the economy and development of Kaduna metropolis, 1980-2007. It examines how the location of the Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company (KRPC) has affected the growth and development of the city. The emphasis is the contribution of the refinery on the economy of Kaduna. For instance, the wage differential between the high salary received by the staff of the refinery, on the one hand; and the low income of the self-employed and casual urban workers, that led to inflation in the urban economy and a rise in the cost of living.

The chapter is organized as follows: first, it provides brief information on the establishment of the Kaduna refinery. Second, it discusses the nature of the industry and decline of production in the industry. And lastly, we shall show the implications of the industry and others on the economy and development of Kaduna metropolis.

Importantly, the chapter starts in 1980, with the completion and commissioning of the Kaduna refinery, and terminates in 2007, the year the refinery was sold as scrap for operating

at less than one-quarter (1/3) of its installed capacity of 110,000 (bpd). Thus, the Kaduna Refinery became known as Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company (KRPC).

4.1 THE NEW INDUSTRY IN KADUNA

Nigeria, with crude oil production of over 2.15 million barrels per day is the sixth major exporter of crude petroleum. Crude petroleum therefore plays a vital role in the economy of the nation. Local management and utilization of the petroleum products have however been deficient, due to the fact that, most of Nigeria's petroleum products requirements were satisfied from outside sources.[170] Prior to the establishment of the Warri Refinery in 1978, more than 90 percent of petroleum products used in the country were imported. Even with the Port-Harcourt and Warri refineries in operation, much of the petroleum products utilized in the country were imported from abroad. The internal distribution of such imported petroleum products, especially fuels, is hampered by transportation.

From the foregoing, the need for a self-sufficiency in the provision of petroleum products locally was evident. Also, as a solution to the distribution problems encountered before 1980, a wider geographical spread of petroleum refining centers in the country became necessary. Thus, the citing of a refinery in the northern part of the country and for obvious commercial, industrial and logistic reasons also became necessary. It was decided that it should be located in Kaduna. This was towards solving the problems of logistics associated with the importation and distribution of petroleum products in the country.

The Kaduna refinery is situated in Rido, 16 kilometers south of the Kaduna metropolis. Its neighboring communities are Maraban Rido, Rido, Unguwan Tanko, Galadima, Chidunu, Gidan Jatau, and Unguwan Romi. These areas are all within Chikun

[170] NNPC Brochure

Local Government Area. The Rido region is located between latitude 10^0 to 11^0 North and longitude 7^0 and 8^0 East. The Kaduna Refinery occupies 2.89 Km^2 about 7% of the total area ($41km^2$) of the region.[171] The profile of the Kaduna refinery is as follows. The Kaduna refinery occupies an area of 2.89 square kilometers. Intermediate were placed close to the various process units in the plot plan, designed to realize minimum pipe length, quick and safe delivery of products from one process unit to another, and therefore economic operating costs. And an allowance of a 20% future expansion was built into the plot plan.[172]

The Kaduna refinery was designed to process two types of crude oils: the Nigerian Light Crude, and the Imported Heavy Crude. The Nigerian light, naphthenic crude yields fuel products, while the imported heavy, paraffin crude yields lubricating oils, waxes and asphalt. Consequently, the refinery has the fuel and the lubricating oil, wax and asphalt sections.

The fuel section of the refinery was designed to process the Nigerian crude in the Crude Atmospheric and Vacuum Distillation Units. The rest of the fuel section was designed to process a mixture of fractions from the domestic crude as well as from the imported crude used in the lube section. The products from the fuel section are: Liquefied Petroleum Gases (LNG), Five Star Gasoline, Super-grade Gasoline, Dual Purpose Kerosene, Gas oil and Fuel oil. The Kaduna refinery was planned to guarantee self-sufficiency in all its utility requirement. The complex was served by a 42-megawatt power plant. Water was supplied to the complex from two large water tanks, each of 75,000 cubic metre capacity and together are capable of meeting water demands of the refinery for ten days. Water was piped to the tanks from the Kaduna river, and was treated before storage.

Other significant facilities were: waste water treatment plant, drum manufacture plant (8,800 drums per day), 18-litre kersosene tin manufacturing plant (27,000 tons per day), a

[171] Al-Amin, M.A., 'Environmental Impact Assessment of Kaduna Refinery in the Rido Region of Kaduna Metropolis' Ph.D Thesis, 2006,p.38
[172] NNPC Brochure.

laboratory, a 2,500 square-meter workshop, a 4,100 square-meter warehouse, an administration building, a canteen, a wax moulding and packaging unit (770 cubic meters per day), and a medical center.

In addition, the conception, design and Engineering of the refinery are also of interest. The decision to construct the third Nigerian refinery in Kaduna was taken as far back as 1974, at the same time that the decision to construct a second refinery in Warri was taken. But with a proviso that work would commence on the Kaduna refinery whenever consumption projections permitted. Such projections dictated that the construction of the refinery should start as early as 197, due to biting fuel shortages at the time. A simple hydroskimming-type refinery was envisaged with a crude oil capacity of 42,000 barrels per stream day (BPSD). The refinery was therefore to be designed for a capacity of 60,000 BPSD. The federal Government however decided later that the capacity of any new refinery in the country should not be below 100,000 BPSD, hence, the present size of the Kaduna refinery which costs ₦468,000.

In the course of project development along the lines of the new government decision, serious evacuation of heavy fuel products which could involve the shutdown of the refinery were identified by mid-1975. The problems can also hamper the production of gasoline which is one of the most popular products of the refinery. A significant modification of the original design philosophy of the refinery was the production of a variety of petroleum products. That lubricating oils too well be produced at the refinery. Since Nigerian crude oil is not suitable for the manufacture of lubricating oils, paraffin-crude oils have to be imported from Venezuela, Kuwait and/or Saudi Arabia.

The lubricating oil complex of the Kaduna refinery is the first of its kind in West Africa, and one of the biggest in Africa. Products from the refinery included fuels like LPG,

Petrol, kerosene, gas oil and fuel oil. Products from the lube oil complex include asphalt, wax and sulphur, which were not being produced in the country. Some of these products are exported to neighbouring countries.

The consulting firm, King Wilkinson of the Hague, Holland, in conjunction with NNPC engineers developed the scheme for the Kaduna refinery from feasibility studies to award of the contract, and provided data on all the basic aspect of the project like soil characteristics, water quality, crude assays, topographic and perimeter surveys. The contract was awarded to Chiyoda Chemical Engineering & Construction Company Limited of Yokohama, Japan in 1977, after an international tender exercise. Basic design and detailed engineering, procurement of plant equipment and materials, and construction of the refinery were performed by the contractor, Chiyoda.

4.2 THE NATURE OF THE INDUSTRIES AND DECLINE OF PRODUCTION IN THE INDUSTRIES

The Kaduna refinery was established, just like the Warri and Port Harcourt refineries, to address the problem of petroleum shortages, importation of lubricating oil, frequent shut-downs with the resultant drain of the nation's foreign exchange reserves. The table below shows the local refineries in Nigeria and their capacity.

Table 16: Installed Capacity of Refineries

S/No	Refinery	Date Commissioned	Installed capacity	Optimum output (bpd)
1	Port-Harcourt	1965	60,000	190,000
2	Port-Harcourt	1989	150,000	120,000
3	Warri	1979	125,000	100,000
4	Kaduna	1980	110,000	70,000
	Total		445,000	480,000

Source: NNPC 2007

The initial interest of government in the oil industry was limited to collecting royalties and other dues, making laws and to regulating the activities of the industry. Consequently, all

crude produced was initially, wholly exported unrefined, while domestic needs for petroleum products were satisfied through importation. However, as the oil industry grew in importance government involvement became very prominent with the commissioning of the Port Harcourt refinery in 1965; this 60,000 barrel per day refinery was extended to a 150,000 barrel per day refinery in 1989. Altogether, there are four refineries in the country owned by government through the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) commissioned between 1965 and 1989.

Generally, the nature and functions performed by the petroleum industry have a very definite impact on its industrial organization. In general, the industry has been characterized by bigness and backward vertical integration from the user to the source. This has resulted from a combination of the following: the tremendously high initial capital requirements; the implied need to coordinate precisely so as to reduce non-utilization of capacity; the large exploration risks and variable timing factors that require multi-area operation; and the desire to have flexibility to shift in or out of one area as it becomes more or less economically or politically attractive relative to other areas.[173]

It is worth-noting that the refinery has been bedeviled with a lot of problems. In Nigeria, most government owned venture are inefficiently run, losing money, supporting a host of political appointed staff and enriching just a few. Such a situation is also true of the oil industry with particular reference to the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The general understanding, therefore is that deregulation will solve the problem of

[173] Pearson S.R., **Petroleum in the Nigerian Economy**, 1970.p.7 This book would have helped answer some question the researcher could not provide concerning the petroleum industry. The little information gotten was a preview from the internet. Nonetheless, the book is a 'must read' in order to get a proper grasp of the impact of the petroleum industry on the Nigerian economy. Areas in the book include: The International Petroleum Industry, Petroleum Company Operations in Nigeria, Recent Trends in Nigerian Economic Development, Foreign Investment in a less Developed Economy, the Direct Contribution of Petroleum to Income, Factor Contribution to other sectors, Linkage Effects, Petroleum in Nigeria, Politics of Nigerian Oil, Implications for Policy etc. It attempts to address the question: What are the recent and likely future impacts on the Nigerian economy of the flow of petroleum-related invested into Nigeria?

inefficiency, financial losses, as well as evolve a cost-based pricing system, reduce or eliminate reliance on imported products, improve on the distribution system, encourage competition, yield additional revenue to government etc.[174]

On August, 14th 2000, a committee was set up by government to review all aspects of petroleum supply and distribution. The committee recommended that deregulation in the downstream oil sector is imperative and recommend a three phased approach. The committee recommended in the phased reforms, an adjustment charging a crude price to the refineries at close to the export parity on the implied net back price of crude in the final phase. This, when completed should be an invitation to the private sector to fully participate in all facets of the downstream sector. It will also facilitate the arrival to a point where prices are no longer fixed by government but by the dictates of demand and supply.

Some of the major problems affecting the refinery include:

i. Pipeline ruptures and vandalization

ii. Old and obsolete equipment

iii. Inadequate and ageing vessels

iv. Lack of empowerment and operation throughout the system

v. Lack of flexibility in management too much concentration of authority in Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC)) headquarters and government interference also hinders operations.

4.3. IMPLICATION FOR THE URBAN ECONOMY AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The impact of the refinery on Kaduna urban economy will be examined from the context of employment and income distribution. The section will focus on the following areas: Employment structure, income differentials and the problem of rural-urban differentials;

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Urban labour markets, wage structure and open unemployment; Money wages, urban incomes and inflation; Urban development; and lastly, Environmental pollution.

It must be pointed out that, the degree of uncertainty surrounding basic data as the size, structure and rate of growth of the population, labour force and employment is so high that any estimates are better considered as illustrative figures to aid in finding a quantitative framework for essentially qualitative propositions.[175]

The outlines of such a framework may be sketched in the following form:

a. The rate of growth of the population has accelerated to about 2.5% a year and is likely to increase further with declining mortality.
b. Because of high fertility rates, the population is 'young' with a 'dependency ratio' of nearly 1:1
c. The rate of growth in the labour force is of the same order of magnitude as the rate of population increase-perhaps slightly less-but is likely to increase.
d. The overall labour force participation rate is roughly 40 percent and may be expected to decline slightly over the next 15 years.
e. With about four-fifths of the population living in rural areas, a similar percentage of the new entrants to the labour force will be coming from rural background.
f. The working age population is highly mobile, especially over short-to-medium-range distances; gross migration rates from rural areas approach 75 per thousand and residential turnover in urbanized areas is extremely high.
g. Growth of the principal urban centers is most probably in the range of 4% to 8% a year with most expansion in the federal and state capital.
h. There is little data on unemployment, but what evidence there is tendency to confirm the usual expectation that open unemployment is primarily an urban phenomenon and is heavily concentrated in the younger age groups and among school leavers.

Kaduna, just like the country at large, is facing employment syndrome of having to absorb rapidly increasing numbers of a youthful and primarily rural workforce into productive and remunerative activities. The potential income opportunities of the urban economy and the small but vigorously growing industrial sector inevitably attract increasing numbers from rural into urban areas. The central issue is the impact of development on the relative income opportunities in the 'rural' and 'urban' sectors in the 'traditional' and 'modern' activities within those sectors.

[175] World Bank., **Nigeria: Options For Long-Term Development**, 1974,p.27

1. EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE, INCOME DIFFERENTIALS AND THE BALANCE OF RURAL-URBAN BALANCE

A very important implication of the establishment of the refinery in Kaduna economy is in the area of increase in national income form an industry with small proportion of direct employment. For most of the Nigerian work force, employment is less a matter of finding a 'job' in the sense of achieving an enduring status as an employee than of piecing together a set of income generating activities which together are (hopefully) sufficient to provide a 'living'. The achievement of employee status-an enduring formal employment relationship-is for most workers unattainable.[176]

A distinctive feature of the continual search for informal earning opportunities which characterizes Nigerian labour markets, is the complex set of relationship between the urban and rural sectors and between wage and non-wage activities, both by way of movements of people as well as through income transfers. While it is not possible to quantify the structural links between the rural and urban economies, there is considerable evidence that they are strong and pervasive in their effects on the movement of workers and redistribution of income through transfers in cash and in kind. The existence of such links undoubtedly increase the sensitivity of labour market responses within the economy by providing a network for the transfer of information on relative opportunities and mechanisms for financing the movement and search activities necessary for their exploitation.

The central employment issue in Nigeria's development can be identified in aggregate terms with the problem of 'urban drift'- of coping with the movement of labour from rural to urban areas. This movement is generated and sustained by a profoundly purposeful evaluation of relative economic opportunities in the two sectors.

[176] Ibid,p.28

Despite lack of data on the structure of incomes in Nigeria, there is considerable evidence that income differentials between rural and urban occupations are substantial. From the surveys conducted for the Adebo Commission, minimum pay for urban workers range from 1.5 to 2.5 times the average income of a farmer. Annual earnings of paid agricultural workers for 1967 have been estimated at less than 45% of average earnings for workers in wage and salary employment, a decline from about 58% in 1960. With differentials of this magnitude, the rural households is unlikely to be able to be able to find a better investment than supporting one of its younger members in an effort to become established in the urban economy even if that effort involves an extended period of employment search or unemployment.[177]

Moreover, differences in the distribution of rural and urban incomes provide an additional rationale or motivation for younger workers to search for employment in the urban economy. Since urban income opportunities are likely to be distributed unequally among the high incomes and the low income, the probability of achieving a high income will be greater in the urban sector. The general pattern of demand for labour reveals that the bulk of the anticipated increases in national income will arise in non-agricultural sectors which account for a relatively small proportion of direct employment and for which the employment elasticity of increases in output is generally believed to be low. And, the petroleum sector of course represents an extreme case of this phenomenon. Since, direct expansion of employment opportunities within the sectors contributing disproportionately to the growth of output are limited to serve as a major vehicle to spread the benefits of development broadly throughout the population, the crucial determinants of the employment and distributional impact of developments are the indirect effects transmitted to other sectors.

[177] Ibid,p.29

2. URBAN LABOUR MARKETS, WAGE STRUCTURE AND OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT

Another important impact of the establishment of the oil refinery on Kaduna metropolis is in the area of high costs of public services which leads to adverse effects on the level and composition of public development expenditure. In our analysis of the urban labour market, wage structure and open unemployment we shall focus on four areas. They are as follows: Distinct markets or employment categories in the urban areas may be distinguished-civil service; Public sector employees; Workers in the large-scale industrial establishments or other modern enterprises; and, the residual market of the self-employed, casual or family workers in small workshops and various trade and service activities. Available information on relative earnings (relating almost entirely to wage and salary employment in large enterprises and the public service) indicates that inter-sectoral and occupational differentials are indeed high and perhaps increasing.

Significantly, the reason underlying such patterns and the extent they represent deviates more from economically justifiable wage structures. This is because the earnings of urban employees depend in large measure on prevailing government salary scale. As government decisions on employment levels are not as closely linked with wage scales as is presumed in private profit-making enterprises. The opportunity costs to the economy of inappropriate wage and salary rates may take different forms different depending on the corresponding decisions on government staffing and the level of public activities.[178]

With regard to the latter, given budgetary higher cost of public services may lead to adverse effects on the level, given composition of public development expenditure. Excessively high government payrolls not only tend to reduce the rate of public saving and investment accomplished over government budgets, but also provide the vehicle for

[178] Ibid,p.31

supporting higher rates of private urban consumption by public employees, which may be particularly serious in the Nigerian context because of the higher import components of urban consumer demand. The effects on the composition of possible expenditure may also present serious problems, especially when account it is taken of possible negative feedbacks in the interactions between government decisions on wages and policies on public development expenditure.

When it comes to mis-allocations in the use of labour in the public sector (for any given level or pattern of government activities), attempts to economize on high cost employees may lead to understaffing in critical occupational positions. If such understaffing does not occur, there is still the possibility of efficiency losses because individuals will be attracted into government positions by high salary scales even though their productive talents could be used in order professions or occupations. If neither situation applies-i.e. despite excessive pay rates there is overstaffing, or at least no understanding and alternative productive contributions by the workers outside the government are less than inside (possibly even zero)-public employment takes on more the character of a vehicle for accomplishing transfer payments to those fortunate enough to obtain a government job.

It is therefore difficult to establish whether, or to what extent government pay scales are excessively high in relation to supply and demand for different categories of employees. Certainly, the wide differentials between high and low level occupations in government service observed in Nigeria cannot provide an prior case that upper level categories are too highly paid. The persistent and extreme would be consistent with a steep gradient in the occupational earning scales. Moreover, available information suggests that government wage scales are not widely out of line with those prevailing in the modern private sector, except perhaps at the lowest skill levels.

None of these concerns about the effect of the wage structure in public employment equals in importance the possible influence of government decisions on wage and salary determination the modern private sector, mainly through potentially effective pressures, particularly on the larger or foreign-owned enterprises, to follow the government's lead in setting wage and salary rates.

It may perhaps be pointed out, however, that evidence either to establish that this problem is a serious one or more, importantly, if it is, that its principals roots lie merely in the policy actions of government, unions and modern enterprises. By and large, the evidence for the latter propositions boils down to the absence of a persuasive economic explanation for the fact that wage and salary levels in government and modern enterprises appear to be higher than those in the 'residual' urban labour markets, despite an excess of workers desiring jobs in those sectors (at least at the lower skill levels). Without a reliable basis-analytical or empirical- for the description of casual importance to institutionally determined wage decisions or exogenous policy variables, there would seem to be little support for attempting to impose a greater degree of government control over the wage structure in order to obviate the adverse employment effects of the wage differentials in the modern and residual labour markets.

Moreover, the higher wage levels in modern, large-scale establishments are usually believed to affect adversely employment expansion by encouraging capital-intensive production processes. Not only is there the question of by how much employment expansion by encouraging capital-intensive production processes. Not only is there the question of by how much employment opportunities would increase in those establishments with the elimination of any wage differentials, but also account must be taken of the adverse effects on employment in the smaller, less modern establishments when these were confronted with the loss of the advantages they presumably enjoy from relatively lower wage levels.

The differential in wages between the large capital-intensive and smaller scale, more labour intensive enterprises, is, however, probably of considerably less importance to the expansion of employment than access to and relative costs of non-labour inputs such as capital, managerial resources, technological expertise etc, the relative advantage that the modern sector enjoys in these respects probably dwarfs in importance any relative wage differential in reducing the employment of elasticity of output increases.[179]

3. MONEY WAGES, URBAN INCOMES AND INFLATION

The Kaduna refinery has also impacted the economy, in terms of, wage price mechanisms that has aggravate the disparities in income and employment opportunities. Excessive monetary demands have had its effects on food prices because of the difficulties of obtaining rapid increases in urban food supplies. Although the lower income self-employed and casual urban workers feel the increase in the cost of living most severely, the workers in wage-employment are better placed to protect their real income position through money increases.[180]

In particular, the government, as the principal employer of wage and salary employees, places great weight on the cost of living and in its decisions on wage increases. This is partly, as a matter of general policy, but also because of sensitivity to organized pressure by trade unions, which in Nigeria have their strength among public employees.

With government payrolls accounting for an estimated 50% of public recurrent expenditure, the direct impact on public budgets of government wage increases is large and immediate, and poses the problem of financing the increased level of expenditure in a way that does not simply add to the inflationary pressure. The federal structure of government and the role of petroleum in the structure of government revenues contribute further

[179] Ibid,p.32-33
[180] Ibid,p.34

complications.[181] And this occur since government wage decisions have, by far, their greatest impact on state, local and statutory authorities, while the bulk of the anticipated increases in oil revenues will accrue to the federal government. And while the expected increases in oil revenues are sufficient to cover the additional employment costs stemming from recent wage and salary awards in public service and to accomplish the necessary transfer to other governmental bodies without incurring a deficit on the current account of the federal budget, this does not obviate the need for concern about the inflationary impact. Consequently, increases in urban consumer demand has led to a further spiraling of urban food prices, thereby laying the foundation for continuing rounds of wage increases.

4. URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Fundamentally, the establishment of the refinery has led to residential settlement in the area. Just like in the case of the Textile industry, the refinery too has led to the establishment and growth of settlement. These settlements include: Unguwa Television, Unguwar Boro, Maraban Rido, Kamazo, Gonin Gora, Unguwa Ronin, Unguwan Yelwa, Kudenda, Nassarawa, Unguwan Pama amongst others.

Also there is a housing complex located very near the refinery to accommodate the refinery staff. The complex consists of 450 housing units, recreational facilities, a hospital, and a shopping center. In addition 65 housing units have also been purchased from the Kaduna State Housing Authority to accommodate some staff performing critical function in the refinery. It is important to stress that, the Kaduna refinery provides a masterpiece of modern technology to the landscape of Kaduna metropolis. The refinery portrays a picture of a complex array of furnaces, fractionating towers, drums, heat exchangers, pumps and compressors, storage tanks, pipe-work, values, buildings, and in many cases, huge cooling

[181] Ibid.

towers[182] to a visitor. By nigh since the functions of the refinery never cease, the plant takes on an even more fascinating appearance with thousands of light creating an illusion of a miniature city at Christmastime.

5. ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

One of the consequences of the refinery to residents of Kaduna metropolis is the problem of air pollution. The primary problems of pollution in refineries are the SO2 (Sulph Dioxide) from the furnaces burning residual fuel oils, and the smells from various sources. A study was conducted to examine the nature of the effects of the Kaduna oil refinery and petrochemical complex; its location processing and operations, on the immediate environment. [183]

The study relied on sources of information include field experiment, data collection and laboratory analyses of sampled and surface water, vegetation inventory of the most dominant seasonal vegetation of maize and questionnaire (survey) of 216 respondents within the industry and around the host communities. The study came up with the following findings:

> Nine soil parameters (water holding capacity, bulk density, nitrogen, sulphur phosphorus, acidity calcium, magnesium and potassium) investigated revealed a high concentration; above the recommended values for savanna ecosystem. For instance, Nitrogen and Sulphur have twice the normal concentration values; the values of Sulphur (88mg/100g) and Nitrogen (0.8%) increased as one moves towards the oil refinery site. Similarly, the values of soil bulk density was alarming high ($1.6g/cm^3$). On the other hand, surface water quality has become degraded with exorbitant average values at 2km downstream of 29.0 mg/1, 70.2mg/1 and 245.0 mg/1 for oil and grease, Chemical Oxygen Diamond (COD) and Bio-Chemical Oxygen Demand (BOD respectively).

The results of the investigation of the physical properties of maize further confirmed the soil contamination by the KRPC remissions. The decrease in the biological productivity of vegetation in the study area as shown by the low level of the physical properties of maize in terms of stem height of 2.5m as against the standard of 3.0m, number of leaves of 4 as against

[182] Bell O.A. 'Refining' in Jamieson W. (ed) **Our Industry Petroleum**, 1970,p.190
[183] Al-Amin M,op.cit,.i

the standard of 10, number of cobs per stand of 11.5 as against the standard of 3.0 and number of maize stand of 20 as against the standard of 40 per a quadrant of 5 x 5 metres. The result was tested using ANOVA which indicated a sharing variance between values recorded on the farms and values expected according to the standard of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA). In addition, deterioration in human health also was indicated by allergy among the KRPC staff and members of the host communities which showed the impairment in their breathing difficulties and such diseases like skin rashes and nausea.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter has attempted to show the impact of the refinery on the development of Kaduna. We showed that the refinery was established in order to solve the problem of shortage petroleum products in the northern part of the country. And Kaduna was chosen as the location due to its geographical advantages and the political decisions of some northern elite to make Kaduna the industrial hub of the north. Therefore, the Kaduna refinery became the third refinery established by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC).

The Kaduna refinery was completed and commissioned by Alhaji Shehu Shagari on 25th October, 1980. The refinery has a capacity of 100,000 BPSD in order to cope with growing demand for petroleum products in the country, especially in the northern part. Products from the refinery include: fuels using Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG), petrol, automotive gas oil or diesel oil, kerosene, fuel oil and sulphur the products from the lubricating oils complex are base oils, asphalt and wax.

The contribution of Kaduna refinery's to the economy is particularly at the macro-economic level. Its contribution to the government of the state is in terms of revenue generation with little direct impact on the micro-economy of the metropolis. At the micro-economic of the metropolis level, we have shown that the refinery has led to inflation in the

urban economy. Due to the high wage and salary of its employees, it places a great weight on the cost of living of residents of Kaduna.

Importantly, the establishment of the refinery has also led to the development of settlements. In areas such as Unguwa Television, Unguwar Boro, Maraban Rido, Kamazo, Gonin Gora, Unguwar Romi, Unguwar Yelwa, Kudenda, Nassarawa, Unguwan Pama.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PROBLEMS OF THE INDUSTRIES AND URBAN CRISIS IN KADUNA

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the establishment of the petroleum refinery in the Kaduna metropolis. We also showed the impact of the refinery on the economy and the development of the metropolis. Specifically, it was pointed out that the refinery impacted on Kaduna metropolis by generating revenue for the government, the high wage and salary received by workers in the industry has led to inflation, environmental pollution, and establishment of new residential settlements. In this chapter, we attempt to look at the various problems that led to the decline and collapse of most of the manufacturing industry in Kaduna. These problems are internal and external. One of the main problems was the heavy dependence of the Nigerian economy on oil. Consequently, with the decline in petroleum price, decline in the manufacturing sector was inevitable. It is factors such as this that incapacitated the large-scale manufacturing sector industries in Kaduna.

On the other hand, birth and migration increase has continued to expand without control, leading to a situation where industries decline and collapsed, while population growth in the metropolis continued to explode. Thus, it is this unparallel relationship between urban population growth and industrial development that intensified the nature of the urban crisis in the Kaduna metropolis. The implication of this is that the area is fast becoming an over-urbanized area. The chapter focuses on the challenges and problems of the manufacturing industry in Kaduna. The focus of the discussion of the chapter are: Foreign control and ownership of firms, high cost of importation of goods and raw materials, executive recklessness (primitive capital accumulation), structural adjustment programme (S.A.P.), raw material shortages, smuggling and counterfeiting, scarcity and high price of black oil.

On the other hand, birth and migration increase has continued to expand without control. Leading to a situation where industries are decline and collapsing, while population growth in the metropolis continues to explode. Thus, it is this unparallel relationship between urban growth and industrial development that intensified the urban crisis in Kaduna metropolis. The implication of this is that the area is fast becoming an over-urbanized area.

5.1 Foreign Control and Ownership of Firms

A very important problem of the industries is its high dependence on foreign capital and qualified manpower from abroad. In Kaduna, just like other developing countries of the world, the ownership and control of the industries is in the hands of foreign entrepreneur. Thus, foreign entrepreneurs dominate the industrial sector of the economy completely. The foreigners that own the industries in Kaduna were the: Chinese, Indians, Japanese, British, Sudanese, Americans amongst others.

Importantly, the foreign owned firms are branches of the parent company located in other parts of the world. This parent company may have little relation to the production costs or aspirations of the country in which the firms are located. For it is at the parent company level that decisions on price, output and strategies are taken, with little or no regard for the branch or local company[184]. Therefore, with foreign ownership and control of business enterprise, the tendency is for management to remain largely foreign. This inevitably leads to a situation where the benefit that accrues does not lead to the process of economic independence of the country's resources. Certainly, the scarce resources available are not used for the benefit of the country and its citizens.

[184] Teriba O, (et.al) **The Structure of Manufacturing Industry in Nigeria**, 1981, p.4

The dominance of foreign entrepreneurs becomes more evident when one examines their share in the paid-up capital within the individual branches. The following tables illustrate this point clearly.

Table 17: Nigerian and Expatriate Shareholding[185]

S/n	Value of Shares (N)	Nigerians	Expatriates	Total
1	2	56.4	43.6	100.0
2	More than 2, but less than 2,000	39.0	41.0	100.0
3	2,001 to 10,000	48.5	51.5	100.0
4	10,001 to 20,000	33.3	66.7	100.0
5	20,001 to 40,000	35.9	64.1	100.0
6	40,001 to 100,000	26.9	73.1	100.0
7	100,001 to 200,00	26.4	73.6	100.0
8	Above 200,000	26.4	73.6	100.0
9	Total	39.5	60.5	100.0

Source: Registrar of Companies

Table 1 indicates the predominance of foreign ownership of many of the country's large scale industry. It also shows, the small portion of the share held by Nigerians. It is only in the nominal shareholding that Nigerians dominate.

Table 18: Distribution of Firms by Nationality of Largest Shareholder[186]

S/n	Share of Largest Sharehold (%)	Nigerian	Expatriate	Total
1	25 and above	55.0	45.0	100.0
2	26-33	43.2	56.7	100.0
3	34-50	44.3	55.7	100.0

[185] Ibid, p.91
[186] Ibid, p.92

4	51-75	39.2	60.8	100.0
5	Above 75	26.0	73.6	100.0
6	Total	39.5	60.5	100.0

Source: Registrar of Companies

Similarly, table 2 brings out clearly the difference in the distribution of shares between the expatriates and the Nigerians. The table show that the bulk of Nigerian largest shareholders own minority shares in their companies. On the contrary, the expatriate dominate in the major shares of the nation's companies.

Generally, foreign investors have almost an exclusive controlling interest in such important braches of industry as tobacco manufacture, the chemical industry, plastic products, fabricated metal products, machinery and transport equipment, and electrical machinery. Characteristics of most firms in these branches is their high capital intensity. Foreign participation also exceeds 50% in the paid-up of the textile, food and beverages, leather, rubber and furniture industries. In addition, government's effort to curtail the dominance of economy by foreign companies, was not successful. Scholars have argued strongly that though the indigenization exercise reserved several sectors specifically for Nigerian investors and forced foreign companies in other sectors to sell shares to Nigerians, with the various governments themselves securing controlling shares in the banks, and the oil companies, the economy remains firmly controlled by multinational corporations[187]. Thus, the Multinational Corporations take all the major production, marketing and operational decisions due to the weak participation of Nigerians in the industries.

In concrete terms the dominance of expatriate in most of the large-scale manufacturing industries in Kaduna is obvious. One of my informants argued strongly that expatriates dominate the high-level management of the large-scale manufacturing firms, particularly the textile

[187] Alkasum Abba, et.al, **The Nigerian Economic Crisis: Causes and Solutions**, 1985,p.177

industry. The few available Nigerians at the managerial cadre were those that schooled abroad.[188] On the other hand, he pointed out that the middle cadre consists of ethnic groups from all parts of the country with a large presence of Idoma, Igala and ethnic groups from Southern Nigeria who tend to predominate in the lower cadre of the industries. Activities at the lower cadre include labourer, drivers, machine operators, packaging and other menial jobs.

Central to the ownership and control of the industries by the expatriates is the issue of export of capital[189]. The surplus capital available to the developed countries is exported to developing countries to establish companies or buy share. In particular, foreign finance is assumed to enable developing countries increase their rate of capital accumulation which is a pre-requisite for economic growth.[190] The reasons for capital export to developing parts of the world, like Kaduna varies. They include immense profits to the expatriate due to capital scarcity, availability of land at cheap rate, low wages for labor force, and raw materials are also, cheap.

In particular, foreign finance is said to enable developing countries increase the rate of capital accumulation seen as a prerequisite to economic growth. The theoretical preeminence of the role of capital accumulation in third world countries was enhanced in the late 1950's and early 1960's by Rostow's 'take-off' hypothesis. This hypothesis amongst others gained general acceptance by third world economists despite the fact that it was developed out of the development experience of North America, Western Europe, and Japan. Armed with this empirical support, up to very recently, many third world economists saw foreign borrowing as a necessary, and in some cases sufficient, condition for economic growth.

This is based on the premise that foreign borrowing provides the basis for the type of capital accumulation desired. By supplementing domestic savings, providing foreign capital,

[188] Daniel Bodam, interviewed in his house Television, 6th March, 2012.
[189] Lennin, V.I. **Imperialism: Highest Stage of Capitalism**. P.241
[190] Kwanashire, M 'Foreign Finance: Its Role and Impact on the Recurrent Crisis of the Nigerian Economy' in **Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society since the Berlin Conference,** 1884-1885,p.6

technology, technological and managerial know-how, technical expertise, foreign borrowing is supposed to enable poor counties mobilize internal resources for the 'take-off' and sustained national development. Co-operating factors of production which ordinarily would lie unused could be easily mobilized if foreign finance provides capital, technical skills and necessary intermediate inputs. Foreign capital, it is argued is capable of cushioning shocks[191]. Thus, the role played by foreign capital in developing countries.

Apart from the factor of foreign finance, factors of domestic savings, technical and managerial expertise are supposed to enable a poor country to mobilize resources for the 'take-off' and sustenance of national development. On the whole, the expatriate in Kaduna who controlled most of the industries were the Chinese, Japanese, Indians and the British. These expatriate who occupied both the high-level management position of the private foreign investment ensured the expropriation and expatriation of surplus to their home countries.

5.2 High Cost of Importation of Capital Goods and Raw Materials.

The dependent character of Nigerian's industrialization constitutes the background of the import dependence on capital goods, as well as raw materials. The import-substitution industrialization involves the channeling of resources in the direction of consumer goods production, often behind tariff walls. This reduces or eliminates imports of the commodity affected. It is this pattern of development, with its inherent nature of depending on external technology that constitute the essence of Nigerian manufacturing sector.

The role of capital goods in the manufacturing sector is crucial. Capital goods are generally regarded as gross fixed reproducible assets, or products that are not directly consumed and for which a rental price is paid for the flow of service which they yield[192]. Essentially they

[191] Ibid.
[192] Bade Onimode, "The Political Economy of Capital Goods Manufacturing in Nigeria", in Fadahunsi, A. and Igwe, B.U.N (ed) **Capital Goods and Technological Change and Accumulation in Nigeria**, 1989,p.157

are produced typically as machinery and equipment, and their contribution to the gross domestic capital formation is significant.

Therefore, the development of a capital goods sub-sector is a critical necessity for successful industrialization and technological development. Hence, there are strong reasons for the local manufacturing of capital goods in underdeveloped countries. These include the need to reduce external dependence on the industrialized countries, which is strongest for capital goods and technology, and the reduction of the huge imports of poor countries because of their balance of payments and debt crisis. However, despite the importance of the capital goods to industrial development it has not succeeded in Kaduna, and in Nigeria, in general. Failure in the establishment of capital goods is due to a number of factors. They include, limited capital, small internal market, low technology, factional interest, relatively high capital-intensity of the projects and the failure of structural program to the protection of local industry.[193]

Importantly, basic goods manufacturing necessitates the development of chain industries through forward and backward linkages, forces the local learning of basic technological skills thus builds self-propelling momentum into national development, through the internalization of the accelerator and multiplier effects of industrial investment. The growth rate of capital goods also sets an upper limit to the overall growth of the economy. In different ways, the advantages of large-scale production operate to provide the opportunity for transforming saving into investment, and the relative labor-intensity of the machine tool component of capital goods increase employment. [194]

However, despite the importance of the capital goods in industrial development it has not succeeded in Nigeria, and most African nations. Hindrances of these goods in the country include limited capital, small internal market, low technology, factional interest, relatively high capital-

[193] Ibid,.3
[194] Fadahunsi, A. and Igwe, B.U.N (ed) **Capital Goods and Technological Change and Accumulation in Nigeria**, 1989,p.1

intensity of projects and the opposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes to the protection of local industry[195].

The difficulties of establishing a capital goods industry in underdeveloped countries have been explained differently. The first line of argument is that policies normally used to propel the conventional pattern of import-substitution-invariably overvalued exchange rates and high tariffs on consumer goods-tend to artificially reduce the price of capital goods below real costs. The result is not only the emergence of a capital-intensive pattern of production, with its adverse effects on domestic employment, but also the discouragement of economic production of capital goods domestically. The second line of argument relates to the behavior of foreign transnational firms invariably involved in import substitution activities in peripheral economies.

It is argued that because heavy industries in general tend to have significant economies of scale and tend to operate in an already developed industrial environment, these firms generally shy away from investing in such industries in the characteristically small and industrially underdeveloped economies of the periphery. However, it is also argued that another reason for the bias against investment by foreign transnationals in the capital goods sector of LDCs stems from doubts about the profitability of such investments, given their typically long gestation periods, and the uncertainties arising from political instability in those countries. Furthermore, there is the fear of the competition which capital goods industries in the periphery might pose to the home industries of the transnationals[196].

In order to highlight this fact Issa Aremu, pointed that most of the technology used in the textile industry were mostly from Europe and Asia[197]. He pointed out that, machines such as

[195] Ibid.p.3
[196] Obim A,W, "The Capital Goods Sector of Nigeria's Manufacturing Industry", in Fadahunsi, A. and Igwe, B.U.N (ed) **Capital Goods and Technological Change and Accumulation in Nigeria**, 1989,p.13

[197] Issa A., **The National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers of Nigeria: The Social Relevance of Trade Unionism**. 2001,p.19

Spinning machines, looms, preparatory equipment, processing machines, such as calendars, washing ranges, singering, printing, dyeing, drying machines- were all imported from abroad.

The role of the oil slump in increasing the cost of imported capital goods and the raw materials needed for the industry cannot be underestimated. Nigeria's export earnings, of which oil made up 96 percent on average over the decade, dropped from an index of 100 in 1980 to 24 in 1983, and after a slight recovery, to a terrible rock bottom of 24 in 1986, a drop by half in both volume and unit value. The full impact was first kept at bay with greatly expanded borrowing. The debt which was moderate at the onset of the period, grew by 10 billion USD over the first half of the decade[198].

Government's effort to curtail this economic decline was abortive. Introduction of the 'austerity programme' by the government in April 1982, to curtail the oil slump's effect on the nation's economy did not yield desired result. It led rather led to Nigeria's blacklist by major foreign export guarantee institutions in 1983.

Industry and trade were profoundly affected by the long-term contraction of purchasing power and local markets. The most immediate problem, however, was the supply of raw materials and other inputs as the import capacity of the economy deteriorated. The textile industry, drawing on Nigerian produced cotton, had in the past been less import-dependent than other industries. But the impact of the oil-boom and the appreciation of the Naira had redirected demand towards external sources of supply, including a growing proportion of synthetic yarn. Domestic cotton production was constrained by high labor costs and an outflow of labor from agriculture which were other side effects of the oil boom. The situation was further aggravated by the decay in the administration of the marketing board system. The decline in domestic cotton production accelerated in the early 1980's. From an average output of almost 52,700 tonnes of

[198] Andrae, G. and Beckham, B., **Union Power in the Nigerian Textile Industry**, 1999,p.38

cotton lint during the second half of the 1970s output dropped to by more than two-thirds to an average of 16,100 in the first half of the 1980s[199].

In addition, raw materials shortages overtook high costs and smuggling as the main, perceived thread to the survival of the industry. The austerity policies of 1982 paralyzed an already erratic system of import licensing and foreign exchange allocation, creating additional bottlenecks and bureaucratic distortions. Production was repeatedly disrupted. Capacity utilization declined to its lowest point, perhaps some 30 percent for the industry as a whole by 1983. The employers claimed that the allocation of import licenses for 1984 was merely 25 percent of what they had asked for, and only 12 percent of what would be needed if the operational capacity of the industry were to be satisfied. The supply situation was unpredictable and companies were unable to plan production. Licenses which had been obtained often turned out to lack Central Bank cover, others lapsed without being revalidated. The struggle over access to government allocations intensified and mangers complained bitterly over the need to 'hang around for months' in Lagos and never getting what they asked for

Similarly, the union joined management in the struggle for licenses and letters of credit. The union report stressed the importance of their members and organisation on the availability of raw materials. Importantly, it was not the shortage of foreign exchange in an absolute sense but its allocation and misuse that was the real problem, according to the union.

The implication of this import squeeze in the industry was the continual retrenchment in the place of work. For example, a survey of 17, mostly large, companies showed a drop in employment from 40,100 to 30,400 between 1983 and 1986. The main reduction, however, was not in overall numbers but in effective working time. Workers were sent on 'compulsory leave' during temporary closures, with or without pay or with part-pay. Sometimes closures lasted

[199] Ibid, p.38

several months while waiting for raw materials, affecting either the factory as whole or certain departments, depending on the products[200].

Conclusively, the import squeeze and the crisis in the industrial sector led to difficulties for the sector. The crisis resulted in shortage of raw materials and spare parts; commercial banks refuse orders for raw materials and overseas banks refuse to confirm letters of credit. Fundamentally, the crisis was a disaster to the industrial working class. Many firms were closed down, while others operated skeleton service. Workers were sent on compulsory leave with reduced pay or no pay at all. All firms have reduced their labor force, also those which have been more successful in the access to import licenses. The workers, who remain, faced great uncertainties. Real wages have been more than halved since 1981 due to sharp price increase.

5.3 Executive Recklessness (Primitive Capital Accumulation)

At the root of corruption in the economy is the factor of the 'individual' as against the 'communal' and 'societal' orientation. This emphasis of the individuality, was introduced and established by the colonial administration. This was done in order to gradually but systematically changed the social organisation to the 'individualized' type. And incorporated it into the imperialist and world capitalist system, thereby making it dependent on the latter by producing what it does not really need and consuming what it does not produce[201].

This emphasis on individuality stress the fact that every individual is for himself and nobody is for the country. It is this that explains the individualized socio-economic order of the Nigerian society, introduced by colonialism, but subsequently self-motioning and recreating in various forms that generate and reproduce the conditions which breed both the problem of crime and the economic crisis.

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[200] Ibid,p.39-40

[201] Femi Odekunle, "The Problem of Crime and The Economic Crisis in Nigeria: Origin, Dynamics and Solutions" in **Seminar on Nigerian Economy and Society Since the Berlin Conference (1884-1985)**, 1985,p.9

It allows a few people-mainly the elites of all type-to amass and accumulate wealth, immorally but mostly illegally, at the expenses of the economic, health, political stability and socio-psychological security of the polity and the overwhelming majority of the citizens. Most of the amassed wealth are offensively exhibited through conspicuous consumption in the face of the majority of the people who only manage (and occasionally fail to manage) to feed, house, clothe themselves and otherwise take care of their basic needs. The widespread common criminality among the population are largely a forced response (and usually for socio-economic survival) to the dismissal 'development-output' of the inequality-generating social order and the system-generated and system-protected excesses of the elites[202].

It is this framework that provides the explanation of the massive looting of funds in the industry, as well as the various forms of corruption that led to the collapse of the industry. A typical example of the corruption experienced in the manufacturing industry occurred during a political campaign. According to Godfrey Oyoh, one of my informants, revealed that:

> During election, orders of basin of cloth are being made to the textile industry for campaign. Usually the politicians promise to pay back, as soon as possible. Only for them to remit on their promise, especially after they fail election. [203]

5.4 THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGAMME

The implementation of the policies of Structural Adjustment Program is another factor that wrecked havoc on the nation's industrial development. The SAP program included the following: Introduction of a second-tier foreign exchange market which led to a substantial devaluation of the Naira; the abolition of import licenses; changes to import duties intended to reduce the protection of domestic industries and the import-dependence of manufacturing, the

[202] Femi Odekunle, Ibid, p.15-16
[203] Godfrey Oyoh, interviewed, 12h March, 2012

abolition of export duties, deflationary management policies, deregulation of the banks, and a programme of privatization for some parastatals.[204]

The principal feature of SAP was in the massive devaluation of the Naira through foreign exchange auctions. For example, with the Naira had been allowed to depreciate gradually during the first half of the decade, from equaling almost two US Dollars to less than one, the auctions caused it to drop almost immediately to five Naira to the Dollar, 'stabilizing' for the latter year of the decade around seven.[205]

Fundamentally, the combine adverse effects of the import-substitution industrial strategy and the oil boom had become quite apparent during this period. The substantial appreciation of the exchange rate of the Naira against major international currencies had increased the cost of production in Nigeria. The production and use of locally produced basic and intermediate inputs by local industries were discouraged. The profitability of local production compared to imports fell significantly partly because of the substantial appreciation of the exchange rate of the naira against major international currencies and partly because of the insatiable taste of Nigerians for foreign goods that created a buoyant black market economy which enabled the lace market to undermine the domestic textile industry for which Kaduna and Zaria provided a textile manufacturing nucleus: Kaduna Textile Limited, Arewa Textile Limited, United Textile Limited.

5.5 SHORTAGES OF RAW MATERIALS

Furthermore, shortages of raw materials overtook high cost and smuggling as the main, perceived threat to the survival of the industry. The austerity policies of 1982 paralyzed an already erratic system of import licensing and foreign exchange allocation, creating additional bottlenecks and bureaucratic bottlenecks. Production was repeatedly disrupted. Capacity utilization declined to its lowest point, perhaps some 30% for the industry as a whole by 1983.

[204] Roger Riddel, **op.cit**,p.272
[205] Andrae and Beckman,**op.cit**,p.272

The employers claimed that the allocation of import licenses for 1984 was merely 25% of what they had asked for, and only 12% of what would be needed if the operational capacity of the industry were to be satisfied. The supply situation was unpredictable and companies were unable to plan production. Licenses which had been obtained often turned out to lack Central Bank cover, some other lapsed without being revalidated. The struggle over access to government allocations intensified and managers complained bitterly over the need to 'hang around for months' in Lagos and never getting what they asked for.[206]

Similarly, the Textile workers' union joined management in the struggle for licenses and letters of credit. The union stressed the importance to their members and organization the availabliltiy of raw materials Importantly, it was not the shortage of foreign exchange in an absolute sense but its allocation and misuse that was the real problem, according to the union. The implication of the import squeeze in to industry was the continual retrenchment in the place of work. For example, a survey of 17 large companies showed a drop in employment from 40,100 to 30,400 between 1983 and 1986. The main reduction, however, was not in overall numbers but in effective working time. Workers were sent on 'compulsory leave' during temporary closures, with or without pay or with part-pay. Sometimes closure lasted several months while waiting for raw materials.[207]

In brief, other challenges bedeviling the industrial sector[208] and the residents of Kaduna metropolis include: smuggling and counterfeiting, scarcity of high price of black oil, urban violence etc:

Smuggling and Counterfeiting:- The partial import-prohibition on manufactured goods, especially textiles has been totally ineffective. For example, there has been a sharp increase in

[206] Ibid,p.39
[207] Ibid,p.39-40
[208] Secretariat Report, **Transforming Nigeria Through Re-Industrialization, Employment and Decent Work**, NUTGTWN 10th Quadrennial National Delegates Conference, 2012, p.14-15

the influx of the dumping of cheap textile into Nigeria since 2007, mainly through the land border with Niger Republic. Smuggled goods occupy 80 percent of the market share. Many of these goods, which originate from China, counterfeit the Nigeria textile manufacturing and bear false 'Made in Nigeria' Labels.[209]

Scarcity and High Price Of Black Oil: - Generally, the manufacturing sector suffers from deficiency of electricity. However, the scarcity of black oil (LFPO) and its high price has seriously affected the textile industry in particular. Since 2006, due to the erratic functioning of the Kaduna refinery, the industry has been receiving hardly two percent of the requirement of LPFO the recent increase in the ex-refinery price from N25.40 to N59 per liter has made the operation unviable.

Textile Development Fund: - The fund was commendably announced in 2006 with a view to provide concessionary financing to the sector for retooling the high equipment and funding the working capital needs. Due to the interest rate and non availability of long time financing, the textile industry has not been able to modernize. The delay in implementation of the proposed fund hastened the closure of many textile factories.

Cotton Production:- The quality of cotton has been declining due to fall in local demand. Nigeria cotton is perceived as low quality due to high level of contamination and the production (yield per hectare) remains among the lowest in the world.

Export:- Export of textile production have declined due to delays in implementation of the EEG policy and loss of preferential market access in the EU market resulting from expiration of the Cotonou Agreement.

[209] Secretariat Report, **Transforming Nigeria through Re-Industrialization, Employment and Decent Work,** NUTGTWN 10th Quadrennial National Delegates Conference, 2012,p.14-15

In brief, the import squeeze and the crisis in the industrial sector has led to difficulties for the sector. The crisis resulted in shortage of raw materials and spare part, commercial banks refuse orders for raw materials and overseas bank refuse to confirm letters of credit. Consequently, the crisis was a disaster to the industrial working class. Many firms were closed down, while others operated skeletal service. Workers were sent on compulsory leave with reduced pay or no pay at all. All firms reduced their labour force, and those which have been more successful in accessing of import licenses. The workers who remained faced great uncertainties. Real wages had been more than halved due to large price increase of imported goods. A vivid description of what happened to the industry was given by Sarkin Fulanin Kakuri[210]. He said:

> We never though in our lifetime these gigantic companies will close down, throwing many families into trouble. A new trend of begging and crime has taken over Kakuri. We are sitting on a time bomb in Kaduna. Government should do something before it is too late.

These factors in varying ways contributed to the decline in the industrial sector. Essentially, it is the dependence of the nation's manufacturing on technology from abroad that made the sector venerable to outside influences. It is this external dependence that has cumulated to the closure of most of the firms and retrenchment of a number of the industrial workers, while leading to decline in the economic growth of the area.

5.6 Urban Violence

In order to properly understand violence in the urban centers, it must be contextualized within the framework of the development process. Our finding has shown that there is a clear link between modernization and social disorder. Social disorder in urban areas like Kaduna arises majorly because of the rapid growth experienced in the town and its poor management. These

[210] The Textile Worker, "Kakuri: Digging into Kaduna's dying Industrial Center" in April, 2009. Vol.4 No.30.p.10

challenges experienced in the urban areas are the main causes of negative behavioral patterns threatening the peace of the areas[211].

The reason for this is that when the urban system fails to provide the people with an environment where they can live and work in social harmony, social discontent, disorder and related deviant behaviors manifest and make the city an unpleasant place to live in. Examples of such disorder include: criminal behavior such as property theft, armed robbery and burglary are associated with increasing affluence and improved technology, which are by-products of structural changes associated with industrial productivity and concomitant value transformation[212]. Kaduna, and other cities, being the concentration of development are therefore prone and venerable to such social disorder. In concrete terms, the plight of the widows of the Kaduna Textile Workers brings out this fact clearly. This is the content of their lamentation:

> "We have been neglected by government after our husband spent the better part of their lives serving them. Our children's education has come to a standstill; our daughters have become prostitutes and street hawkers, while our sons have become professional scavengers as well as smoke Indian hemp, simply because we cannot provide them the essential of life. We have lost our husbands in the struggle, no food, no clothes to wear. We are victims of harassment of landlords, as well as customers to rent tribunals all over the state. We have lost our social status in the society. Our members have become cripples as a result of the Okada business[213].

It is circumstances such as this that indicate the nature of social disorder that has threatened and is still threatening the social harmony in the Kaduna metropolis. Also, it brings out another aspect of the social disorder in the area. Examples of such conflicts are the 1987, 1988, 1992, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2011, and 2012 riots.

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[211] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy for Nigeria**, p.15
[212] Jinmi Adisa, "Urban Violence in Lagos", in Eghosa G. Osaghae (et.al) (ed.) in **Urban Violence in Africa**, 1994, p.139
[213] Christiana T. Alaba, "Widows of Kaduna Textile workers recount their plight" in Daily Trust, Friday, November, 2011, p.32.

For instances in 2002, the city of Kaduna experienced violent eruptions. This violent incident happened because of a controversy concerning the Miss World Pageant. That saw youths protesting an alleged blasphemous publication in Thisday Newspaper that led to destruction of properties, loss of lives and reprisals attacks.

A newspaper article two years after the incident counted the ordeal as:

> On February 21, 2002, Kaduna state clocked two years after the unprecedented devilish event that besiged the integrity and reign of peace and harmony enjoyed by the diverse religious and ethnic nationalities of the state. It was indeed a year that commercial institutions in the state suffered paralyses. Even the famous Kaduna International Trade Fair of that year was discolorful. It was a year that lives were lost, property worth millions of Naira were vandalized, some carted away by hoodlums. Indeed those who worked hard to earn their money and property lost them to the idle ones. Many today, are still counting the losses while the opportunists are today enumerating their gains with evil smile on their faces[214].

Social disorder such as this reveals the contradiction that exists in the urban areas of Kaduna. It is a dialectic relationship between the 'have' and the 'have not'. Uproar such as the above quoted incident does not just lead to economic decline of the area in terms of internal revenue and foreign investment. It also encourages hoodlum, who are mostly unemployed and underemployed, to engage in social unrest in order to enrich themselves at the detriment of those who genuinely labor for the wealth.

These conflicts have also impacted on the spatial arrangement of Kaduna metropolis. This has led to the relocation of internally displaced persons between the Kaduna North and the Kaduna South LGA's[215]. The resettlement to the Southern part of the metropolis include the Ungwan Yelwa, Kudenda, Nasarawa, Narayi, Gonin Gora, Turkaniya, Sabon Tasha, Unguwan Boro, Ungwan Pama, Mararaban Rido and Kakau across the River Kaduna. Similarly,

[214] Usman Chori, "Two Years After Kaduna Mayhem" in **New Nigerian Newspaper**, 30th April, 2002, p.8
[215] Ibrahim, J., **Kaduna State: The Challenge of Industrlization**, 2011.p.iv

resettlement to the Northern part of the metropolis that entails that of Rigasa, Badiko, Kurmin Mashi, Kawo, Hayin Banki, Ungwan Dosa, Ungwan Shanu, and Malali.

Importantly, other social disorders in Kaduna metropolis, include: High dependency rate, over-crowding, growing rate of unemployment and underemployment, overstretched community and social services amongst others. The implication of this social disorder is that the rapid population growth and urban expansion is posing serious threat to the social harmony in the metropolis.

Furthermore, the explosion of the city has created several other problems. In particular, there is the problem of urban services which could not be accommodated by existing capacities and frameworks. They include: the provisions of housing, water, electricity, transport facilities, refuse and sewage disposal, these engender degradation of several neighborhoods. Slum areas sprang into existence and continued to grow as overcrowded tenements led to a further desecration of the environment. Employment opportunities contracted, as the demands for skilled labor far outstripped supply. Jobless youths drifted into criminal activities as the social conditions of the city with its ever-increasing pressure of 'mass' in limited space accentuated and reflected the contemporary decay of urban life, where crime and violence continued to grow rapidly.

The implication of this phenomenon on the city of Kaduna is that the city is fast becoming an 'over-urbanized' center. The issue of over-urbanization is when the rate of urbanization outpaces economic development, demand for physical and social infrastructure[216]. The concept relates to the idea of an optimum level of urbanization to a given stage of economic development. Hoselitz, clearly spelt out, the three conditions of over-urbanization, as follows:

[216] Dosumu, W., "An Area-Wide Planning Methodology for Metropolitan Lagos", Ph.D Thesis.1972,p.5

i. When urbanization in a country is running ahead of industrialization and the development of administrative and other service occupations which are characteristically concentrated in cities.
ii. When there is great disproportion between the costs of urban growth and the maintenance of proper facilities for urban dwellers and the earning capacity of the people congregated in cities;
iii. When the migration to the city is due less to the 'pull', i.e. the attractiveness which the city exerts, and more to the 'push' experienced in the rural areas[217].

From the above premise laid down, it is apparent that Kaduna metropolis, does satisfy all of the above criteria of 'over-urbanization'. Equally important, it has been identified as one of the most densely populated states.[218] It has a population of more than six million people according to the 2006 population census. About one third of the population is concentrated between Kaduna metropolis and the city of Zaria.

5.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter has attempted to explain how the decline in the industry has brought about crisis in the Kaduna metropolis. The decline was essentially due to various factors and forces. The Structural Adjustment Programme adopted by the government was first and perhaps foremost, in the series of events that led to the collapse of the industry. For the programme, S.A.P. intensified the liberalization of the economy. Thus, the country became a dumping ground for the importation of imported goods. In addition, it is the dependent character of the manufacturing sub-industry that the sector became venerable in the wake of foreign exchange crisis. Also, the massive corruption of government fund by top management staff played crucial role in the closure of the factories and the retrenchment of its workers.

Paradoxical, while the company closed its doors to workers and reduces the number of its work force the city has continued to explode and expand as birth rate continues to surge and influx of people from the rural areas into Kaduna metropolis. Thus, the proportion of the people living in the metropolis is beyond the capacity of its resources.

[217] Hoselitz, B.F, "Urbanization and Economic Development in Asia" **Economic Development and Cultural Change,** vol.6, no.1 October, 1957, p.44, cited in Ibid, p.5
[218] Ibrahim J., **op.cit**,p.viii-ix

Consequently, Kaduna is an over-urbanized metropolis. This is because, as discussed earlier, first, its urbanization is running ahead of its industrialization; second, there is great gap between the costs of urban growth and the maintenance of proper facilities for urban dwellers and the earning capacity of the people; lastly, the migration to the city is due less to the 'pull', and more to the 'push' experienced in the rural areas. Hence, Kaduna's contribution to the economic development of the country is fast becoming marginal.

CHAPTER SIX

PROSPECT AND POSSIBILITIES FOR INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN KADUNA.

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapters have attempted to show the impact of the manufacturing industry to the development of the Kaduna metropolis. It argued that prior to the establishment of industry in Kaduna, population was slow. For example, by 1952, the population of Kaduna was 39,000. However, with industrialization of Kaduna, the population expanded four-fold. The population of the city was 149,000 in 1963 due to the demand for a workforce in industries and the consequent boom in commercial and services sectors.

In addition, we also discussed the problems of the industries and urban crisis experienced in Kaduna. We showed that the import-substitution industrialization strategy adopted, gave the manufacturing sub-sector its highly dependent status. Consequently, the sector was vulnerable to external shock, such as instability in the price of oil in the international market and global depression in the western nations, which led to retrenchment of industrial workers and closure of factories.

In the light of the above, the chapter will attempt to proffer solution to both the challenges faced in the manufacturing industry and the urban crisis experienced in the metropolis. The essence is to enable Kaduna residents to benefit from the economic prosperity of the metropolis. The attempt to resolve the urban crisis will be hinged on two major points: first, the importance of emphasizing agricultural development and modernization as a means of increasing rural incomes faster than is assumed, thus stemming the tide of migration to the cities; Secondly, the urgent need to organize and strengthen urban institutions which must plan for the growth of the cities.

6.1 SUSTAINING URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE KADUNA METROPOLIS

The answer to the question of urban development has been provided in various researches. One of the solution proffered is by the Nigerian government to developed a national policy to urgently organize and strengthen urban institutions for the growth of the cities. The policy is articulated in the publication titled the *National Urban Development Policy for Nigeria*. It is within the framework of the National Urban Development Policy for Nigeria that the recommendation for the urban development of Kaduna metropolis is made. Our discussion will focus on those sections of the policy that are crucial to the development of Kaduna metropolis: population and social order, urban environment, urban land, urban infrastructure, and urban housing.

Importantly, before we focus on the policy there is need to understand the goal, objectives and strategies of the policy. The goal of the policy is to develop a dynamic system of urban settlement which will foster sustainable economic growth, promote efficient urban and regional development and ensure improved standard of living and well-being for all Nigerians.[219]

In order to achieve this goal, the following are the objectives spelt out[220]:

i. Promote efficient urban development and management.

ii. Clearly define responsibilities and functions of each level of government with a view to ensuring effective plan implementation and accountability

iii. Provide appropriate financial mechanism among the three levels of Government, and other Governmental and Non-Governmental agencies for the implementation of urban development projects such as slum clearance, urban renewal, implementation of master plans, etc.

[219] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.17
[220] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.17-18

iv. Strengthen the capacity, of the urban centers to manage economic growth, social development and the alleviation of poverty.

v. Provide adequate, efficient and functional infrastructures and social services in all categories of urban settlements.

vi. Facilitate the revision and implementation of the Housing, Environment, Land-Use, Population, Employment and other relevant policies and programmes with a view to making them more responsive to the challenges of land-use planning in Nigeria.

vii. Create an enabling environment of regulations, infrastructures laws and institutions which will enhance urban market performance and social welfare.

viii. Encouragement and promote greater private sector participation in urban development.

ix. Give special attention to new State capitals and Local Government Headquarters because of the unique problems and circumstances which they face as new growth centers.

To accomplish these objectives, the following strategies were identified:

i. Establish an appropriate institutional framework for ensuring orderly development and efficient management of Nigerian urban settlements.

ii. Classify urban centers in Nigerian as a guide for policy intervention

iii. Revise existing laws and regulations in order to ensure their adequacy in addressing current urban development problems.

iv. Restructure all existing public institutions involved in urban management at the three levels of Government, and where necessary create new ones, with a view to ensuring effective responses to the challenges of urbanization in Nigeria.

v. Strengthening the capacity of all agencies and bodies charged with the responsibility of monitoring the implementation of all existing Federal Government policies related to urban development.

vi. Ensure continuous flow of funds from various sources for urban development

vii. Establish land information systems and encourage land registration by title as a basis for efficient urban management in Nigeria.

viii. Produce Cadastral maps and other necessary base maps needed for urban planning and management.

ix. Prepare Master Plans and Development Plans for all designated urban centers and growth poles.

x. Adopt functional design standards in order to make urban facilities and amenities more affordable.

xi. Strengthen the executive capacity of Urban Local Governments to enable them perform their statutory functions more effectively.

xii. Widen the revenue base of local amenities with a view to enhancing their ability to perform their functions.

xiii. Increase the Urban Development Policy with Regional Economic Policies of Governments at all levels.

xiv. Increase the quantity and improve the quality of manpower needed for urban development and management.

xv. Encourage on a systematic basis, policy-oriented research on urban development with a view to improving the country's understanding of the nature of the problems and the possible strategic options[221].

[221] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.18-19

The following are other section of the policy that are crucial to the sustenance of urban development of the Kaduna metropolis:

1. Urban Population and Social Order: - Nigeria has been experiencing a high rate of population and urban expansion. This rapid population growth has posed serious problems for physical and socio-economic development because of the inability of the existing institutions to cope with the challenges. Therefore, the situation is threatening to the urban social order, manifesting itself in social tension, homelessness, and various forms of deviant behavior[222].

The goal and objective of the government as they relate to urban population and social order are to secure urban social order and stability by improving the quality of life through increased employment opportunities and access to infrastructure, facilities and services.

In order to ensure social order in the urban areas, the following are policies to be pursued, by the Federal Government:

i. Support and encourage the upgrading of urban services to cope with population growth

ii. Mobilize the populace through mass education to emulate our positive traditional attitudes and beliefs with a view to enhancing urban social order.

iii. Encourage community participation and the positive aspects of the traditional neighborhood leadership concept and develop these into the framework of urban decision making mechanisms.

Similarly, at the State and Local Levels their effort will be targeted towards a number of activities. These activities will include, providing adequate social and recreational facilities within every section of the town/city for use of peoples of all age groups. Also, it will entail providing convenient housing and employment opportunities during resettlement programmes to

[222] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.32-47

ensure that tension, fear, uncertainties and anxieties usually associated with displacement, are reduced to the barest minimum

2. Urban Environment: An assessment of Nigerian urban environment indicates that it is of poor quality and unsatisfactory. The inadequacy of open spaces and other recreational facilities, traffic congestion and environmental pollution are indicators of poor land use planning and management in urban settlements in Nigeria[223].

In the light of this, the goal of the government is to ensure an orderly development of Nigerian urban settlement in a way that guarantees a decent and liveable environment. The objectives will be to do the following: first, upgrade the existing slums and squatter settlements and control the emergence of unplanned settlements; and, secondly, is to enhance the performance of all institutions responsible for the management of the urban environment.

3. Urban Land: - Land issues in the urban areas have been seriously affected by population explosion, urbanization and socio-economic growth. This has led to congestion in the cities and acute residential accommodation[224]. On this note, government attempts to make land accessible and affordable for average Nigerian to acquire.

In order to achieve this goal, of accessible land for average Nigerian to acquire, the government intends to pursue the following:

i. Expedite action on the review of the Land Use Decree with a view to making it more responsive to its intended objectives.
ii. Ensure security of tenure for whoever has title to land
iii. Make land easily obtainable by any Nigerian who has need for it
iv. Make land for development easily available for both corporate and private use

[223] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.35-47
[224] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.39

v. Ensure that land is employed for its most economic and beneficent use, eliminating wastage as much as possible.

vi. Adopt improved land use management practices with a view to ensuring orderly growth and development of our human settlements.

vii. Make it easier for both Federal and Local Governments to acquire land anywhere in the country for urban development.

viii. Facilitate access to the needed maps and resources for land use management and planning[225].

4. Urban Infrastructure: - It attempts to address the inability of the infrastructure and social services to meet the growing pace of population needs. Such infrastructure needs include irregular water supply, unreliable energy supply, poor drainage, inefficient waste disposal system, gross overstretched intra-city, inter-city and inter-state transportation system etc.[226]

In order to address this problem, the goal of the government is to improve the infrastructure problems which now impede the efficient functioning of our urban areas. This is in order to ensure that all urban residents have access to adequate, efficient and affordable infrastructural facilities.

The steps taken by the government in order to achieve this object is as follows: Ensure the provision of adequate and functional infrastructure all categories of urban settlements; encourage the participation of the private sector in the provision of infrastructure; and, strengthen all relevant institutions with a view to making them more responsive to their responsibilities.

5. Urban Housing: - The demand for housing and shelter in general, is necessity. This necessity has become one of the threat facing residents in urban areas. This is because the supply is unable to cope with demand and the problem is further aggravated by the fact that the bulk of existing

[225] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.40-41
[226] Federal Republic of Nigeria, **National Urban Development Policy For Nigeria,** p.46-47

houses are mainly in poor condition and very poorly planned and constructed without essential basic amenities. The outcome of this is emergence of slums, shanty towns and squalor; with the result that the entire living environment is usually not conducive to comfortable living and increased productivity[227].

The goal of the government concerning urban housing is to ensure that an average urban dweller owns or has access to a decent accommodation and a good living and working environment in order to increase his productivity to national development.

On the whole, this government policy has greatly articulated the needs and ideals of the demand of Kaduna metropolis. It has identified goals and objectives of enhancing Kaduna urban development in the urban areas. Words should be marched with actions to make this policy a concrete reality for the benefit of the urban dwellers. In other words, there is need for prompt implementation of the policy, and continuous evaluation of the implementation process for sustainable development.

6.2 Promotion of Industrial Employment in Kaduna Metropolis

The need for Government to implement its industrialization agenda cannot be overemphasized. By so doing, government will do away with its passive attitude towards the industrialization of the country, and begin to play an active role. Example of such, industrial scheme is the, Cotton, Textiles and Garment Industry Revival Scheme. This scheme is a set of strategies, policies and programmes geared towards revitalizing (and developing, in the case of garmenting) The Nigerian Cotton, Textile and Garment (CTG) Industry. The aim is to create a conducive, economic, institutional, policy and regulatory framework as well as facilitate access to funding that will enhance the industry's competitiveness.

[227] Ibid, p.44

The proceeds of a N100 billion bond to be floated by the Debt Management Office (DMO) and utilized in the Scheme's implementation, should be made available to interested and a genuine industry participants across the value chain of the CTG sector. Beneficiaries should include farmers, (producing cotton and other fiber products), ginnery operators, spinning and textiles millers, and investors in garmenting.

The expected outcome from this kind of industrial revival scheme is numerous. It will include strengthening the capacities of existing public and private sector technical support institutions and establish new ones for the industry that shall lead to the acquisition of national expertise in quality assurance and market competitiveness; improve agricultural and primary cotton processing practices, enhance output quality, productivity, competitiveness and access to foreign markets for Nigerian cotton and textile products.

Other scheme that would enhance industrial development are access to long-term funds at reasonable interest rates; scale up the fight against smuggling of counterfeit textile products through strengthening the capacities of the Nigerian Customs Service and implementing a high level diplomatic campaign; increase power generation and distribution to core CTG industry centers around the country and address a critical inadequacy that is partly responsible for the downturn in the industry's competitiveness; retool and upgrade ginneries, spinning mills and textile mills; strengthening the few existing garmenting enterprises as well as establish new ones.

The role of industry in an economy is both direct and indirect. Directly it provides employment for the teeming unemployed, in search of work, and contributes to revenue generation of the country. On the other hand, the role of industry in contributing to the development of employment through the indirect employment is more significant.

This is because the contribution derived through the indirect employment provides full advantage of the economic benefits resulting from an optimum employment their factors of

production (abundance of manpower) and of perpetuating a situation in the social field that is in several ways satisfying[228]. Thus, the indirect employment leads to multiple effect of industrial investment.

Generally, industry, which is also known as secondary production[229], is being classified into various groups. They are as follows:

Industries (manufacturing, construction, etc):

i. Metal (metallurgy, mechanical and electrical engineering, construction and repair of vehicles, ships, etc)
ii. Brick and stone, pottery and glass
iii. Building and construction
iv. Wood (feeling, floating, saw-milling and woodwork, including furniture)
v. Paper and printing
vi. Textiles
vii. Clothing (including boots and shoes)
viii. Skin, leather and rubber
ix. Chemicals
x. Food, drink and tobacco
xi. Water, gas and electricity (production and distribution)

In order to address the issue of unemployment in Africa, the United Nation provided a policy that would be of help to the continent. Particularly, it suggested that the role of small scale industry should not be undermined in the economy. According to the report:

> Small scale industry already makes a significant contribution to employment development in Africa. The great majority of manufacturing establishments are small and more than 60 percent of those engaged in manufacturing are to be found in small units. This structure is determined by a variety of factors, market conditions, raw material sources, transport availability, heterogeneity of demand, kinds of technology, nature of capital market, etc. whatever the causes, the fact remains that these small units exists and the persons employed in them, both workers and management, have acquired skills and know-how which are available for any country wishing to expand its industrial base[230].

[228] International Labor Organisation, **Employment Policy in Africa**. 1969,p.90
[229] International Labor Office, **The International Labor Code. Vol. II. Appendices**. 1952, p.358
[230] International Labor Organisation, **Employment Policy in Africa**. 1969,p.96

Similarly, the entrepreneurs of these small firms have shown the initiative and enterprise to set up in business with limited capital resources. They usually have the initiative and enterprise to set up in business with limited capital resources.

In addition, they usually have the personal abilities and motivations required to introduce the innovations needed in a dynamic society, e.g. imagination, drive, initiative, risk acceptance, decisiveness in face of uncertainty – all characteristics which are as important as technical and managerial know-how in determining business success. Hence, they provide an easier transition from an individualistic peasant life, to a factory life[231].

However, this solution address only part of the problem, it does not critically deal with the essence of migrant flow from the rural areas. It is this issue of migrant flow that forms the basis of the population expansion and explosion. This is because the migrants do not leave the rural areas because their labor has been replaced by better machines nor do they move into cities because there are industries for them to be gainfully employed in.

Rather, the rate of rural-urban migration is occurring as a result of dislocation of rural production systems, while the cities grow not as productive industrial centers but as nodes of collection and processing of agricultural/materials the profits of which were not used to complement development in the rural sector but used to pay for expensive manufactured consumer goods from abroad.

At the fore front of any significant development in Kaduna is the issue of rural development. This because the emphasis on rural production is no doubt part of a programme which realizes that no socio-economic development of Nigeria can occur or succeed without due consideration being given to the development and utilization of the rural human and material resources. The Nigerian society and its economy are predominantly rural; this rural sector

[231] International Labor Organisation, **Employment Policy in Africa**. 1969,p.96

currently possesses the potential for spearheading the supply and development of food and funds required to sustain the nations, its industries and its economy[232]. Therefore, for a proper urban growth and industrial development, the need for a total transformation in the rural sector cannot be underestimated.

This is because the rural areas is generally characterized as mainly agriculturists with a direct relationship to nature as opposed to the urban peoples engaged in manufacturing, mechanical and commercial occupations in a predominantly man-made environment.

6.3 Rural Development for Kaduna Hinterland

In order to stem the tide of migration and the question of food supply to Kaduna metropolis opportunities, the development of its rural areas cannot be overemphasized. For instance, 90 percent of the entire foodstuffs consumed in Kaduna are imported from more than 50 miles away by routes and markets which were in no way specially designed to supply the city.[233]

In concrete terms the plight of the agricultural worker and the rural dwellers are pathetic. The agricultural worker rarely gets rich from his produce. Indeed his income in many cases is not commensurate with the arduous tasks involved in production processes and can only just meet his modest expenditures. Although he may have enough to eat, the profits realized from the sale of small surpluses may be insufficient to cover household expenses, particularly if these include school fees. His financial position has deteriorated with inflation.[234]

[232] Otite, O., "Rural Nigeria" in Otite. O and Okali. C (ed) in **Readings in Nigerian Rural Society and Rural Economy**, 1990,p.18
[233] Max Lock, **op.cit**,p.22
[234] Ibid, p.18-19

The rural Nigerian farmer is given a relatively low status and prestige; his occupation, through which he helps to maintain the urban population and keep up the urban life, is rater very low. The rural Nigerian farmer is generally less favorably placed.

It is this exploitation caused by the unsatisfactory economic and social conditions prevailing in many of the rural areas in which these workers originated from, that leads to migration of labor. Therefore, the measures designed to solve the problem of migration of workers should deal firstly with the situation in these rural areas. This situation in is a combination of many factors. These factors are labor, land usage and agricultural production, monetization of the economy, economic and social development.

The following are measures geared towards making the villages more attractive and profitable for the rural dwellers.

i. Providing the inhabitants in rural areas with the opportunity of engaging in activity of a genuinely lucrative character, by the planting of valuable crops, stock raising and the growing of food on scientific principles, through such methods as the improvement of agricultural production by irrigation works and the use of fertilizers as well as better cultivation practices, and soil conservation work.

ii. Giving encouragement to producers' co-operatives, marketing co-operatives and distributive co-operatives, as well as to undertakings designed to supply satisfactory markets for the products of the area.

iii. Improving living conditions for the inhabitants by the provision of facilities for education and public health, by the creation of a numbers of model villages and by the provision of roads and means of communication, of consumers' cooperatives, and of facilities for the employment of spare time.

iv. Bringing about greater elasticity in local system of land tenure so as to allow the occupier to obtain a direct and individual return from his labors.

v. Making available or arranging for the retention of cultivable land for the local communities for the purpose of supplying their requirement in respect of food.

vi. Appropriate steps should be taken to support rural betterment institutions in the areas from which the workers come by contributions to the economic gains of the areas of employment.[235]

Importantly, agriculture is a powerful economic factor in African countries, its contribution to the GDP ranging from 40 to some 55 percent in the central, eastern and western sub-regions. If we add to this the fact that, in agriculture, simple improvements or innovations in equipment often produce substantial dividends and that the amount of capital investment needed is generally lower than in other sectors. There are grounds for the belief that investments in agriculture will increase total output far more rapidly than equivalent investments in other sectors. It follows that if agriculture is not given the share it deserves of the funds available for investment, it will be difficult to achieve a satisfactory rate of increase for the GDP[236].

In the light of this, the need to intensify and diversity crop production in agricultural production is vital. The purpose of crop intensification is to increase output per unit of area through a higher input of labor and other technical factors. The latter, which involve the introduction into the production process of technological improvements or innovations (such as the use of fertilizers), theoretically lead to an increase in the number of workers required and consequently to a reduction in both visible and invisible underemployment by raising the income

[235] International Labor Office, **The International Labor Code. Vol. II. Appendices**. 1952, p.266-267
[236] International Labor Organisation, **Employment Policy in Africa**. 1969,p.69

potential and increasing the productivity of the other factors of production associated with labor[237].

In addition to this these technical measures, mention may be made by way of illustration of the following: improvements of the implements used; the use of animal-drawn equipment; mechanization of farming operations to help overcome the labor bottlenecks at peak periods; irrigation and drainage; protection of the soil against excessive salinity; the use of mineral or organic fertilizers; the use of improved crop varieties such as hybrid maize, or high-yielding varieties of rice; improved crop rotation and stricter compliance with the technical dictates of the farming calendar; crop protection through the appropriate use of pesticides; combining stock-breeding with crop-growing; improvement and protection of animal breeds; improved storage facilities[238]. These measures have to be implemented in a manner of appropriate to the ecological, sociological and economic conditions prevailing in the areas.

Importantly, while farming is the main occupation of rural people in Nigeria non-farming occupations are an important source of livelihood and the improvement of these have vital role to play in rural development. In order for proper transformation of the rural economy, the need for the rural areas to also participate in the industrialization process cannot be ruled out.

In the light of this the primary task of development is to reverse the present trend. This means that:

i. Modern employment opportunities have to be created in the rural areas and not primarily in metropolitan areas to which youths tend to migrate.

[237] Ibid,p.71
[238] Ibid,p.72

ii. The per capital cost of creating the jobs must be low enough to enable large numbers of them to be created, with simple production techniques in the urban as well as in the urban areas.

iii. Production should mainly be based on local raw materials for local needs and markets.

iv. The rural-urban income differentials must not be unrelated to the inter se production efforts.[239]

The essence is to break the dichotomy between the rural areas as traditional, while the urban areas are regarded as modern sectors. The rural community must no longer be regarded as primary producer for the satisfaction of the food and raw material needs of the urban dwellers. There must also be an emphasis on the importance of rural industry, especially household, small-scale and medium sized industries, trade, commerce, services, and strong local administration. Without the strong development of these occupations, the rural areas will continue to be depressed and rural depopulation and urban migration will grow unabated[240].

The availability of industrial establishment in rural areas will, also go a long way to transform the sector for the better. For, industries alone can draw the hidden unemployed off the land into production, particularly in the present stage of development, when primary production is identified with illiteracy and backwardness.

This is because industry provides the enlarged markets and better prices for food and raw materials and jerks the primary sector out of its deep slumber. It raises the output per head and creates not only investment capital, but also the opportunity for its utilization faster than the primary sector. The more rapidly the industrial sector grows, the more swiftly modern attitudes and enterprise will spread not only through the rural areas, but also through the entire nation.

[239] Aluko, S, "Industry in Rural Setting", in p.438
[240] Ibid

Therefore, agriculture and industry in the rural areas should be allowed to grow simultaneously. This is in order to create a cycle of exchange between them and affording alternative employment opportunities other than migration to the urban industrial areas.

Another effort to enhance the transformation of the rural area is in the aspect of social restructure and spatial reorganization of the areas. According to Mabogunje:

> The local government area can thus become the basic unit at which much of this reorganization takes place. Indeed, the Local Government Decree emphasized that each local government area must be created around a central city. To this extent, the Decree can be said to have some physical and regional planning orientation. What is important in rescuing the farmer, however, is to go beyond this to ensure that within each local government area there is an appropriate system of cities to cater for the needs of farmers and an appropriate structure of villages, hamlets and land holdings to enable them to engage in productive activity on the same modernized footing as their urban counterparts. In short, what is being advocated here is that, just as decision-makers are gradually waking up to the importance of providing urban master plans for the orderly development of our cities, it is infinitely more critical for them to engage in producing and implementing rural master plans for the transformation of our rural areas and the emancipation of our rural farmers from the shackles of indebtedness, low productivity and poverty[241].

Therefore the need and demand for organisation of implementing rural master plans for the transformation of our rural areas and the emancipation of our rural is a factor of immense importance. The emphasis in this spatial reorganization is the advancement of the farmers to realize their potential. This is related also related to a set of complementary policies needed to turn this new spatial structure into the framework for the emergence of modernized rural communities throughout the country.

The possibilities for such reorganization are numerous. They include, the reorganization of farmland into mechanize production and to increase productivity; the co-operative organisation will find it easy to provide the farmers with fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides and

[241] Mabogunje A.K. "On Developing and Development" in Otite. O and Okali. C (ed) in **Readings in Nigerian Rural Society and Rural Economy**, 1990,p.464-469

new seedlings and to start training them in modern production methods. It also includes a learning process that extend beyond the pooling of farm land to other areas of economic, social and political life[242].

It must be obvious that such a spatial re-organisation of the rural areas immediately changes the nature of access of farmers to a wide range of national resources. It ensures that their production can be stimulated through the ease of distributing factor inputs to them. It provides a new and intimate level of participation in the administration of affairs, which touches closely on their daily life, and it creates a structure which can be made more responsive to the changing circumstances through which any society must pass.

In sum the goal of the transformation of the hinterland in Kaduna is to make the rural dwellers, particularly the farmers, more modernized, enterprising and self-reliant. Also, it is to increase their income earning, make them proud of their profession and responsible to provide this nation's populace with adequate food and its factories with abundant raw materials.

6.4 Conclusion

The chapter has attempted to proffer solution to the crisis of development in the Kaduna metropolis from a holistic point of view. Basically, two points were discussed here. First, the importance of emphasizing agricultural development and modernization as a means of increasing rural incomes, thus, stemming the tide of migration to the metropolis. Secondly, the urgent need to organize and strengthen urban institutions which must plan for the growth of the cities which inevitably will take place.

[242] Mabogunje, A.K., "On Developing and Development" in p.467-468

Important, the study strongly advocated for the importance of both agriculture and manufacturing for the development of Kaduna. It is from this interconnection between the rural and urban dwellers that the growth and development of Kaduna can be properly established.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In this study, we have attempted to analyze the role of industry in the growth of Kaduna metropolis. This is to help us understand the relationship between Urbanization and Economic Development. To achieve this objective Kaduna was conceived as a city whose economic base stood on a tripod, that include its role as follows: government capital, military garrison and an industrial city[243]. Of these three, it's the role of Kaduna as an industrial city that forms the essence of the study.

Therefore, the study focused on the manufacturing sub-sector of the industrial sector. In order to discuss how it has impacted and contributed to the development of Kaduna metropolis, we have discussed, the major areas which include: urban development, migration, spatial patterns, class formation, and the effects of Kaduna's growth on its immediate hinterland.

Importantly, our findings agree with those of other scholars[244]that points out that the growth of Kaduna upto 1952, was gradual relative to the period after. Throughout the colonial period, Kaduna did not develop into a major center of commerce, especially for the export-import trade as compared to Kano, Zaria and Jos. For instance, while as far back as 1919, there were over 21 European merchant firms in Zaria buying groundnuts, hides, cotton and sheanuts and selling consumer goods in return, Kaduna had only one, and four firms by 1912 and as late as the 1930's respectively.[245]

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[243] Max Lock, op.cit,p.6

[244]See: Shenton R.W.,op.cit, Micheal Watts, "Peasantry, Merchant Capital and International Firms: Colonial Capitalism in Northern Nigeria" , Dakar, Senegal. 1980; E. Oyedele, op.cit.

[245] E. Oyedele, **op.cit**, p.507. Citing Arnette, Oyele listed the following merchant firms established in Zaria by 1919 as: The Co. Ltd; W.B. Maclever and Co. Ltd; The Tin area of Nigeria Ltd; London and Kano Trading Co.Ltd; The French Co.Ltd; H.L.Poole; The Lagos Stores Ltd; The British Cotton Growing Associate (B.C.G.A.); John Holt & Co.Ltd; A.J. Tangalakis & Co.; L.Ambrosini & Eastern Trade Corp; G.B. Olivant & Co.Ltd; Grace Brothers; Paterson Zachonis & Co.Ltd; G. Gotschalk & Co; John Walhden & Co.Ltd; R.Hassan & Co; Fairbrother Building Co; Hendersons, Manchester , Ltd. (See also: NAK Zarprof 622/1912)

As Oyedele argued, indeed upto 1954, Kaduna did not develop a strong private sector base and manufacturing was non-existent. Also its commercial importance throughout the colonial period was directly linked to public sector spending and limited to the urban enclave and a few surrounding villages. To this end, Kaduna was described as a classical example of a colonial capital city; an essentially satellite parasitic capital city, a European type city on an African soil. Thus, Kaduna played a subordinate role in the economy of the region.

However, by independence the issue of industrialization became a serious issue. The introduction of self-rule led to some active interest in the stimulation of new manufacturing industry. This is because the new representatives of the people were anxious to attain rapid economic development, decreased dependence on raw material exports, expanding urban employment opportunities and modernization of the economy.[246] Thus, large-scale manufacturing establishment in Nigeria was a result of government's active participation in the industrial process.

Specifically, in order to promote industrial commercial enterprises in Kaduna, government put in place several facilities. In Kaduna and Zaria up to seven and four industrial estates respectively have been laid out and provided with access roads, water and power. Other incentives include pioneer status scheme to survive the initial capital outlay and other related problems are granted tax holidays for the first 3 or 5 years of their operations. Approved user scheme provides for transfer of profit and dividends arising from investments in accordance with tax. Government also facilities promotional activities and the provision of the relevant investment investors on consultancy basis. It also facilitates project evaluation to determine viability. Government also assists applicants in their industrial plot-acquisition efforts.[247]

[246] Helliner G.K. **op.cit**,p.311
[247] Ibid,p.22

Furthermore, the adoption of the import-substitution industrialization (ISI) industrial Development Strategy became a logical consequence of the basic thrust of Nigeria's economic policy from 1960-1985. This favoured import-substitution industrial development strategy which influenced and conditioned the objectives of national development planning in the industrial sector.[248]

Kaduna, in particular, from a modest beginning of six (6) industrial establishments between 1950 and 1960, had the number of industries increased to about 332 by 1985. This means that there had been an increase of not less than 21 major Industrial categories distributed over 5 industrial areas by 1985 namely; the Kaduna south industrial area, the Tudun Wada industrial area, the Kawo light industrial area, the Kudenda industrial area and the Kaduna refinery industrial area. Within short period of five years and only btw 1981 and 1985, not less than 116 manufacturing of different classifications had been established. By 1985 a large number of single industrial concerns with between 3,000 and 11,000 workforce were in operation in Kaduna notably: the Kaduna Textile Limited (KTL), the Arewa Textile Limited, the Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited. These industrial concerns transformed Kaduna from a mere capital city into a bustling commercial entrepot and nucleus of modern commercial hub in Nigeria.[249]

On the whole, the large-manufacturing establishments in Kaduna are as follows: Industrial Gases, United Nigeria Textiles, Super-phosphate Fertilizer, Peugeot Automobile Assembly Plant, Nigeria Breweries, Kaduna Textiles, Thomas Wyatt, Northern Nigeria Textiles, Mourkrim Industries, Critall-Hope, Arewa Textiles, Zamfara Textiles, Turners Cement Asbestos, Nortex, Nigerian Defence Industry, Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company amongst others.

[248] Ibrahim James,op.cit,p.12
[249] Ibid,p.9

At the heart of historical studies is the factor of Change and Continuity. This is because the present is an accumulation of the past, but it is always something more than that. This point succinctly explains the continuity of history in the Kaduna metropolis over the years. Particularly, it shows how the seed of discord and intolerance sown by the colonialists has continued upto the present time. The colonialists were able to do this by using the colonial administration in northern Nigeria to device a system that kept ethnic groups separated.

As a result of this tactics, intolerance was created among southerners for their northern counterparts; while ignorance and suspicion were implanted amongst northern immigrants. This gave rise to ethnicity, cultural consciousness and religious feelings amongst the various immigrants to Kaduna. Hence, integration and assimilation of immigrants rather than being promoted, they were weakened.

In the same vein, Kaduna metropolis has not fared better. The city in recent time, has been 'Balkanized' along religious and cultural lines. The southern part of the metropolis, officially known as Kaduna South L.G.A. is regarded almost exclusive a Christian enclave. On the other hand, the northern part of the metropolis, officially known as Kaduna North L.G.A. is regarded as almost exclusively for Muslim. In each of this settings, members of the religious/cultural group are made uncomfortable because of inappropriate behavior. Hence, to an extent, the urbanization process in Kaduna metropolis is affected negatively because of this Continuity of history.

Importantly, the economic restructuring experienced in the Kaduna metropolis is where change are clearly manifested. This form of changes focuses on the movement of companies or cities away from manufacturing as their primary economic activity and evolvement into more service-oriented activities.

The reason for this is not far-fetch. With the decline in the manufacturing industry and the closure of most of the factories in Kaduna, the economy has been in transition from ‘blue collar workers’ to ‘white collar workers’. In other words, the economy is moving from manufacturing industry service industry. The service industries consist of trade, finance, insurance, real estate; personal, professional, business and repair services, and administration.

Only time and research will tell if the service industry would be able to play active role in the urbanization process of Kaduna metropolis as its predecessor, the manufacturing industry did. For Kaduna state more than any other in the north, plays host to more services industry, especially in areas such as Education, Health, Aviation and Financial institutions.

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"	"	C.8/1954	Administration of Kaduna Township 1954-57
"	SNP7	18859/1907	Transport Policy (proposed) for Northern Nigeria
"	"	251	Military Barracks: Zaria and Kaduna
"	"	3856/1913	Kaduna Camp.
"	"	6739/1913	Kaduna Buildings: (Permanent) for Northern Nigeria Regiment
"	"	8/8 109/1921	Labour for government and Native Authority purposes and works
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"	"	2288/1914	Kaduna New Capital Recomm. By Committee.
"	"	6942/1914	Kaduna Capital: Report by Director of Railway and work

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QUESTIONNARIES

1. How did you come to Kaduna? What attracted you to the city?
2. What is your ethnicity?
3. What is your educational qualification?
4. How did you secure your employment in _____?
5. What informed the choice of the area you reside in?
6. What percentage of your salary goes to house rent?
7. What in your view has led to high rate of urbanization in Kaduna?
8. What is the nature of inter-group relations in Kaduna?
9. Which are the dominant ethnic groups in the city? And in your neighbourhood?
10. What is the nature of inter-group relationship overtime in your neighbourhood and in the city as a whole?
11. How will you account for the growth of the city over time?
12. What influenced the location of industries in Kaduna?
13. How did industrialization impact on urbanization?
14. How was the city administered over time?
15. Where did the Gbagyi reside within Kaduna? And, what were they engaged in doing?
16. Which settlements developed as a result of the industrialization process in Kaduna?
17. Which neighbourhoods expanded as a result of the industrialization process in Kaduna?
18. Why did the industries decline?
19. What are the major problems of the company?
20. Why did the company shut down for such a long time?
21. Does corruption play any significant role in the shutdown of the company?

APPENDIX I

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PARASTATALS IN KADUNA STATE.

	Name of Parastatal	Chief Executive Designation
1	Federal Superphosphate Fertilizer Company Ltd	General Manager
2	National Oil and Chemical Company Ltd	General Manager
3	Kaduna Refinery and Petrol Chemical Ltd	General Manager
4	Peugeot Automobile Nigeria (PAN) Ltd	General Manager
5	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria	Vice Chancellor
6	National Research Institution for Chemical Technology	Director
7	National Animal Production Research Institute	Director
9	Nigerian College of Aviation Technology	Director (Commandant)
10	National Institute for Transport Technology	Director
11	Nigerian Army Staff College, Jaji	Commandant
12	National Steel Council	Managing Director
13	National Commission for Colleges of Education, Kaduna	Executive Secretary
14	National Water Resources Institute	Director

Source: Ibrahim James, ***Kaduna State: The Challenge of Industrialization,*** p.219

APPENDIX II

COMMERICAL AND FINANCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN KADUNA STATE.

S/N	**Names**	**Address**
1	Kaduna State Small Scale Industrial Credit Scheme	C/Ministry of Commerce Industry and Tourisı Kaduna.
2	New Nigerian Development Company (NNDC)	18/19 Ahmadu Bello Way, Kaduna.
3	Nigeria Industrial Development Bank (NIDB)	18 Waff Road, Kaduna
4	International Merchant Bank (Nig) Ltd	18 Waff Road, Kaduna
5	Northern Nigeria Investment Limited	4 Waff Road, Kaduna
6	Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry	Rabah Road, Kaduna
7	Kaduna Industrial and Finance Company Limited	27 Ali-Akilu Road, Kaduna
8	Nigerian Agricultural Universal Bank Ltd.	Hospital Road, Kaduna
9	Nigerian Agricultural & Cooperative Bank Ltd.	Hospital Road, Kaduna
10	N.A.L. Merchant Bank	4 Waff Road, Kaduna
11	ADCO Trust Securities Ltd	FE 5 Ibrahim

Source: Ibrahim James, ***Kaduna State: The Challenge of Industrialization***,p.30-31

APPENDIX III

LIST OF SELECTED MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES AND COMMERICAL ESTABLISHMENT IN KADUNA.

S/n	Name of Industries	Product Mix	Location/Address
1	Arewa Textiles Ltd	Yarn, Corey, Baft, Super African Prin Dyed Shirting	Textile Kano Road, south Ind. Area Kaduna
2	Peugeot Automobile (Nig) Ltd	Peugeot vehicles (505, 504 Evoluti etc)	19.2 Inuwa Abdulkadir Road, South Ind. Area Kd.
3	Tower Galvanised (Nig) Ltd	Galvanised pipes	Inuwa Abdulkadir Rd, Kd Sout.
4	Maukarim Industries Ltd	Metal/Wooden furniture	Kachia Road, Kaduna.
5	United Works Ltd.	Steel structures, tanks and silos	Textile road, Kaduna South In Arewa Kd.
6	Leman Industries Ltd.	Bolts, nuts, wire nets and roofing nails	Nassarawa Rd, Kd. Ind Arewa
7	Motor Parks Ind. Ltd	Axles in CKD Form	Kawo Light Area, Kd.
8	United Wire Road, Ltd.	Wire products, welding electrodes	7 Mai chibi close, Kaduna.
9	Kaduna furniture and carpet	Furniture and carpet	Kaduna south industrial area
10	Supertex (Nig) Ltd.	Super wax, Deluxe wax, Dyed crock wax and poly dye	Kaduna, South Ind. Area
11	First Aluminium (Nig) Ltd	Aluminium Roofing Sheets, Window doors, etc.	Kaduna South Ind. Area
12	Kaduna Crown Co Manufacturing Co.Ltd	Bottle, Corks, etc	1AT/Wada Industrial Area, Kadur
13	Ansa Paper Converters Ltd.	Toilet Paper/Tissue	Zambia Rd. Barnawa New. Ex Kaduna.
14	Arewa Bottlers Ltd.	Pepsi cola, Mirinda Teem Minerals	Inuwa Abdulkadir Rd. Kadun South Ind.Area., Kaduna.
15	Ballapur Glass (Nig) Ltd	Glass Bottles, etc	Kaduna Ind. Area. Kaduna.
16	Berec (Nig) Ltd.	Dry Cell Battles, etc	B16 Kudenda Areas.
17	Blanket Manufacturing Co.	Blankets, Bed covers	U/Muazu Ind.Kaduna Sou Kaduna.
18	Brossette Manufacturing C Ltd.	Automotive Component	U/Maichibi Kaduna South
19	Chellco in (Nig) Ltd Kaduna	Lankets, Upholstery Materials, Be Spread and Baby Towels	A1/B2 Industrial Area
20	Ideal Flour Mills Ltd	Flour, Semolina and Find Bran	Kaduna Ind. Area
21	Kaduna Grains Processi Co.Ltd	Assorted Grains Flour Poultry Feeds	8 Kaduna Ind. Area Kaduna
22	National Dairies Product Co.Lt	Dairy Milk and Yoghourt	Zaria Road Kaduna.
23	Turners Building Pro (Arewa)Ltd.	Asbestos Roofing Sheets, pipes etc	Textiles Rd, Kd. South Ind. Are Kaduna.
24	Star Steel Ltd	Wire Rods, Bars etc	Rabali Road, Malali, Kaduna
25	NOCACO Ltd Kd.	House wiring, cables, flexible wi underground Aluminium overhead etc.	Maichibi Rd, South Industri Estate, Kaduna.
26	International Parts Ind. Ltd	Electrical Car Component/spare parts.	Off Kachia Road, Refinery In Area.
27	Kaduna, Textile Ltd	Salt Shirting, Drill, Bod/F Card, Ya P/Propylene Sacks, D/P	Textile Rd. Kaduna Sou Industrial Area, Kd.
28	Nigerian Breweries Ltd. Kd.	Larger Beer, Maltina, G/Sands Shandy	Makera Rd. Kaduna Sou Industrial. Area
29	Bus & Refrigerated Cla Manufacturing Co.Ltd	Buses Bodies	5A Talib Ave. Kaduna Sou Industrial Area Kaduna.

30	General Metal Prod. Ltd.	Aluminium windows, doors Structures for building industry	Textiles Road, Kaduna Sou Industrial Area, Kd.
31	West African Bitumen	Bitumen Emulsion	South Kaduna
32	Aeronautical & Ind. Eng Proje Management Co.L (AIEP/Dornier)	Aircraft Manufacturing, sale maintenance, operation and training	Old Kaduna Airport, Kaduna.
33	Food Specialities (Nig) Ltd	Nestles Food Products	GII Ang. Kanawa Kaduna.
34	Northern Cable Processing Manufacturing Co.Ltd	Electric cable, car harness	Maichibi Rd. Kaduna Sout Kaduna.
35	Odutola Tyres Solo Co.Ltd.	Retreaded tyres and Rubber	140 Mission Rd, Kaduna Sout Kaduna.
36	Astra Arewa Ltd.	Pharmaceutical products	131, Abdulkadir Rd. Kad.Sou Kaduna.
37	Defence Ind.Co of Nigeria	Light arms and ammunitions, mec spare parts, deep well hand pumps etc	6B Ahmadu Bello Way, Kaduna.
38	Balmode (Nig) Ltd.	Aluminium Fabricators and G Merchandise	Nassarawa New Ext. Kaduna.
39	Prequip. Tech Ltd	Ind. Houses bearing vec. Hou assemblies	1 Waziri Ibrahim Crescent, Kadun
40	Evans Brothers (Nig) Publishe	Publishers of books and stationeries	NR 12 Maiduguri Rd., Kd.
41	Arewa Pharmaceutical Ltd	Pharmaceutical Products	Kaduna
42	Roofco (Nig) Ltd	Galvanised Roofing Sheet	Kaduna
43	Pyramid Electrical Eng. Works	Steel furniture	Kaduna
44	National Oil and Chemical C Ltd	Ind. Chemical	Kachia Road, Kaduna
46	Federal Superphospha Fertiliser Co.	Fertilizer	Nassarawa Rd. Kaduna Sout Kaduna.
47	Sterling Prod. (Nig) Ltd	Drugs and Medicine	Junction Rd.Box 104, Kd.
48	Oyeleke Glass Company	Glass Products	Poly Road T/Wada Kaduna
49	Almo Glasses Ltd.	Domestic Gas Bottling	Km 11 Kachia Rd. Kaduna.

Source: Ibrahim James, ***Kaduna State: The Challenge of Industrialization***,p.24-30

APPENDIX IV

KADUN TEXTILES LIMITED: DATE-LINE

March 1955- Northern Regional Government invites David Whitehead Ltd., Rawstenstall, Lanchashire U.K., to establish a textile mill in Kaduna, in collaboration with the Northern Regional Marketing Board and the Northern Regional Development Corporation.

April, 1955- Marketing of officials from the NRDC, the Northern Regional Marketing Boardand David Whitehead & Sons meet in Rawtenstall, Lanchasire U.K. to discuss the possibility of becoming partners in a textile manufacturing plant in Northern Nigeria.

7 September 1955- Officials from the NRDC, the Northern Regional Marketing Board and David Whitehead & Sons sign agreement at Rawtenstall, U.K.

September 1955- Mr. Fred Fuller, production manager, David Whitehead & Sons (Nigeria) Ltd., selects site for mill.

10 November, 1955- Kaduna Textiles Ltd. Incorporated under Company Ordinance

January 1956- Fred Fuller returns to supervise mill construction; fabricated parts of steel structure shipped from U.K.

7 March 1956- Sir Ahmadu Bello lays foundation stone, with officials from David Whitehead & Sons in attendance.

September 1956- Installation of machinery begins; Training of Northern Nigeria workers begins

22 November 1957- Kaduna Textiles Mill opened by Sir Ahmadu Bello

May 1959- Regional Self-Government Celebrations: Kaduna Exhibition, ‘Made in Nigeria’, Kaduna Textiles Limited.

1961- Building of Second mill

1970- Building of Third mill

Early 1980's- Agreement with Northern Nigeria Textile Mills to provide printing facilities

February 2002- Kaduna Textile Limited ceases production.

It is worth-noting that Kaduna Textiles Ltd, stopped production in 2002, forty-five years after it opened. There were many reasons for its closure. These include infrastructure and management problems; import policy changes; currency devaluation; obsolete equipment and contraband textiles.

Source: **Sir Ahmadu Bello and Kaduna Textiles Limited: A Historical Exhibit**. Arewa House, Kaduna, 9th November-8th December, 2012. Exhibit Organizers, Elisha Renne, Musa Muhammed and Usman Suleiman.

APPENDIX V

The 2006 population census provides the figure for Kaduna metropolis. The metropolis is divided into two local government areas. They are Kaduna North and Kaduna South L.G.A. The census portrays Kaduna South to be more populated than the North. The point from this is that: First, Kaduna South was concentrated with the industries; Secondly, with the incessant religious/communal conflicts both side of the fences have not encourage integration and assimilation which is hallmark of a cosmopolitan society.