

Industrialization and Urban Development in Kaduna Metropolis, 1957-1986

Benjamin Oladokun,
Department of History,
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria-Nigeria.

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine Industrialization and Urban Development in Kaduna metropolis, 1957-1986. This is important because the connection between Urbanization and Industrialization are key instruments in the rapid transformation of most cities and urban centres. In the study 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 Proletarianization and its impact on the surrounding hinterland. It starts in 1957, with the establishment of the Kaduna Textiles Limited, which was the first large scale manufacturing industry in the city.¹ The study 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. Through historical methodology, the paper demonstrates ways in which the manufacturing industry contributed to the development of Kaduna metropolis. Hence, the city grew from a military garrison and administrative town, into an industrial city, which was commonly known as the 'Manchester of Nigeria'.

Introduction

The economic basis of Kaduna city prior to the period 1957 was the dominance of the colonial government. The government dominated the economy of the city in conjunction with few colonial firms.² It provided job opportunities for clerks, local government functionaries, artisans and various types of unskilled laborers. The implication is that the colonial administrators as the chief generator of economic activities in Kaduna city were: 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 created) Kaduna attracted several farmers and local craftsmen away from

their trades to the city. Thirdly, as a result of the state economy of the city, the economy of Kaduna remained restricted; it had no opportunity for expansion.

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 relationship of employment formalized was rare in Nigeria until the 1950's.³ The only enterprises in organization and finance for these activities were the trading companies which imported manufactures and beyond the, overseas manufacturers who produced for the Nigerian market and neither saw compelling reasons to locate production in Nigeria.⁴

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 oversea producers and local distributors of manufactured imports; and the recognition of the possibility of pre-empting the market through establishment of a local manufacturing plants with outside competition diminished by means of a protective tariff.

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.⁵ 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 became self-governing in all affairs which fall within its responsibility from March 1959⁶. These political developments led to change in the status of Nigerians.

Significantly, the political development 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.

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Theoretical Foundation of Industrialization in Kaduna

Industry is the characteristic institution of modern advanced societies. It is seen as the prime mover of political and social change in Europe and America during the past two centuries and because of this is in large measure the 'sub-structure' of the present social and cultural order⁸. 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. 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 extended 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.⁹

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 constitute the low-income group that comprise 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.

The 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 agrarian... country into a predominantly industrial country.¹⁰

The Soviet definition of the industrial process is important. This is because 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.¹¹

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.

Also, 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 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.¹²

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 process of industrialization can be attained. It focuses on the need to specialise 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 transforming of the economy from a predominantly agrarian to industrial. It is this qualitative change that transforms a peasant economy into 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.¹³ 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 source for capital or manpower than is usual to obtain through the natural incentives of international commerce.¹⁴

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 establishment in the country.

At this point, it is important to clarify two terms 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.¹⁵ In line with this definition, the manufacturing sub-sector has been classified according to its performance by the International Standard Classification of All Economic Activities (I.S.I.C) drawn up by the United Nations¹⁶. For example, Division 31 with Group 311/312 consists of industries such as: Manufacturing of Food, Beverages and Tobacco, while Division 32 entails industries such as: Textile, wearing apparel and leather industries. Lastly, Division 32 focuses of industries such as: Manufacture of chemicals, petroleum, coal, rubber and plastic products.¹⁷ 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.

What is Import-Substitution Industrialization

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 £621 m, by the end of that year.¹⁸ In order to establish the import-substitution industrialization in Nigeria, a series of fiscal incentives were promoted. The most important instrument for stimulating investment were held to be temporary exemption from income tax for enterprises which are accorded pioneer status, generous depreciation rates and a great variety of tariff concessions.¹⁹ It is this exemption from income tax that laid the foundation for the import-substitution industrialization.

Helleiner stated that to stimulate both foreign and domestic investment in Nigerian manufacturing, the following incentives were put in place in the 1950's:

Income tax relief, import duties relief on industrial inputs, accelerated depreciation allowances particularly on plant, for which 40 percent was chargeable in the first year, protective import duties or quota, Government purchase of domestic manufactures-the 'approved manufacturers'; the establishment of industrial estate; Reassuring declarations of intent with respect to foreign investments; Provision of capital, both by Regional and Federal Governments.²⁰

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 public revenue, and also protected Nigerian industries.²¹ This 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.

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 skill 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.²²

Consequently, there was complete freedom to convert and transfer funds from Nigeria to other sterling areas 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.²³ 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 disturbing 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 centres of Nigeria.

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 1985²⁴. This means that there had been an increase of not less than 21 major industrial categories distributed over (5) industrial area 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), Arewa Textile Limited, Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited. These industrial concerns transformed Kaduna from a mere capital into a bustling commercial entrepot and nucleus of modern commercial hub in Nigeria.²⁵

Table 1: The Number of new Manufacturing Surfaces in the Kaduna Region (1950-1985)

S/No	Decades Establishment	No of
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. First, 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 state²⁶. Secondly, 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.

However, import substitution industrialization is inherent with its problems. For example, the Fourth National Development Plan, 1980-1985 aptly states the problem of import substitution industrialization, as follows:

...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.²⁷

Thus, it is problems such as this of import substitution industrialization that made the industrial development in most developing countries, like Nigeria, a costly failure.

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.²⁸ 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 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 words, the provision of roads, electricity and water will attract other industrial enterprises.

Stanhope White, director of Local Industries, suggested three potentials sites: The sites were: a) Near Kaduna Town ; b) At Jebba on the River Niger, and; c) At Makurdi on the River Basin.

All these places are in the Northern Region. Sites (b) and (c) were suggested as alternative in the event of (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 did not agree with the choice of Kaduna. He pointed out that Kaduna possess 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 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 been 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 n Jema'a.²⁹ 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 advantage of a site to the West of Kakuridown stream from the Junction, far outweighs the objections³⁰. He, therefore, arranged with the Survey Department to inspect through their stereoscope photographs of the area bounded by the Kaduna River to the north, the Lagos railway to the East, the line of the 10°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 the Calico Printers Association.³¹In 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'³². The directors were those of P.W.D Geological Survey, Survey Department, and the Regional Engineer and Manager. 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 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, baft 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 mechanised 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.³³The Asst Commissioner of Labour, Proctor G.D., provided details by sending the wage rates for general and special labour in Zaria Province, are as follows:

Table 2: Wage Rate for Labour in Zaria Province

	1. Whole Province excluding Kaduna urban area, Zaria urban area and Maigana and Awai village	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 urban 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 3 increments at 2d	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/-3/6d
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 site³⁴. 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 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: On the 17th March 1953, the director of Geological Survey Department 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 right bank. As, there should be no need for the construction 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.³⁵

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 in the particular example in order that the desired scale of the Kaduna project may be known.³⁶

On the 13th January, 1955 a definite state 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.³⁷ 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.³⁸

In October 1957, a major element in the Northern Region industrial strategy started operation, the Kaduna Textile 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.³⁹ 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, Nigerian Breweries, Kaduna Textiles, Thomas Wyatt, Northern Nigeria Textiles, Moukrim Industries, Critall-Hope, Arewa Textiles, Zamfara Textiles, Turners Cement Asbestos, Nortex and Nigeria Defence Industry.⁴⁰

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 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 naira (₦2,000,000) and production started at 80,000 yards of cloth per week. By March 1958, the factory had 600 workers on the three shifts. Furthermore, the textile mills stimulated other manufacturing and service industries.⁴¹ These large manufacturing firms led to rapid industrial growth in Kaduna. These firms produced a wide variety of goods and service. Also, it employed about 25% of the population.⁴² Besides, it was the highest paying sector of the economy of Kaduna apart from the public sector.

Table 3: 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 good
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 i
	Total	25	18,387	

Source: Federal Office of Labour , Kaduna; Idris, 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 as an industrial city were many but the role of government was fundamental. Specifically, Sir, Ahmadu Bello when giving approval for the location of industries in Kaduna, stated that: '...my colleagues and I strongly believe that Kaduna is the showroom for business in the whole of the northern region'.⁴³ With this strong declaration from the premier one is not surprised at the concentration of industries in Kaduna.

Implication of the Industrial Process of 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.

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 1963.⁴⁴ 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.

Kaduna's growth in this period was quite spectacular. Oyedele argued that 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. 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.⁴⁵ 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.

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 1967,⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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 military. In fact, several works have shown that urban workers in most African countries spend 20-25% and sometimes upto 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.⁴⁸ This high level of urban rent in relation to income seriously affected majority of the population in Kaduna, especially the industrial workers.

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 centred in Kaduna South.⁴⁹ Essentially, Kaduna's phenomenal growth of the sixties and seventies were concentrated in Kaduna South. Also, the 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 the 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.⁵⁰ The satellite villages include: Unuwar Sarkin Muslumi, Unguwar Shanu, Unguwar Rimi, Tudun Nupawa, Makera, Kakuri, Kabalan Doki, Barnawa and Kawo. Generally, most of the settlements are characterised by haphazard growth without provisions for access roads, drainage, social use, markets and restricted buildings regulations. Of these village settlements, two of which were established during the period of study follow 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.⁵¹ 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 30,000.⁵² 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 Aluminium. All these industries attracted a large labour force to the settlement, hence the area developed into a working-class settlement.

Proletarianization 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, for 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 weeks⁵³. It was this kind of managerial despotism that working class consciousness sought to challenge.⁵⁴ 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 1990s) replaced by the Indians.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷

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 Teachers' Union, Nigerian Teachers' Union, Motor Drivers Union, Kaduna Textile Workers Union etc.⁵⁸ The 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 labouring 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.

Impact of the Growth of Kaduna on Its Hinterland

Kaduna's relationship with its hinterland during our period of the study was characterized by unequal distribution of productive assets and unfavourable 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.⁵⁹ 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. Thus, the increase in rural migration to Kaduna metropolis 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. This 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 identified above.

Conclusion

The study has discussed the ways the manufacturing industry has contributed to the development of the Kaduna metropolis. Our findings reveal that the interaction between industrial development and urban process significantly impacted on the development of Kaduna metropolis. This impact significantly altered the landscape of Kaduna metropolis. Also, it affected the attitude, values, customs, norms lifestyle patterns and behavioural adaptations of the resident of the area. Thus, the city

grew from a military garrison and administrative town, into an industrial city, which was commonly known as the 'Manchester of Nigeria'.

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