



## **AN EVALUATION OF THE URBAN ECONOMY AND ADMINISTRATION OF KADUNA**

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### **Abstract**

**T**his paper examines the colonial administration of Kaduna urban area from 1913-1960, with a focus on the economic development of Kaduna. Kaduna, being a colonial creation was under Zaria Province prior to British incursion. Kaduna had a politically organized system of administration under the direct authority of the Emir, the British after establishing their rule, transformed this system of administration from a pre-colonial to colonial administration. Within the colonial administration of inherited pre-colonial situation, became dominantly a direct administration at the capital territory that attracts all the provinces of northern Nigeria. The methodology used two principal sources broadly categorized into primary and secondary sources and adopted a qualitative approach. The findings of the study revealed that due to the nature of colonial

*bureaucracy in the area, the Kaduna Capital Territory was established in the bid by the colonial government to exercise its affairs or control over the native authority and further control the area.*

## **Introduction**

The area known as Kaduna today was established by British declaration in 1913.<sup>1</sup> The purpose was to have the headquarters of northern region for effective administration of Northern Nigeria. Historical sources have shown that the area was occupied by diverse people and culture of the savannah vegetation zone of the Nigerian area. Being the capital of Northern Nigeria, Kaduna from the initial stage was directly administered by the British, until when districts were created within the metropolis and governed under the Zaria native Administration.

This hierarchical system of rule created by the colonialist, placed them fully in control of the administration in the region, as to who controls what in the region, from 1917 to 1956, parts of Kaduna was administered directly from Zaria, also present was a governor seated at Kaduna and effecting a direct control on the populace. As at March of 1956, a law was passed by the regional legislator.<sup>2</sup> The law excised Kaduna township from Zaria Native Authority and upgraded Kaduna to a first class town with a local government separate from that of the (N.A), This act and others, led to series of administrative re-organisation of various administrative jurisdictions in order to curb out the administrative problems.

With the establishment of Kaduna Capital Territory, initiated as a result to further govern the Kaduna area properly, it created conflicting ideas in the two administrative systems present within the period. This paper takes a look at how the newly found colonial appointments were managed, in relation to the colonial economy, agricultural policies and production control. The way and manner it was carried out, and what constituted the

colonial economy in the study area, as well as the origin, evolution, and developments of markets in the area. Owing to the fact that the nature of markets changed as a result of British incursion, that led to the development of modern transports systems to help facilitate the trade. Within this context, we clearly discuss the roles colonial bureaucrats played during the colonial economy era in Kaduna, alongside the provision of urban amenities which were setup basically to ease administrative convenience. The research shall also discuss how it was managed, as well as the people who benefited from these services.

#### **Kaduna Capital Territory Administration**

The Kaduna Capital Territory Law No.8 of 1956 was passed by the regional legislature, March of the same year;<sup>3</sup> the law excised the Kaduna Township from Zaria province and raised the Kaduna area to Capital Territory status. Kaduna was by this time recognized as a first class Town; it therefore meant that it had a separate local government system which differed from that of the Native Authority System (N.A). The affairs of the KCT were controlled by the Local government council present in the capital, and the Resident of the Zaria province as a representative of the Government. The other part of Kaduna area not mentioned above was controlled by the N.A. This directly means that the Emir only controls some part of Kaduna area, under the watchful eye of the then Governor General.<sup>4</sup> The KCT administrators thereby combined the formal duty of the N.A on native customs and law along with the maintenance of law and other, prevention of crime, developments and operations of markets and other functions in other to make the KCT a peaceful abode. The office of the Magajin Gari, seated at the Capital was now in charge of local issues and customs within the territory.<sup>5</sup>

After defining the boundary of the Capital Territory around 1954, which delineated the physical limits to Kaduna expansion, even after the

division, several acres of lands were still available outside the Capital Territory for development. In so far, the boundary of the Kaduna Capital Territory defined the new Kaduna Urban Area. To the north was the junction of Zaria and Mando roads, to the west was the Valley of Mashi River, in Kaduna north and the main Lagos railway line in Kaduna South, to the east the running down to Kachai road, and finally the Valley of Romi Stream defined the limits of the south.<sup>6</sup> The Capital Territory alone measures forty-four and a half square miles or 28,600 acres which is bigger than the administrative areas of most developed cities.<sup>7</sup> As the new Kaduna began to take shape, soon lots of changes set into the new administration of the area, from the land matters, security, housing, down to the changes effected by the new court order. The station magistrate who performed the duties of local authority as specified in the ordinance, these officers were directly responsible to the lieutenant Governor through the secretary. The magistrate dealt with issues relating to trade, housing, roads, etc., above all he was the commissioner of the Supreme Court from which this title of station magistrate was derived. Just as the KCT was created and boundaries defined, only to solve the administrative confusion in Kaduna, one will actually think the problem has been solved, however, several problems emerged in relation to administrative control. According to Oyedele, "there existed two powers with a right to grant title over the same area of ground i.e. Minister of Regional Government (land) and the administrator for the KCT".<sup>8</sup> Because of the problems posed by the colonial administration, it generated series of re-organization in the various jurisdictions. Between 1913-1929, the administrative arrangement established in Kaduna separated the affairs of the township and that of the surrounding environment. In 1920 the creation of station magistrate aimed at resolving the increasing administrative problems, consequent to the growth of population in Kaduna.<sup>9</sup> Oyedele also mentioning boundary adjustment of 1925 caused as a result for effective administration of the area, this adjustment between the Kan-Gwari and Makera districts both of

which surrounds Kaduna, the Makera district was reduced and the remaining area renamed Chikun districts, Makera, Kakuri and Barnawa villages were formally part of Makera district was letter transferred to Kan-giwa and the area renamed Makera district. In 1927 another district re-organization occurred, all settlement around Kaduna was brought under a single district head and Mallam Sambo was appointed Magajin Gari Kaduna by Emir Ibrahim (1924-36).<sup>10</sup> The positions of districts heads were not hereditary, most of the districts heads/ward head were not necessary representing their ethnic groups.<sup>11</sup>

On 1 July 1940, Sabon Gari area of Kaduna was excised from the township and transferred to the Native Administration System, the decision taken by the colonial government never considered its effect on the social and economic life of the residents found in this location. Residents of the Sabon Gari area of Kaduna consisted of pensioners, ex-soldiers, clerks among others who wanted to be under the direct control of the central government for fear of totally being abandoned by the N.A system.<sup>12</sup> By 1945, the colonial government still operated the dual administrative structure which was the authority over the township and authority over the native town through the native authority, this affected the civil and political activities of the inhabitants of Kaduna, as each administrative jurisdiction were competing over access to building, plots, markets and urban facilities.

In 1954 the reorganization process took another shape, all in the bid for proper administration of the Kaduna, as the Emir in a meeting with the lieutenant Governor requested that Kurmin Mashi remain in Zaria Emirate because that the population were largely Gwari would be more suitable remaining under the N.A system the Emir also emphasized that he and his people felt happy about the newly created town council to administer Kaduna but wished to be assured that there would be no

individual appointed as Sarkin Kaduna.<sup>13</sup> The response to the Emir's request was thus:

Kurmin Mashi, this hamlet belong to the Tudun Wada village area, was at one time a Gwari Village, but the Gwari moved westward many years ago. It is now entirely Hausa in population, and the committee considered it would be a mistake to separate it from its parent village by excising it from the proposed regional enclave.<sup>14</sup>

After the inception of the new administration, the Kaduna Government took over the N.A police and prisons services which was formally in the hands of the Zaria province, soon parts of Kaduna that was formally policed by the N.A system now joined the new regime and there was a need to incorporate the formal staff of the N.A system into the new administration. A newly defined boundary emerged which consisted of areas in the enclave of Kaduna. According the Magaji's letter dated 29 August, 1955 showing areas inside the enclave boundary of Kaduna apart from Igabi and Chikun others are Kawo, Tudun Wada, Barnawa, Kakuri Gwari, Kakuri Hasawa, and Makera.<sup>15</sup>

### **Kaduna and the Colonial Economy**

The 19th century explorers discovered that tropical and sub-tropical Africa possesses enormous natural resources and land that could produce crops needed in large quantities in Europe. After colonialism has been established, they then embarked on the production of crops and minerals for their exportation to Europe. Europeans back at home pressurized the British colonies in Africa to engage in the cultivation of cotton which was needed at that time.<sup>16</sup> In 1902 the cotton manufacturers in Britain formed an association called the Britain cotton growing association in other to promote the cultivation of cotton in Africa. Also Lever Brothers, the largest British soap manufacturing firm began to promote the production

of palm kernels. The production of cocoa was also introduced which made cocoa cultivation attractive in West Africa.<sup>17</sup> Agricultural stations were set all over Africa and export crops were cultivated at the expense of food crops. Crops needed for Europeans industries were: cocoa, palm kernels, rubber, groundnuts and cotton. Improved seeds and seedlings were studies and distributed to farmers in areas suitable for the crop.<sup>18</sup> The British penetration of African economies as augured by Ake, created some fundamental affinities between African economy and that of the colonizing power.<sup>19</sup> They controlled the development of economy in the interest of the metropolis which went along with the expansion of colonial trade, meant structural link and structural interdependence.<sup>20</sup>

One feature of the colonial agricultural policy was that only crops that were in demand in Europe were cultivated in Africa, efforts were not made to diversify the economy. The result of this was that African countries operated on a mono crop economy system, which relay on only few export commodity.<sup>21</sup> In many African countries only one or two crops amounted 70-80 percent of total export. In Nigeria prior to petroleum cocoa, groundnut and palm kernel obtained from the Northern, Eastern and Western regions constituted 60% of Nigeria export crops. In Ghana cocoa and gold were exported, in Egypt 80% of their export was cotton, in Senegal and Gambia they were basically groundnut producing country and it amounted to 90% of their export commodity.<sup>22</sup>

The colonial economy was a means through which the British further controlled the area; they created policies which made sure everybody contributed to the economy growth of the region. Several policies, including taxation payable in British money, toll tax to destroy local internal trade, opening of new markets, policies to destroy local industries and instructions to Emirs, District, Village and Ward Heads to ensure that their subjects produced certain crops, were to ensure the take-off and

sustainability of export crop production. This is applicable to Northern Nigeria in general and Kaduna in Particular, in Zaria for instance, cotton contributed to the main export crop, and in southern part ginger was, but the Kaduna area being an administrative center contributed little to export crops as the urban enclaves was focused on food crops production such as yams, rice, guinea corn, beans, to boast the administration within this period.<sup>23</sup> According to Oyedele, following the opening of the eastern railway in 1927, which saw large influx of Igbo traders, to Kaduna and the items of trade included palm oil, yams and imported products such as technical goods, building materials among several others. Other traders particularly in foodstuffs followed same trend and became middle-men between the peasant producers of food crops, mainly in the surrounding area of Kaduna and the urban consumers.<sup>24</sup> In addition, because of the large junk of the people dominated in this area, depended on wage, it created a needed market for food stuffs and consumer market, food items were gotten from its immediate hinterlands like Sabon Birni, Zagon Aya, Pambegua, Rigachikun 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 Garri were procured from the south.<sup>25</sup> Benjamin opines that 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.<sup>26</sup>

The Construction of railway lines was one of the important features of colonial economy. The colonialist relied on rail transportation for the movement of the farm produce to the seaport. Looking back on the early years of colonial rule, the whole period before the Second World War,

railway remained the only legacy of the economic policies of the colonial powers of that period, and they were paid for by tax imposed on African. The railways and later the tarmac roads tell a tale linking to only areas of extensive production of cash crops and minerals for easy evacuation of these products. The lines ran from the coasts inlands to the cash crop producing centers. The lines also had political functions; it facilitated quick movement to troubled areas.<sup>27</sup> In the southern part of Nigeria, where animals could not be used, it fastened the possibility of motor transport. The first motor able road in Nigeria was built in 1906 from Ibadan to Oyo, as at 1914, there were 3,200 kilometers of motor able roads in the country. The road, been an instrument was not intended for the development of Nigeria but rather for British own interest.<sup>28</sup>

In Tanganyika the Germans constructed line that ran from Tanga to Moshi 'between' 1891-1911 for the transportation of coffee. Also in Togo the Germans constructed the line connecting to Lome the main sea port for the transportation of cotton and coffee. In the Nigerian region, the construction of railways began in 1896 it ran from Lagos, through the cocoa and palm fruit of the west, to the groundnut in the north, reaching Kano in 1911, an Eastern line was constructed from Port Harcourt to Enugu, to bring coal from Udi coal mines and palm produce from the eastern hinterland. The eastern line was later extended to Jos tin mines.<sup>29</sup> However, it is important to note that the Germans in Togo named their rail lines after the products they served: coconut line, cocoa line, cotton line, iron line, and palm oil line.<sup>30</sup> Railway construction was an important feature of British political economic policy. The Europeans colonial powers which was constructed with the combination of African labour, African money and European expertise.

The growth of the urban economy in Kaduna by 1945 was directly related to the economy of the region and of the country as a whole. Surplus

derived from the resources of the region in form of taxes, unequal trade and the wages of government workers in the urban area by politicians, bureaucrats and few wealthy traders. With the accruing income from these taxes, the government were able to make provision of social infrastructure such as health schemes, roads, water etc., alongside expansion of state education programme and the development of state capitalism particularly import substitution industries. The combination of all these, led to the centralization of the economy of northern Nigeria, giving rise to accelerated urbanization on a massive scale in Kaduna.

Up on till 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 can be 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 urban area played a subordinate role in the economy of the region.

### **Markets and Commercial Administration**

Economy is the bedrock of any society in the world, no society can develop without meaningfully economic development, and market play a crucial role in the growth and expansion of an economy. This section looks at the issues of market, and how the British created in the Nigerian colony, a market for their manufactured goods. African colonies exported bauxites and imported aluminum, pots and pans. Exported palm oil and imported soap, margarine and other related product, exported hides and skins imported boots and shoes, exported cocoa and imported chocolates and processed cocoa, exported rubber and imported tires, exported timber and imported processed timber and paper. In all cases, Africa paid heavily for these manufactured goods more than the actual cost they sold the raw

materials. Lamenting over the exploitative mechanism used by the Europeans, foreign monopoly interest had the entire Africa economy completely tied to them. Many irrational contradictions arose throughout colonial Africa as a result of their non-industrialisation policy; Sudanese and Ugandans grew cotton but imported manufactured cotton goods. Ivory Coast grew cocoa and imported tinned cocoa and chocolate. Ghana had the largest exportation of cocoa, whereas there was no single chocolate factory found in Ghana as at the time. Even those who manufactured soap, from palm products in Ghana were discouraged from doing so. The British firm owned lime factories in Ghana as well as West Indies; they also had a machine that squeezes out the juice before shipping the bulk of it to the United Kingdom and exporting it back.<sup>31</sup> These cases were also the same in Nigeria whereby the British developed a hand press machine to extract the oil from the palm fruits before shipping it out in bulk. The idea is that the quantity exported when extracted is usually incomparable to that taken raw. However, colonialism brought about an expanded market system for Africans but it was also used as a market for their manufactured goods, which was sold to Africans at exorbitant prices.

Market systems differ within the study period as they are in two phases, the pre-colonial market systems and the colonial market systems, these two periods are of great significance in the Kaduna region as the structures, organizations, as well as markets changed drastically as a result of the colonial activities in the region. The idea of markets in Nigeria has existed long before Nigeria made contact with the outside world. Goods and services were exchanged basically between neighbouring villages and items exchanged were those which could only sustain the family. The colonial market system exposed and prepared Africa for the wider world. During the pre-colonial period, markets were handled in parts of the north by the Sarki or Magajin Kasuwa, with which powers to settle disputes among traders, regulate market operations and other related issues were

vested on.<sup>32</sup> The antecedents to the present market situation in Kaduna urban area, dates back to the establishment of the railway lines which Lugard made sure it was constructed during 1907-1911 linking from Baro on the river Niger through Kaduna to Kano.<sup>33</sup> The administration of markets system within the scope of this research especially from 1930 - 1960 was under the control of N.A system that was still under the influence of the colonial authority.

Doka district where the Kaduna market was first located had a native court and a native treasury who were assigned the responsibility to appoint market officials and those to work with them. The Native Court handled cases or disputes within the market area while the Native Treasury was in charge of the collection of revenue from the market. The chain of command in the market centre ranks from the chairman, who is stationed at the market for easy accessibility, next to him was the Malamin Kasuwa, whose function was to assist the chairman, and also took part in the collection of revenues from the market. Present in the chain of command was the unit heads that represented various ethnic groups and help collect revenues from their people.

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, 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 1930s respectively, this goes a long way to prove that Kaduna only developed from milking its surrounding regions like Zaria.<sup>34</sup> Oyedele puts it as the new city (Kaduna) lacked walls but had centrally located administrative buildings and major road and rails transport routes along which the major markets developed.<sup>35</sup>

### **Industrialization in Kaduna**

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.<sup>36</sup> All these aspects of the industrial sector play significant role in the economic development of a nation. While industrialization is seen as the condition marked by the increase in the importance of industry in the economy, according to James, industrialization permit the transition of an economy from agrarian state to one that is industrial based.<sup>37</sup>

The choice of Kaduna as a centre for the establishment of industries was due to the availability of basic urban utilities such as water, electricity alongside the strategic location of the area and the means of railway transportation present in the city. Urban utilities in Kaduna were provided according to their order of priority, Good health care system, electricity and water constituted the necessities and a close measure for measuring a good standard of living. These amenities mentioned constituted the essential part of man's life and without them Akpen considers life meaningless.<sup>38</sup> He further buttressed that since electricity and water are essentials to urban society, it therefore constitute a means to economic and social transformation of urban societies.<sup>39</sup> These basic amenities which constituted the idea of an urban area in township, was provided in racial lines in Kaduna during the colonial Administration, the Europeans sections were provided with the amenities mentioned earlier, long before the native had the privilege of benefitting from them. Emphasizing more on this is Oyedele who said as early as 1917, the hospital built in the area was basically for the Europeans alone, and it was not until 1924 the natives had one (hospital), which was built close to the prisons and police line.<sup>40</sup> The provision of water almost suffers same fate as that of electricity, as there was no provision of adequate water supply in

areas dominated by the natives while the European area had enough water supplies, enough to even water their gardens.

As migration grew, so does skilled and unskilled workers flocked into the city. Within a decade Kaduna population grew by a 100% from 39,000 to 149,000 from 1917-1963.<sup>41</sup> With the large increase of population in Kaduna, the demand for house by industry workers increased and this posed a serious housing problem as at the time. And this led to the growth and expansion of towns within Kaduna city. Kaduna Textile Industry (KTI) began operation from 1957 as the first industrial hub established in Kaduna, this further created room for large influx of people into the area, as many came in search of jobs. Many were either factory workers or railway workers. Between 1957 and 1960, the number of industry had increased from 1-5 and the major industrial area then was Kaduna south.<sup>42</sup> The strength of staff gradually increased from 250-2500 workforce working in Kaduna Textile Limited (KTL), the Arewa Textile Limited, and the Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited among several other industries. Just like the developing countries of the world, the ownership and control of these industries were in the hands of foreign entrepreneurs. Thus the Chinese, Japanese, British, Sudanese, Americans, amongst others dominated and controlled the major industries present in Kaduna during this period. The growth of Kaduna affected Zaria, and reduced its commercial significance, up to 1956, it lost its political and industrial position to Kaduna.

### **Conclusion**

The paper clearly discussed the growth of administration and economic activities in the area. How the British devise means of exploiting the area using the natives and leaders whom they place in-charge to relate to their people. Kaduna became a milking center where crops cultivated within its environs were assembled and exported using the rail-lines which were

channeled along routes of productions. Kaduna served as a production center and market for manufactured goods.

The paper also discussed the establishment of KCT as a bid to exercise it affairs from the N.A system and yet part of KCT was still administered by the N.A System. The Magajin Gari was appointed in the newly found capital to administer local issues and custom within the territory, while an administrator was in charge of general affairs of the area. One fact which this paper concludes on is that the British system of administering the Kaduna area posed serious contradiction among the people of the area and with the production of crops and a shift to manufacturing industry led to the rapid growth and development of Kaduna.

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