THE ROLE OF KANO INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES, URBAN SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION IN THE WEST AFRICAN INTEGRATION

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Abstract

From its first settlement a millennium ago, Kano city has grown over the centuries as a cosmopolitan centre and an assortment of diverse ethnic communities mixing and mingling with the original Hausa founders, and melting into a huge people called Kanawa. Factors which include massive drought that led to the great migration of the 16th century in Hausa land, trans-Saharan trade activities, the development and expansion of transportation systems and the introduction of groundnut as a cash crop during the 1920s, were responsible for the mass movements of people into the town. This paper examines the impacts of migration and urban settlement in the development of Kano industries for the West African integration. The method used in the study is context analysis of predominantly secondary sources. The theory adopted is the liberal theory of international relations which emphasizes the principles of economic interdependence, cooperation and liberty among independent entities. Findings reveal that, due to the early patterns of associational ethnicity, a steady and continuous market for both semi-processed and manufactured products helped integrates the West African citizens particularly in trade and industrial activities. While urban settlement in Kano was greatly

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

enhanced by migrant settlers across central and western Africa, industrial areas like Challawa, Sharada and Tokarawa saw the development of diverse products like agricultural implements, textile materials as well as productive activities like iron mining, skin tanning and ornamental leather works. Even though, various territorial divisions (Sabon Gari, Tudun Wada, Nasarawa etc) provide an insight into the structure of relations between Kano peoples and migrants, the city developed a cosmopolitan outlook, unlike many other cities in Nigeria and the entire West African sub-region. The study recommends that, authorities should enhance the development of Kano industries for proper integration of the West African communities.

INTRODUCTION

The term migration may be described as the movements of people with the intention of changing their residence or domicile. In other words, human migration can be seen as the permanent change of residence by an individual or group. It excludes such movements as nomadism, migrant labour, commuting, and tourism, all of which are transitory in nature (Afolayan, 1997:67). Migrations fall into several broad categories. First, internal and international migration may be distinguished. Within any country there are movements of individuals and families from one area to another (for example, from rural areas to the cities), and this is distinct from movements from one country to another.

Second, migration may be voluntary or forced. Most voluntary migration whether internal or external, is undertaken in search of better economic opportunities or housing. Forced migrations usually involve people who have been expelled by governments during war or other political upheavals or who have been forcibly transported as slaves or prisoners. Intermediate between these two categories are the voluntary migrations of refugees fleeing war, famine, or natural disasters (CIREFI: 209:02).

Human migrations within recorded history have transformed the entire aspect of lands and continents and the racial, ethnic, and linguistic composition of their populations. The map of Europe, for example, is the product of several major early migrations involving the Germanic peoples, the Slavs, and the Turks, among others. And in the course of 400 years (from the late 16th through the 20th century), the Americas, Australia, Oceania, the northern half of Asia,

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

and parts of Africa were colonized by European migrants. The overseas migration of Europeans during this period totaled about 60 million people (Astor, A. T. et al, 2005:11).

The largest migration in history was the so-called Great Atlantic Migration from Europe to North America, the first major wave of which began in the 1840s with mass movements from Ireland and Germany. In the 1880s, a second and larger wave developed from eastern and southern Europe; between 1880 and 1910 some 17 million Europeans entered the United States. The total number of Europeans reaching the United States amounted to 37 million between 1820 and 1980. From 1801 to 1914 about 7.5 million migrants moved from European to Asiatic Russia (that is, Siberia), and between World Wars I and II about 6 million more, not counting innumerable deportees to Soviet labour camps, voluntarily migrated there (Astor, A. T. et al, 2005).

Since World War II, the largest voluntary migrations have involved groups from developing countries moving to the industrialized nations. Some 13 million migrants became permanent residents of western Europe from the 1960s through the 1980s, and more than 10 million permanent immigrants were admitted legally to the United States in that same period, with illegal immigration adding several millions more (Segal, et al, 2010).

Slave migrations and mass expulsions also have been part of human history for millennia. The largest slave migrations were probably those compelled by European slave traders operating in Africa from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Perhaps 20 million slaves were consigned to the Americas, though substantial numbers died in the appalling conditions of the Atlantic passage (DRCMGP:09). The largest mass expulsions have probably been those imposed by Nazi Germany, which deported 7-8 million persons during World War II (1939-45), and by the Soviet Union, which forcibly expelled 9-10 million ethnic Germans from eastern Europe into Germany in the closing year of the war and afterwards. Some 14 million people fled in one direction or another during the partition of British India into India and Pakistan in the late 1940s. The largest migrations in the second half of the 20th century have consisted of refugees fleeing war, such as the estimated 3-4 million people who fled Afghanistan in the 1980s (DRCMGP:11).

However, the dominant trend in internal migration during the 20th century has been the movement from rural to urban areas even before colonialism. As a consequence, urban growth since World War II has been very rapid in much of the world, particularly in developing countries. The trends in rural-urban migration in Nigeria responded to changes in political and socio-economic developments which occurred during the 1980s (Abumere, 2002:21). In Kano,

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

factors which include trans-Saharan trade activities, the development and expansion of transportation systems, the introduction of groundnut as a cash crop during the 1920s, and the massive drought that led to the great migration of the 16th century in Hausa land, were responsible for the mass movements of people into the town.

Against this background, this paper examines the impacts of migration and urban settlement in the development of Kano industries for the West African integration. The first section looked at the geopolitical and geographical dynamics of the contemporary Kano taken into cognizance the role climate, culture and history; the second section examines vividly the impact of migration and urban settlement in the development of market economies in contemporary Kano with particular attention given to commerce, trade and industries. Lastly, the paper shades more lights on the significance of the Kano Free Trade Zone for proper integration of the West African economies.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts the liberal theory of international relations which underscores the principles of economic interdependence, liberty and tolerance. According to liberalism, individuals are basically good and capable of meaningful cooperation to promote positive change. Liberalism views states, nongovernmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations as key actors in the international system (Doyle, 1997). States have many interests and are not necessarily unitary and autonomous, although they are sovereign (George, 1984: 22).

Liberal theory stresses interdependence among states, multinational corporations, and international institutions. Theorists such as Hedley Bull have postulated an international society in which various actors communicate and recognize common rules, institutions, and interests (Bell, 2014: 06).

Liberalism is historically rooted in the liberal philosophical traditions associated with Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant which posit that human nature is basically good and that individual self-interest can be harnessed by society to promote aggregate social welfare. Individuals form groups and later, states; states are generally cooperative and tend to follow international norms (Martin, 2014: 29).

Liberalism comes from the Latin word "liber" meaning freedom. The central issues that it seeks to address are the problems of achieving lasting peace and cooperation in international relations, and the various methods that could contribute to their achievement (Barzilai, 2003: 08). Supporters of liberalism

often believe in values of cooperation, mutual understanding and human dignity (Eric, 2008; Arnold, 2009; Diamond, 2008; Doyle, 2014).

Over time, the meaning of the word "liberalism" began to diverge in different parts of the world. In the United States, liberalism is associated with the welfare-state policies of the New Deal programme of the Democratic administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whereas in Europe it is more commonly associated with a commitment to limited government and laissez-faire economic policies (Mansoor, 2005).

Consequently, in the United States the ideas of individualism and laissez-faire economics previously associated with classical liberalism became the basis for the emerging school of libertarian thought and are key components of American conservatism (Milan, 2007: 32).

Liberal philosophy symbolizes an extensive intellectual tradition that has examined and popularized some of the most important and controversial principles of the modern world. Its immense scholarly and academic output has been characterized as containing "richness and diversity", but that diversity often has meant that liberalism comes in different formulations and presents a challenge to anyone looking for a clear definition (Roger and Anthony, 1999: 18).

At its very root, liberalism is a philosophy about the meaning of humanity and society. Political philosopher John Gray identified the common strands in liberal thought as being individualist, egalitarian, meliorist and universalist. The individualist element avers the ethical primacy of the human being against the pressures of social collectivism, the egalitarian element assigns the same moral worth and status to all individuals, the meliorist element asserts that successive generations can improve their sociopolitical arrangements and the universalist element affirms the moral unity of the human species and marginalizes local cultural differences (Fawcett, 2014).

The meliorist element has been the subject of much controversy, defended by thinkers such as Immanuel Kant who believed in human progress while suffering criticism by thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who instead believed that human attempts to improve themselves through social cooperation would fail (Alan, and Maurice, 1967).

The moral and political suppositions of liberalism have been based on traditions such as natural rights and utilitarian theory, although scholars have identified the following major common facets of liberal thought: believing in equality and individual liberty, supporting private property and individual rights, supporting the idea of limited constitutional government, and

recognizing the importance of related values such as pluralism, toleration, autonomy, bodily integrity and consent (George, 1984: 34).

Beyond identifying a clear role for government in modern society, liberals also have obsessed over the meaning and nature of the most important principle in liberal philosophy, namely liberty. From the 17th century until the 19th century, liberals (from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill) conceptualized liberty as the absence of interference from government and from other individuals, claiming that all people should have the freedom to develop their own unique abilities and capacities without being sabotaged by others (Bell, 2014: 36). Mill's On Liberty (1859), one of the classic texts in liberal philosophy, proclaimed, "the only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way" (Palmer, and Joel, 1995: 45).

Classical liberals were committed to individualism, liberty and equal rights. Writers such as John Bright and Richard Cobden opposed both aristocratic privilege and property. Beginning in the late 19th century, a new conception of liberty entered the liberal intellectual arena. This new kind of liberty became known as positive liberty to distinguish it from the prior negative version and it was first developed by British philosopher Thomas Hill Green (Pierson, 2001; Christopher, 2008; Puddington, 2007).

Green rejected the idea that humans were driven solely by self-interest, emphasizing instead the complex circumstances that are involved in the evolution of our moral character.

In a very profound step for the future of modern liberalism, he also tasked society and political institutions with the enhancement of individual freedom and identity and the development of moral character, will and reason and the state to create the conditions that allow for the above, giving the opportunity for genuine choice (Pierson, 2001: 32).

Besides liberty, liberals have developed several other principles important to the construction of their philosophical structure, such as equality, pluralism and toleration. Highlighting the confusion over the first principle, Voltaire commented that "equality is at once the most natural and at times the most chimeral of things" (Puddington, 2007: 23). All forms of liberalism assume in some basic sense that individuals are equal. In maintaining that people are naturally equal, liberals assume that they all possess the same right to liberty (Russell, 2000). In other words, no one is inherently entitled to enjoy the benefits of liberal society more than anyone else and all people are equal subjects before the law (Ryan, 2012: 11).

Beyond this basic conception, liberal theorists diverge on their understanding of equality. American philosopher John Rawls emphasized the need to ensure

not only equality under the law, but also the equal distribution of material resources that individuals required to develop their aspirations in life (Heywood, 2003: 09).

To contribute to the development of liberty, liberals also have promoted concepts like pluralism and toleration. By pluralism, liberals refer to the proliferation of opinions and beliefs that characterize a stable social order (Kanazawa, 2010: 17). Unlike many of their competitors and predecessors, liberals do not seek conformity and homogeneity in the way that people think. In fact, their efforts have been geared towards establishing a governing framework that harmonizes and minimizes conflicting views, but still allows those views to exist and flourish (Gallagher et al, 2001). For liberal philosophy, pluralism leads easily to toleration.

Since individuals will hold diverging viewpoints, liberals argue, they ought to uphold and respect the right of one another to disagree (Heywood, 2003: 43). From the liberal perspective, toleration was initially connected to religious toleration. Toleration also played a central role in the ideas of Kant and John Stuart Mill. Both thinkers believed that society will contain different conceptions of a good ethical life and that people should be allowed to make their own choices without interference from the state or other individuals (Alan and Maurice, 1967: 32).

Even though, liberalism advocates the existence of free-market economy at the expense of local industries, the theory explain the cultural diversity of Kano in the contemporary era where associational ethnicities across West Africa conducts their business in a free and open society.

Methodology

This study employs the Quantitative Research Method whereby data for the study were obtained mainly from secondary sources such as official publications, articles from reputable journals, internet materials and relevant textbooks. The data examines the impacts of migration and urban settlement in the development of Kano industries for the West African integration. It looked at the nature, dynamics and trends of migration in the contemporary world by tracing its historical dimension across the globe.

Also, data generated from the above sources highlights the geographical dynamics of the contemporary Kano as well as the impact of migration and urban settlement in the development of market economies in Kano and other West African countries.

The Geopolitical and Geographical Dynamics of the Contemporary Kano: Climate, Culture and History

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

Kano derived its name from the ancestor of the Abagayawa (the earliest settler, who migrated from Gaya in search of ironstone and chemicals). It was traditionally founded by a blacksmith of the Gaya tribe who in ancient times came to Dalla Hill in the 7th century (Dakata and Yelwa, 2012: 59).

Dala Hill is a residual site of a hunting and gathering community that engaged in iron work. Kano was originally known as Dala after the hill, and was referred to as such as late as the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century (Mortimore, 1965: 14). Kano State was first created under this name on May 27, 1967, when Nigeria assumed the twelve states structure during the military regime.

Kano is a Hausa and Fulani dominated city that is largely Muslim. The majority of Kano Muslims are Sunni, though a minority adheres to the Shia branch. Christians and followers of other non-Muslim religions form a small part of the population and traditionally lived in the Sabon Gari, or New city.

Kano is 481 metres (1,578 feet) above sea level. The city lies to the north of the Jos Plateau, in the Sudanian Savanna region that stretches across the south of the Sahel. The city lies near where the Kano and Challawa rivers flowing from the southwest converge to form the Hadejia River, which eventually flows into Lake Chad to the east.

Kano features a tropical savanna climate (Liman and Adamu, 2003: 144). In other words, Kano consists of wooded savanna in the south and scrub vegetation in the north and is drained by the Kano-Chalewa-Hadejia river system.

The city sees on average about 980 mm (38.6 in) of precipitation per year, the bulk of which falls from June through September. Kano is typically very hot throughout the year, though from December through February, the city is noticeably cooler. Nighttime temperatures are cool during the months of December, January and February, with average low temperatures of 11 to 15 °C (52 to 59 °F) (Sanni and Okhimamhe, 2008 11). Kano State's mean annual rainfall ranges from over 1,000 mm in the extreme south to a little less than 800 mm in the extreme north. The rains usually last for three to five months with mean temperature ranges from 26 °C to 33 °C (Olofin, 1987: 21).

There are four seasons within the state; a dry and cool season, Kaka, (mid-November to February), marked by cool and dry weather plus occasional dusty haze; the dry and hot season, bazara (March to mid-May) when temperatures climb up to 40 °C and which is a transition period between the harmattan and the wet season; the wet and warm season, damina (mid-May to September), is the proper wet season when the lowest temperature is recorded; and a dry warm season, rani (October to mid-November) marked by high humidity and

high temperature next to bazara in hotness (Yakudima, 2009: 12). Most inhabitants of the state are farmers producing crops such as millet, rice, cassava, date palms, fruits, vegetables, sorghum, wheat, sweet potato, sugarcane, groundnut, cotton etc.

Even though Kano state as a whole is made up of forty four local government areas, Kano metropolis (initially covered 137 square kilometers, 53 square miles) comprised six local government areas (Kano Municipal, Fagge, Dala, Gwale, Tarauni and Nasarawa); however, it now covers two additional LGAs (Ungogo and Kumbotso).

The city is subdivided into about 100 unguwa ("hamlets"). Besides the old walled area and Bompai, Kano has four other districts: the Fagge, inhabited by "stranger" Hausa people; the Sabon Gari, housing migrants from the south and east; the Syrian Quarters and adjoining Commercial Township; and the Nassarawa, site of modern government buildings and exclusive European and African residences (Maigari, 2014: 26).

Migration and Urban Settlement in Contemporary Kano

The city of Kano was one of the most advanced cities in northern Nigeria, being probably one of the largest urban centers in West Africa. Development or evolution of human settlement in Kano is said to criss-cross centuries. By and large, the settlements evolved simultaneously across the length and breadth of the present Kano state. It all started as isolated groups of hunters and gatherers on and around few hills (Dala, Goron Dutse, Magwan, Bompai and Panisau all in the present day Kano metropolitan) (Mustapha et al., 2014: 21).

Apart from these hills, Last (1979) identifies others which include Lambu settlement complex and Fangwai-Santalo complex which lie within what Mortimore (1972) calls Kano Close-Settled Zone. The development of Kano was greatly enhanced by its being a major trading post in the trans-Saharan trade which connected it with the North Africa, Western and Central Sudanese groups.

One remarkable aspect about urban settlement in Kano is that, right from its formative stage, Kano was opened to migrants from everywhere in and outside Nigeria. Prior to colonialism, Kano was a large urban settlement. By the 16th century, it was organized into about 74 quarters (Mabogunje, 1972). Each quarter or ward was headed by the Mai Unguwa, who was responsible to the Emir. This quarter chieftainship constitutes one of the distant roots of the emergence of migrant ethnic empires (Shea, 2003: 30).

The quarters were divided into two areas which made up Kano city. On the one hand was the birni, the walled or the ancient city, which has over the years,

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

been almost exclusively reserved for Kano indigenes and other Hausa; and on the other hand, was the waje, the outside city where non-indigenes lived in their quarters and groups.

Under colonial rule, Nassarawa and Sabon Gari became important parts of Waje, the former being European quarters and the latter, the quarters of southern Nigerian and other non-Islamic migrants. These territorial divisions provide an insight into the structure of relations between Kano peoples and foreigners; a structure which was accentuated in the colonial period (Asiwaju and Barkindo 1993: 32).

Sabon Gari, or strangers' quarters in Kano, owed its origins to the mass migrations, especially the south-north migrations under colonial rule. One reason Sabon Gari was created therefore, was to prevent as much as possible, any missionary influence in the ancient city (Saeed, 2003; Maigari, 2014).

Sabon Gari emerged in Kano in 1911 as the first of the strangers' quarters to be established in Nigeria under colonial rule (this was formalized by law in 1917). It was planned that Sabon Gari would house agents of European merchants' organizations, Sierra Leonians and southern Nigerians who were mostly traders and government officials and of course, a few Christian missions. Apart from the Igbo and Yoruba, there are other settlers in Sabon Gari, including several southern ethnic groups, notably the Edo, Urhobo, Efik, Ijaw, and Itsekiri (Maigari, 2014: 62).

Kano's considerable experience with migrants, according to Paden (1973:242) explains the complex of categories which have arisen to accommodate the different types of communal identity. People of various ethnic groups conduct their business under free and fair atmosphere. These include the Nupes, Cyprians, Arabs, Mandigos (Wangara of Mali) among others.

The toponomy (name of places) of many areas in Kano also support the argument that Kano is ethnically cosmopolitan. Some of the wards that bear tribal names include Zangon Barebari for (Kanuri merchants and scholars); Tudun Nupawa for Nupe; Ayagi for Yorubas; Sharifai and Madabo for Wangarawas of Mali; Kul-Kul, Koki and Kan Tudun Madabo for the people of Katsina; Agadasawa for the people Agades; Durimin Turawa for Arabians; Daurawa for people of Daura, Soron Dinki for Fulani migrants; and Dandalin Turawa for the people of Arab lineage. All these wards have been in existence since before 19th century (Dan Asabe, 2014; Ubah, 1982; Adamu, 2011)

The cosmopolitan outlook of present-day Kano however, took root within the context of the evolution and consolidation of the Nigerian state and its concomitant national, albeit colonial, economy. Mass movements of Nigerians

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

from other parts, especially the south into Kano began soon after the colonization of the country was completed.

As elsewhere in Africa, the reasons for these mass movements were mainly, but not only, economic. People left their villages and towns for "lucrative" cities like Kano where the opportunities were enormous. It only took the first stream of migrants to report back home about these opportunities for the mass movements to begin. Adepoju (2008: 36) summarizes the reasons for these movements thus:

Opportunities for trade or employment provoked great movements of peoples into areas inhabited by other ethnic groups ... In some cases this movement was a purely economic response to opportunities for profit; in others it was stimulated by social considerations, such as the desire to escape from the restricting nature of traditional African society; in yet others, it was induced by the policies of the central powers.

These mass movements were made possible by the opening up of upland towns like Kano through the development and expansion of transportation systems, specifically road and rail transport, both affordable means of mass transit (Mabogunje, 1970; Adepoju, 1996). The Lagos-Kano railway line (704 miles) was completed in 1911, while the Port Harcourt-Kano line (600 miles) was completed in 1926 (Osaghae, 1994: 24).

With the development of the ports in Lagos and Port Harcourt, these lines linked Kano to the commercial and administrative nerve centres of the country, including Kaduna, Jos, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Enugu and Lokoja which, like it, were also linked to the port cities. These linkages facilitated rural-urban as well as urban-urban migration as people left their villages and southern towns like Lagos, Enugu, and Ibadan to settle in Kano (Adekanye, 1998).

The railway network was complemented by the development of road networks which expanded rapidly from about 1917, mainly as feeders to the railway lines. The road network fed the north-south axis very well. The development of telegraphic, telephonic and other postal and communication systems in the 1920s completed the integration of the national economy which engendered the mass migrations to Kano (Adepoju, 1991: 21).

The primacy of the economic factor is, indeed, underscored by the point that the introduction of groundnut as a cash crop during the 1920s and the emergence of Kano as the groundnut capital of Nigeria were responsible for the mass movements of people into the town (Paden, 1973:242). In addition to the groundnut economy, Kano remained the main trading centre in northern Nigeria and from 1967; it also became an administrative centre being the capital of Kano State. However, associational ethnicity emerged quite earlier amongst

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

southern Nigerians and other West and Central African migrants in Kano which helped integrates the West African Economies.

Kano and the Development of Market Economies: The Role of Commerce, Trade and Industries

Strategically located and owns its leading position as commercial hub in the sub-Saharan Africa, Kano is served as a crossroad for highways traversing West African states. It is linked to many West African cities (Niger, Chad, Mali and Benin Republic) by road, fleets of trucks and buses.

Through the use of International Airport (Mallam Aminu Kano International Airport), Kano is also linked to Europe, Middle East as well as North and Western Africa. Kano Airport is served by Egypt Air, Saudi Arabian Airlines, Middle East Air, and Turkish Airlines. It is also connected to Lagos and Abuja by several domestic airlines (IRS Airlines, Arik Air, Aero and others) (Tanko and Halima, 2014: 15).

Market economies in Kano emerged as a result of the proper integration of commerce and industries. People from all directions are attracted by the huge market (consumers) and the high production which is informed by the high number of peasants who were engaged in one form of production or the other. In other words, the existence of market economies (trade and commerce) in Kano cannot be separated from the history of Kano itself (Dala), which most historians traced to the early 7th century (Ado-Kurawa, 2006: 11).

However, three major developments of markets in Kano includes: the first generation; the second generation; and the contemporary markets (Maigari, 2014: 08). The first generation markets are those that emerged from early 8th century to the 18th century. Although the markets in this period were few and occasional, their sites were not definite, and their names changed according to local need or purpose. The only prominent among these was the "Yarkasuwa market" founded in 1392 (Maigari, 2014: 08).

From 14th to 18th centuries, markets in Kano began to get stands in terms of site, name, and relevance, as a result of wider spectrum of trade contact between Kano and the Arabs world; the Trans-Saharan Trade (James, 1987). Thus, between 14th to 18th centuries, a total number of seven markets were established. These are: Karafka (1438); Kurmi (1487); Mandawari market (1567); Madabo (1700); Na'isa (1706); Aisami (1880); and Kul-kul (1887) (Maigari, 2014; Bashir, 1983).

Among this category, only Kurmi market retained its historic and international status; 'Yarkawusa and Karafka were phased off and their sites were converted to residential area. Madabo and Na'isa markets were relocated; while

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

Mandawari, Aisami and Kul-kul markets were reduced to local neighborhood patronage as against their former international status (Bello, 1982: 09).

The second generation markets are those that emerged from the 1900 to some years after national independent (1960); after trading contact had been extended up to Europe. These include: Sabongari market established in 1914 following railway construction in 1912; Kwari market in 1934; Rimi market in 1937; 'Yan'awaki around 1940; 'Yantaya in 1942; WAPA in 1959; Sharada in 1960; 'Yan'itace in 1965; Abattoir in 1967; and Brigade in 1969. Among these, 'Yan' awaki; 'Yan' itace and Sharada markets were respectively relocated to Na'ibawa, Mariri and Sharada-Masallaci areas. Sabongari, Kwari and WAPA markets retained their international status; while Rimi market has been reduced to regional as against its former international importance (Dan-Asabe, 1995: 25).

The contemporary or the third generation markets were marked by the promulgation of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion (Indigenization) Decree of 1972 as amended in 1976. This has led to the development of 21 more markets in Kano. Notable among such markets include: Akija established in 1973; Singer; Dawanau; Kofar-Wambai; Kofar-Ruwa; 'Yankaba; Ujile; 'Yankekuna; and 'Yanlemo in 1977, and Takari in 1985, among others (Mohammed, 1985; Afolayan, A. et al., 2011).

Apart from strong trade relations with the Bornu kingdom, Kano became the greatest commercial power in West Africa since the 1820s. Its leather and cotton goods were widely transported northward by caravan across the Sahara to Tripoli, Tunis, and Fès, and hence to Europe (Gilbert, 1969: 05). During the colonial period and several years after the Nigerian independence, the groundnuts produced in the state constituted one of the major revenue sources of the country. Kano state is a major producer of hides and skins, sesame, soybean, cotton, garlic, gum arabic and chili pepper (K-SEED, 2004: 11). Commercial activities in Kano first developed with the establishment of the Kurmi market by the Emir of Kano Muhammadu Rumfa in the 16th Century. Subsequent leaders as well as Emirs Ibrahim Dabo and Sulaimanu in the 19th century, made contributions to the emergence of Kano as a leading commercial center in Western and Sudanic Africa (Maigari, 2014: 46).

The Kurmi market became the regional market that integrates the West African traders.

It serves as a medium of exchange for commodity goods. In return for Hausa leatherwork, cloth, and metal wares, Kano received kola nuts from Ghana; salt from the Sahara; natron from Lake Chad; rice, oil, spices and perfumes from Benin Republic etc.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

Modern Kano is a major commercial and industrial centre (Tanko and Halima, 2014: 19). Peanuts (groundnuts), a local subsistence crop and now the prime commodity, are bagged and stored in huge pyramids for export.

The products exported from Kano to West and Northern Africa includes textile materials, leather and grains. Kano was connected with trans-Atlantic trade in 1911 when a railway line reached Kano. Kano is a major centre for the production and export of agricultural products. The city maintains its economy and business even in the 21st century with it producing the richest black man (Aliko Dangote) (Mortimore, 1993:22).

Kano state has been a commercial and agricultural state, which is known for the production of groundnuts as well as for its solid mineral deposits.

The state has more than 18,684 square kilometers (7,214 sq mi) of cultivable land and is the most extensively irrigated state in the country. Subsistence and commercial agriculture is mostly practiced in the outlying districts of the state. Some of the food crops cultivated are millet, cowpeas, sorghum, maize and rice for local consumption while groundnuts and cotton are produced for export and industrial purposes (Dakata and Yelwa, 2012: 22).

Another important traditional export is that of hides and skins. There is a considerable livestock trade. Eggs also are supplied to other parts of Nigeria and West African countries. Traditional industries include leather tanning and decoration, mat making, metalworking, tailoring, and pottery manufacture. Local dye pits for cloth and leather have been used for centuries (Ado-Kurawa, 2006: 12).

However, Kano industrial economies are made up of consumption, manufacturing and distribution with markets as the central controlling or regulating unit. The markets intercept supplies from primary producers (raw-materials or semi-processed goods) and manufacturing industries (finished goods) and demands from consumers, which after have been refined or fine-tuned by market forces are accordingly released into distribution outlets (Maigari, 2014: 05).

The distribution aspect is also discharged by the numerous markets across the town; which attracts thousands of visitors from all segments of Nigeria and neighboring West African countries. These include Benin, Chad, Ghana, Niger, Togo and Burkina Faso; as well as Cameroun and Central Africa Republic on daily basis. Currently, there are over 400 privately owned industries ranging from large, medium to small scale factories in Kano. This makes Kano the second largest industrial area in West Africa outside Lagos (Bashir, 1983; Ado-Kurawa, 2006; Tanko and Halima, 2014).

Despite the fact that Kano is the pre-eminent commercial and industrial centre not only in Northern Nigeria, but to the whole of West African states, there were handful traditional industries within the region, from 1945 onward. There was rapid growth of modern industry. Bompai industrial estate was established as the first of its type in the region. It was in 1970's, after the oil boom, that the establishment of import substitution factories peaked.

Between 1973 and 1982, not less than 165 new manufacturing plants were established in Kano, mostly concentrated in the production of plastic and plastic products, sweet and confectioneries, soft drinks, textile goods, metal and wooden furniture, rubber products, paper and paper products, perfume, cosmetics and toiletry, and leather goods (Olofin et al., 2008).

The establishment of Bompai industrial estate has accelerated the process of West African Integration as well as urbanization. Since its establishment, it has served as a primary source of urban development, guiding the natural flow of urban expansion. Due to the increase in industrial production, four new industrial estates were opened at Sharada, Challawa, Hadejia Road and Dakata industrial estates. Thus, about one million people visit Kano weekly on commercial mission (Tanko, and Halima, 2014; K-SEED, 2004).

By the end of 1985, there were some 500 manufacturing plants employing over one hundred thousand workers in Kano (Olofin et al., 2008). These factories were set up by the indigenous and foreign private capital as well as by the State government through Kano State Investment Properties Company (KSIP) and the former Northern Nigerian Development Corporation and now New Nigerian Development Corporation (NNDC) (Beamonte et al., 2007).

Much of Kano industries are centered in the industrial estate at Bompai. The city's food products include baked goods and pasta, processed meat, crushed bone, canned food, peanuts, peanut and vegetable oils and soft drinks. Light manufactures include textiles, knit fabrics, tents, bedding, foam rubber products, clothing, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, soap, candles, polishes, plastics, leather goods, metal and wood furniture, hospital and office equipment, containers and packing cases, wire products, tiles, and enamelware (Tanko and Halima, 2014).

The heavy industries manufacture asbestos, cement, concrete blocks, metal structural products, bicycles, automobiles, trucks, and chemicals. There is also a steel-rolling mill and a printing plant that were transported across West African countries ((Adamu, 1999).

Contemporarily, Kano state is the second largest industrial center after Lagos state in Nigeria and the largest in Northern Nigeria. Kano economy relies on trade, retail and services. The emergence of large retail outlets starting from

early 2000 with Sahad Stores and Jifatu departmental stores revived investor confidence in the sector which led to the construction of the Ado Bayero mall, then the largest shopping mall in Nigeria with a retail space of 24,000 square metres (260,000 square feet) (Maigari, 2014: 48).

For the last three decades, Kano has been experiencing rapid economic and population growth (trade and commerce) which helped integrates the West African communities. As a result of associational ethnicity, the city developed a cosmopolitan outlook unlike many other cities in Nigeria and the entire West African sub-region. There is no indigenes-settlers dichotomy. Up to the present times, most of the people known and referred to as Kanawa are settlers from across Nigeria and many other West African countries.

The Kano Free Trade Zone and the West African Integration

The Kano Free Trade Zone is located on 262 hectares of land at the Panisau area of Ungogo LGA of Kano State. It is a special economic zone where goods maybe landed, handled, manufactured or reconfigured and re-exported without the intervention of the customs authorities. It was established in 1998 and its area of specialization is warehousing, services, logistics and manufacturing (Ado-Kurawa, 2006).

One of its objectives is to allow interested persons to set up industries and businesses within the zones with a major objective of exporting the goods and services manufactured or produced within the zone and to provide an internationally competitive duty free environment for export production (West Africa, Asia, Caribbean-Pacific, Europe, North and South America) at a low cost (K-SEED, 2004: 11).

The zone has 19 warehouses, 33 fully registered companies among which 13 has been established and in full operation. Some of the companies in operation at the zone include: Marshal Biscuits FZE, producers of Buttermint Biscuits began operation in January, 2016. Afrique Ventures FZE, producers of Xquizite bottle and sachet water began operation in June, 2015. Afric Packs FZE, producers of sacks began operation in October, 2017. Nurture All Foods FZE, producers of Soy-Kunu, Soykunu extra and Soyalac began operation on 11th November, 2015 and Coral Integrated FZE, which is into recycling and crushing of materials. They began operation in 2014 (Maigari, 2014).

The zone has recorded many achievements which include the allocation of a special intervention fund for the development of infrastructures in the zone, the presence of joint task force in the zone to enhance the activities of the zone, Foreign exchange from exports of products not only to Ghana, Niger Republic and Benin but to Germany, South Africa, South Korea etc,

tremendous improvement on Foreign Direct Investors like China, India, Egypt, etc. The fiscal policy is also in consonance with the policies of the free trade zones. Lastly, Kano State govt. under the Kano State Pensions Trust Fund is also contributing to the development of the trade zone (Tankoand Halima, 2014).

Despite the achievements, the zone is still facing some challenges. Some of these challenges include: lack of efficient railway to ease the transportation of goods to and from the zone, epileptic power supply, lack of offshore banking in the zone, lack of in-depth knowledge of the free zone scheme by the government agencies like National Agency for Drugs and Administrative Control (NAFDAC), Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), National Drugs Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) etc. and lastly, the inconsistencies in the Federal Government policies, for example, the recent introduction of excise duty on some products (Tanko and Momale, 2014: 32).

Though some of the roads are still not tarred for now, work is in top gear to make sure everything is in order as workers are on site for the completion of the phase 2 project.

The government needs to create more awareness on the benefits of the Free Trade Zones as many investors and manufacturers within the West African countries are still ignorant of it. Indeed, they have done well in making sure Kano Free Trade zone is revived and in full operation as the zone will help in boosting the economy. They have also made sure the place is conducive and secure for business by stationing military patrol team at the gate to check what goes in and out of the zone. It is imperative that stakeholders, producers, manufacturers and other foreign investors support these efforts and also cease this life changing opportunity that will improve their businesses and take it to the next level.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Migration in general may be described as a natural function of social development. It has taken place at all times and in the greatest variety of circumstances. It has been tribal, national, class and individual. Its causes have been political, socio-economic, religious, or mere love of adventure. Its causes and results are fundamental for the study of ethnology (formation and mixture of races), of political and social history (formation of states and survival of institutions), and of political economy (mobility of labour and utilization of productive forces). Under the form of conquest it makes the grand epochs in history (e.g. the fall of the Roman Empire); under the form of colonization it has transformed the world (e.g. the settlement of America); under free

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

initiative it is the most powerful factor in social adjustment (e.g. the growth of urban population).

Thus, migration has shaped the pattern of Kano economy. This is because the Kano economy has been characterized by over-concentration spatially. Spatial concentration is reflected in the fact that over 80% of commercial activities in the state are carried out in only three metropolitan local governments (Fagge, Nassarawa and Kano Municipal LGAs); and virtually all industries are located in Bompai, Sharada and Challawa. Also, the markets are traditionally dominated by a small number of key importers with a network of smaller distributors. These two factors exposed the Kano economy to what Risk Managers call a "concentration risk". The result is devastating.

The failure of the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) to provide regular electricity supply to Kano metropolitan for instance led to the collapse of almost all the industries in Kano, due to the impossibility of operating profitably based on generators. What is more complex to explain is the failure of commerce.

Commerce collapsed due to the general rise in inflation which led to reduced purchasing power of consumers and this exerted a downward pressure on margins. Market share moved to players who could compete based on reduced costs and these were mainly large, efficient players with access to substantial bank lines. Such players were able to take advantage of scale economies and sell their consignment profitably.

Many of the big traders in Kano were not able to cope with this situation. Some did not have the capital at their disposal to take advantage of economies of scale. But also, many were simply incompetent managers who were used to bloated overheads at a time of healthy margins, when they controlled the market and earned some profit from a market structure of monopolistic competition.

When the situation changed, and competition stiffened due to the difficulties associated with manufacturing as an alternative use of capital, they were unable to cut down on inessential, non-business expenditure. Money was expended on consumption based on sales revenues rather than margins, and they soon found themselves unable to honour financial obligations due to the erosion of net-worth by sustained (and probably untracked) losses.

Irrespective of the reasons for the collapse of commerce in Kano, the fact remains that its impact was multiplied by the factor of concentration. The complete dependence of migrants of smaller traders and employees on the big traders meant that when their businesses collapsed they took a disproportionate number of businesses and people down with them.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Samuel Tetteh Addo (Ghana)

The lack of education of the large migrant workers and the narrow skills base meant that they had no options they could easily move into. Added to this is the traditional segmentation of markets along ethnic lines. An experienced Hausa trader of personal care products for instance finds it difficult to move into the building materials market dominated by Igbos. Other daunting challenges include the need to duplicate essential infrastructure, the threat of crime and associated need for security countermeasures, corruption and nontransparent economic decision making especially in government procurement etc.

Even though, the Kano economy does not stand on its own (as integrated into the Nigerian and West African economy and affected by developments in the macro-economy), the Kano state government must use every means at its disposal to upgrade the Kano industries no matter how highly placed, a visible identification with the interest of the marketers.

A radical review of educational policy to facilitate development of productive forces by giving the population a good and diverse skills base, a stronghold to cosmopolitan identity and rejection of parochial tendencies as well as redistribution of income by encouraging rural and agricultural development is needed.

The government should focus on developing extension services for rural farmers. This is because even where there are supplies of fertilizers, inputs and implements, farmers need assistance on how to improve yields and protect crops. Other support services include monitoring of the climate and forecasts to determine timing of the farming season. Government should continue the rural electrification policy and the provision of infrastructure.

As such, the government must take deliberate steps to redistribute income and address the structural distortions in distribution. This can be done through active pursuit of agricultural and rural development, as well as development of the rural productive forces and facilitation of their ownership of land as capital. In other words, there is an urgent need for land reform. The reforms in land ownership coupled with rural development facilitate diffusion of wealth and thus manage the concentration risks both spatially and vertically. They also broaden the economic base by increasing the importance of agriculture, which supports the largest percentage of the population.

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