Migration and peopling of Kaduna as a living city: Exercises in intergroup relations and nation-building

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Abstract
Intergroup relations and nation-building in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society poses challenges that the Nigerian state has handled with mixed results since independence. This paper addresses similar concerns for the city of Kaduna, which was designated in 1913 as the capital of Northern Nigeria and took off in that role in 1917 when the regional administration relocated from Zungeru to Kaduna. The paper using primary and secondary sources traced the establishment of Kaduna and the nature and character of migrations into the city. The paper addresses the importance of military establishments to the growth of the city beginning with the stationing of the West African Frontier Force in Kaduna in 1913 and the impact of Kaduna as a railway terminus. Being the regional headquarters, Kaduna attracted significant migration of peoples of diverse background. The paper analyses how due to a variety of political, ethnic and religious factors, tensions, conflicts and crises have severally erupted in the city along inter-faiths lines, leading to setbacks in multicultural relations. In conclusion, the paper outlines that state and elite positive agenda setting towards inclusiveness and greater understanding of ethnic and religious diversity as well as mass, qualitative and compulsory education will contribute towards resetting the basis for harmonious co-existence and enhance intergroup relations in Kaduna.

Introduction
Kaduna since its designation by Sir Frederick Lugard, the High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1913 as the site of a new headquarters for the British colony of Northern Nigeria, has over the past one hundred years continued to witness migration and internal growth leading to its accelerated human population. Since its establishment in an area that was outside the direct habitation of a major ethnic group, the city has continually drawn to itself, Nigerians from all ethnic groups and from all states. This paper is a study of the impact of the challenges of crises and conflicts among the diverse, multicultural and multi-religious groups inhabiting Kaduna. The study equally proposes strategies for greater integration of Kaduna residents within the outlines of the national nation-building framework.

Kaduna as a living city
While migrations were common in pre-colonial Nigeria, the dawn of the colonial era induced a different kind of migration and intermingling among the people of the newly amalgamated entity of Nigeria. With colonization and Pax Britannica following the pacification of Nigeria, Nigerians from over 300 ethnic groups could move freely within the colony and settle wherever they wished, especially in the newly emerging administrative centres that were being established. Although the country in the second decade of the twentieth century was largely agrarian, both the already established cities like Kano, Zaria and Sokoto in Northern Nigeria were to further expand and the newly established ones like Jos, Makurdi, Minna and Kaduna among others were to witness rapid expansion. This was due to the influx of people that moved into them from the immediate local areas and further afield from within the North and the Southern Protectorate which eventually became the Southern Region of Nigeria.

As a newly created city in the second decade of the twentieth century, the movement into Kaduna witnessed high growth as it was the seat of the Northern Region. Apart from the few autochthonous Gbagyi settlements, the area was more or less unoccupied and the growth of the city was principally fueled by migration of peoples into the area from the early part of its foundation. Majority of the people that came to inhabit the city moved to Kaduna...
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due to the need to seek better economic opportunities as traders, artisans and as workers of different specialisations and professions. For Oyedele migration into Kaduna had the following characteristics:

Those who came to Kaduna for the purposes of selling their labour came under various degrees of coercion. It was the net effect of British colonialism on the economy and society of Nigeria (the violence, looting and arson and their economic policies) that left the peasantry at the mercy of market forces, higher taxation, forced labour, compulsory cultivation of export crops and frequent famines. These developments fundamentally altered the basic social and economic as well as the political relationships of communities and the country. It was these forms of dislocation on the indigenous economy which affected all forms of material life that forced Africans to migrate to other areas of colonial activity such as the new settlement of Kaduna.¹

Although the pace of development of Kaduna city was initially slow, it began to flourish by the third decade. The new administrative status of the city as Northern Nigeria’s capital city, added to its hitherto military town and railway terminus status were to act as magnets pulling people to the new town. From the 1930s, the pace of development and population increase into the city accelerated and continued to keep pace from decade to decade as more and more people moved from the rural areas into Kaduna due to the livelihood opportunities that economic growth through its expanding administrative roles provided. The population growth was a derivative of the modernisation processes being enacted by the city as a result of its status as an administrative centre, which in turn fostered higher trade volumes and the foundations of an incipient modern economic system.²

Migrations into Kaduna followed certain waves and patterns that were guided and shaped by colonial policies and economic direction and activities. The growth of colonial towns was clearly linked to the economic opportunities they provided for those that were attracted to move into them. The Kaduna experience since inception was not much different from that of other colonial administrative centres. The first wave of migrants followed the railway that passed through Kaduna on the Lagos to Kano railway when it opened in 1912. The railway provided opportunities for clerks, traders and construction workers to settle at Makera. Also, following the railway into Kaduna was also the United African Company (UAC) that was then known as the Niger Company. The company established its station in Kaduna in 1912 just as the railway line was opening up in the area.³

The military character of migrations in Kaduna

In the wake of these economic migrants into Kaduna were also a troop of 2840 soldiers of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) in 1913. This force was to contribute significantly to Kaduna’s long term growth. The WAFF troops were the vanguard of the Lugardian colonial enterprise in the establishment of the new city. The permanent deployment of the soldiers into Kaduna performed two vital functions. Firstly, they were used as guinea pigs to test the suitability of the area for occupation. Secondly, being part of the colonial military architecture, they were critical in the provision of security to the residents and the colonial officials, within and beyond the city and in fact for the whole of Northern Nigeria. The ethnic identities of the soldiers were dominantly northerners with the Hausa making up a significant proportion of the force with

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1,171 men. The only identified group from Southern Nigeria were the Yoruba, whose contribution to the force was 61 soldiers.⁴⁷ According to Chinedu N. Ubah this trajectory of stationing of troops in 1913 was to be “a continuous aspect of life in the city for roughly 100 years.”⁴⁸

Thus, through the colonial and post-colonial period the military presence in Kaduna had been more extensive than perhaps any other city in Nigeria. The trajectory of the evolution of the military presence in Kaduna has by the end of the twentieth century through various mutations bequeathed the city with a 1 Mechanised Division of the Nigerian Army. Among others Ubah illustrated the trajectory of the military presence in the town as follows:

The post-World War II and the post-civil war years added their own glamour to the military character of Kaduna. These include the Army Corps of the Artillery, Nigerian Army Engineers, Nigerian Army Ordinance Corps, Nigeria Military Training College, Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria, Nigerian Defence Academy, Air Force Base, and Air Force Training Command.⁴⁹

Kaduna metropolis is, therefore, host to these vital military establishments: Headquarters Garrison 1 Mechanised Division of the Nigerian Army, Headquarters Training Command of the Nigerian Air Force, the Nigerian Defence Academy, Defence Industries Corporation, the Nigerian Air Force Base, and the Air Force Training Institute are located within the Kaduna metropolitan area. The rest of Kaduna state, particularly Jaji town is host to the following: Armed Forces Command and Staff College, Nigerian Army Peace Keeping Centre, Nigerian Army School of Infantry, Infantry Corps Centre. The city of Zaria has the following: Recruit Training Depot of the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Military School, Nigerian Army School of Military Police and 11 Field Engineers Regiment, and in Kachia is the Nigerian Army School of Artillery.⁵⁰ Throughout the period of the twentieth century, the military factor greatly contributed to the migration and movement of hundreds of thousand into Kaduna, permanently or in transit to the city during years of training or service.

Other migrations
Following the soldiers were a group of 1000 labourers who arrived the city from Kano in October 1913. Before the arrival of these labourers, however, other workers had been finding their way into Kaduna from Niger and Zaria provinces since 1908 to work on the railway construction and railway headquarters in Kaduna. The gradual growth of Kaduna in its formative years led to expansion in population and opportunities. The expansion pulled into the city migrants from other urban centres such as Zaria, Kano and Ogbomosho. Many of these migrants were traders, artisans and professionals from various occupations. The influx of labour and population growth into Kaduna continued to expand, especially with the initiation of work on the Eastern Railway line in March of 1914. Though began with 300 labourers, this was to expand to 3,317 within the next six months by September of that year. Although the First World War affected the progress of work on the Eastern Railway, this was recommenced from 1922.

By 1914, the population of the proposed new capital city was about 2500 men of which all but 30 were Africans.⁵¹ This was before the actual relocation of the capital from Zungeru to Kaduna. The departure from Zungeru added to the already growing population of Kaduna. This was because a critical component of the colonial enterprise, the civil servants and bureaucrats and other workers who made up of the population that had resided in Zungeru also relocated...
to Kaduna in 1916 and 1917. From Zungeru, Kaduna was able to inherit:

Europeans (mainly British), senior staff both in the colonial administration and in commerce, African clerks and artisans and unskilled labourers and the self-employed and traders… There were also those in commerce made up of bakers, railway officials and military officers that made up the number of expatriate personnel that moved to Kaduna… This group was followed by the clerks and artisans, majority of who were non-Nigerians. They were mainly from other British colonies as Ghana, Sierra-Leone (including Pa Williams and Odampton) and from The Gambia. There were over a hundred of them. And lastly, there were over a thousand unskilled labourers.

When work on the Eastern Railway recommenced in 1922 by which time Kaduna had already taken off as the capital of the Northern Region, it fueled the migration into Kaduna of thousands of people from within the southern districts of Zaria Province into the city. Records show that in 1922/1923 alone over 4000 men moved from the southern districts of Zaria into Kaduna. From other parts of the North, particularly Benue Province, concerted efforts were made to bring farmers from within the north to Kaduna. The colonial administration through its policy of enticement provided incentives that included tax concessions for three to five years, free train tickets to Kaduna and recognition of the rights of the group and their leader to a distinct settlement area within a radius of 8-kilometres around Kaduna.

As a result of the policy, farmers from Tiv Division were brought to settle in Kaduna with the objective of helping to improve food production in the area. Other areas from which farmers were induced to move to Kaduna included Kano Province as well as other parts of Zaria Province. The Tiv farmers were settled in an area that became known as Unguwar Munchi the location of the present-day Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi. Another category of Nigerians who were to become significant in Kaduna, although they had been trickling into the city, their inward movement was greatly facilitated when the Eastern Railway linking Kaduna to Port Harcourt at the Atlantic Coast became operational in 1927. The Igbo population rose significantly from about 20 men to 1,272 men in a space of four years between 1927 and 1931. A trend which became sustained throughout the colonial period and during the period after independence, except for the period of the civil war years from 1966-1971 which saw a massive exodus of Igbo’s to the East. The aftermath of the war, however, saw to a resurgence of the Igbo presence beyond the prewar period.

Within the period of its first two decades after creation as the capital city of Northern Nigeria, or precisely 18 years from 1913 to 1931 when the population of the township alone was 10,628. This figure which excludes the population of the village areas (i.e. Kawo, Tudun Wada, Makera, Barnawa, Kurmin Gwari, Kurmin Hausawa & Anguwan Munshi) as well as Kaduna Sabon Gari, Tudun Wada; Kaduna was highly representative of the Nigerian colony in terms of ethnic composition. The composition of the township population showed that in 1931 there were 164 Europeans and 637 West Indians and nationals of other African colonies. The Nigerian population was made up of 4,247 Hausa, 441 Fulani, 271 Kanuri, 709 Nupe, and 185 Tiv, this was together with a population of 622 other unspecified northerners and 1,076 Yoruba of northern origin who made up the Northern population. From Southern Nigeria, there were 1,272 Igbo and 536 southerners from different ethnicities, as well as an
The religious affiliation of these groups showed that there were 6,509 Muslims and 3,115 Christians divided into 1,968 Protestants and 1,147 Catholics.\textsuperscript{xiv} The Pagan population was 859 with 113 as unclassified. This showed that right from the onset the diversity of the city in terms of ethnicity, and religion were clearly evident.

Generally, the demographic development of Kaduna metropolis from its foundation years steadily grew and expanded during the past century. From a population of about 2500 in 1914, within a decade, by 1924 the population had more than doubled to 6,097. In 1929 another report recorded the population of Kaduna Township to be 10,100. This population was according to the report, made up of 10,000 Africans and 100 Europeans resident in the Kaduna Township. Another colonial report, however, indicated that the population of Europeans might have been as high as 278.\textsuperscript{xv} By 1931, inclusive of the then village units around Kaduna, which have grown to be at the heart of the city, there was a further doubling of the population to 12,415. By 1952 the population of the Kaduna city area had increased to 38,794 and this was to witness a tripling to a burgeoning city of 149,910 in 1963.\textsuperscript{xvi} By 1963 even within Zaria province under which Kaduna town was situated the urban population was made up only of Jema’a with 9,000 people, Zaria with 166,100 people and Kaduna having 149,910 making a total of 325,000 with the rural population being dominant at 1,369,600.\textsuperscript{xvii} By 1970 the Kaduna metropolitan population was estimated to rise to 178,234 and to 201,629 by 1975. By 1980 the population of Kaduna city was expected to be 473,000 and rising to 580,104 by 1983.\textsuperscript{xviii} The changes in the population size of Kaduna continued to be manifest with further counts in 1991 which placed the population at 896,005, but when the suburbs of Chikun and Igabi were included the population of the city went to 1,307,311.\textsuperscript{xix}

**Integration of diverse backgrounds**

Colonialism brought together Nigerians of diverse backgrounds into a single federation in which identities were differentiated by ethnicity, religion, and later regions and states. The city of Kaduna itself has always been diverse and multicultural right from the onset. Perhaps more than any other Nigerian city at inception. This multicultural context is well encapsulated by Enoch O. Oyedele who notes that:

First, it must be borne in mind that Kaduna developed at the edge of a cultural frontier, between the Hausa to the north and the Gbagyi, Katab and Kadara to the south. Second, it developed into a cosmopolitan city with groups such as the Yoruba, the Ibo, and the Nupe from various occupational backgrounds living happily together.\textsuperscript{xx}

Similarly, the diverse nature of Nigeria, which could be applied to Kaduna was acknowledged by Sir Ahmadu Bello thus:

Nigeria is so large and the people are so varied that no person of any real intellectual integrity would be so foolish as to pretend that he speaks for the country as a whole, and yet there are plenty of people who have no hesitation in making sweeping statements of a general nature (pretending that it has general agreement) which could represent the opinions of only a very small section of the community in a particular area.\textsuperscript{xxi}

With the influx of people from all parts of Nigeria, Kaduna itself, however, assumed the status of a melting pot, whereby despite the various groups maintaining
their cultural orientations, religions and languages, almost all also adopted the Hausa language in day-to-day usage and transaction, as well as other cultural attributes with respect to dressing among others.\textsuperscript{xxii}

In Nigeria, although towns and urban centres in the south were not consciously segregated, the British had through responding to the sensibilities of the Muslim indigenous population adopted policies of residential segregation in several northern cities. Thus, as Oyedele notes “the most salient feature of colonial residential and administrative policy was one of ethnic, religious and racial segregation.”\textsuperscript{xxiii} The origins of this pattern of residential development was clearly discernible in the ancient cities of Kano and Zaria. In these old northern cities, Nigerians from other parts of the country, particularly, from Southern Nigeria, were largely restricted to living in newer parts of the town. Thus, migrants from the north could reside in Tudun Wada and southerners had their residences in Tudun Wada as well as Sabon Gari. As noted by Fatima Mahmud Ilu, “There was the influx of large number of migrant groups from every side of the country into Tudun Wada.”\textsuperscript{xxiv}

The origins of the Sabon Gari settlements were traceable to the colonial era. The British administration in the Muslim emirates of the north had in the Sabon Gari system sought to “safeguard Islam and Muslim emirates from the disrupting influence of especially Christian migrants such as Sierra Leoneans, Ghanaians, Southern Nigerians and missionaries who started trickling into the north soon after the colonial conquest.”\textsuperscript{xxv} The rationale of the 1917 township ordinance clearly stated too that: “the reason for the institution of townships in Northern Nigeria was the necessity for segregating from the native administrations communities entirely foreign to them…”\textsuperscript{xxvi}

In addition, according to Bako, “the colonial government under the indirect rule system was against extending the jurisdiction of the traditional institutions over non-indigenes particularly migrant communities.” Thus for instance:

Under the British jurisdiction, European traders, missionaries, Lebanese, Arabs etc. could only live under the station magistrate and not under the emir. The Sabon Gari settlements had to therefore, be created in the major cities of the emirates such as Kano and Zaria in order to accommodate migrant communities. Several colonial officials believed that had there been no Sabon Gari settlements immigrants and commercial companies would not have been attracted to the emirates as they do not want to be subjected to Islamic law and traditional political authorities.\textsuperscript{xxvii}

Bako argues that Sabon Garis were created to seek out Muslim acquiescence or support for the British colonial enterprise in Northern Nigeria. Bako further notes that the Sabon Gari system was similar to what the British did in Indian urbanization during the nineteenth century. That the system was reflective of the spatial inequalities that characterised the creation of new settlements that had to meet a variety of needs in the areas of military, political, economic and social spheres of the colonial enterprise.\textsuperscript{xxviii}

This outlook on the evolution of Sabon Garis gains credence when one appraises the study of Ibrahim Muhammad Jumare on Christian missionary activities in Hausaland and the reception they received from the emirates which was often hostile, which made the colonial authorities to be circumspective in respecting the wishes of the established emirates in putting some measure of restriction on the extent to which the missions could proselytize in the emirates.
In Jumare’s account, while Kano was downright hostile, Zaria was far more receptive in welcoming the missionaries such as the Church Missionary Society to establish a base in the emirate. When the CMS Hausa Mission reached Kano for instance, “the emir of Kano showed a high degree of hostility and intolerance to the extent that the CMS Hausa Mission under Bishop Tugwell had to leave Kano within a given ultimatum and returned to Zaria where there was less hostility compared with the Kano incidence.”

Though the relations between the Emir Kwassau of Zazzau Emirate and the missions would later become strained, he had proved far more welcoming than his Kano counterpart.

A close link is also perceptible between the needs of the colonial economy and the emergence of the Sabon Gari settlements in emirates of Northern Nigeria. The British policy of colonial segregation was however threefold, the native areas, the Sabon Garis and the European residential areas which were all separated from one another.

It is important to note that the British enacted segregationist policies in most of their colonies either by race, ethnicity, or religion. The British for instance in Ghana established a zongo described by Jean Marie Allman as a Hausa word for “camping place of a caravan” in Kumasi by which stranger communities from northern Ghana were to be organized in southern cities. The policy of organizing apart immigrants from the north in southern Ghanaian cities is explained by Allman thus:

The Zongo of Kumasi was established by colonial statute in 1904 when the British designated a ‘Mohammedan quarter’ of Kumasi. During the early years, the main settlers in the zongo were soldiers recruited from the north, from areas such as Hausaland and Mossi, who had helped the British defeat Asante during the Yaa Asantewa War of 1900. Also among the first migrants were traders – Hausa, Fulani, Mossi, Wangara, and Dagomba – who came from centralized states long influenced by Islam.

Kaduna, established away from any of the population centres of the illustrious emirates of Northern Nigeria, was therefore in conception by the British meant to be one large Sabon Gari where no traditional authority was dominant, and in which the residents were all migrants and working towards the goals and objectives of the British colonial administration in Northern Nigeria and by extension Nigeria. According to Ahmed Bako “Kaduna itself is considered the Sabon Gari of Northern Nigeria.”

In practice, however, for the Europeans, the policy was for them to reside in the Government Reserve Areas (GRA). Broadly, the evolution of Kaduna right from the onset was conceived on purpose to be without a substantial reservoir of a dominant indigenous majority, or to have a level of adherence to a strict segregationist code. The city’s residential policy was less restrictive than other Northern peers. It followed a more lax pattern than was obtained in Kano and Zaria. This according to Shu’aib Shehu, was because Kaduna was conceived so that it “was likely to be free from local political complications and pollution from native towns.”

This is attested by Oyedele who notes that:

In Kaduna, (Jos, Minna, etc.) the pattern of residential segregation was never complete in the native town, as some of the wards were ethnically heterogeneous, although the Hausa predominated in many of them. There were however, very few individuals from the northern parts in the Township.
Thus while the principle of segregation, theoretically regulated residential policy in Northern cities, in Kaduna, this was not the case. The level of integration in the 1930s is evident. In terms of residential areas occupied by these diverse groups of Nigerians in the Kaduna Township Area was largely integrated rather than segregated. For example, the dominant area in which the township population of over 10,653 resided were in the areas of Native Reservation, Clerks Quarters and Native Hospital where there was a population of 7,364 made up of Hausa (3,194), Yoruba (956) and Ibo (1,051). The ethnic composition of these residential areas showed a similar religious trajectory with 4,451 being Muslims and 3,115 being Christians as well as hosting a significant pagan population of 375. This indicates that residence within Kaduna was integrated throughout the colonial period and for much of the post-colonial era.

The city according to Abdullahi Musa Ashafa and Ashiru Sani had a distinctiveness that was peculiar to it of all the cities of northern Nigeria, where there was greater intermingling as a result of less restrictions thus giving ground to:

...lasting inter-penetration across ethnic and religious lines. In terms of ethnic composition, there has been disaggregate or disproportional composition, yet there is no evidence that [there is] none of the over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria that is not represented in Kaduna city. Thus, when compared to other cities in the North, Kaduna seems to have a unique spatial distribution with regard to ethnic groups. Although some areas are dominated by particular ethnic groups, these different groups have also lived side by side in the same areas for many years within the city.

This assertion would hold true up to the close of the twentieth century, beyond which a cascade of events would disrupt the profound integration the city had enjoyed since inception.

**Strengthening inter-group relations within the metropolis**

Nigeria’s past before the nineteenth century was as has been noted by Obaro Ikime and A.B. Lamido composed of complex entities and society, whereby it was anything but homogenous. Nigerian groups before and after the amalgamation co-existed in a multi-ethnic and multi-dimensional society with multiple ethnicities and religious beliefs. Nigeria’s future learning from the lessons of the past is consequently for her people to welcome a future of diversity where all cultures, religions and groups are accommodated within the broader national framework without attempts at coercing compliance to a single framework or excluding those of a different background or orientation, whether these are in the minority or majority.

Kaduna ought to look back to its highly integrated past to evolve a similar pattern of intergroup relations among her residents that is more collaborative and cooperative than those that led to the outbreak of the Sharia and Miss World crises at the dawn of the Fourth Republic. Such a recourse to understanding the past and crafting a new pattern calls for greater understanding, tolerance and accommodation of the diversity of others, as well as the celebration of such diversity among the peoples of Kaduna, who together can be taken as a macrocosm of the Nigerian landscape, as almost all Nigerian groups can be found to be resident in the metropolis. The competitive pursuit of state goods and limited resources that can be allocated through politics can be restructured along lines where the government becomes more of an enabler of productivity rather than the sharer of an ever dwindling cake that
residents are continuously angling for. Competition for office, cultural space and religious supremacy would then become highly moderated.

While agreeing that Kaduna metropolis is a multi-ethnic society and that this is the case within the framework of Kaduna state, which then extends to Nigeria as a multi-ethnic nation which is highly heterogeneous in nature, it is important that the people of Nigeria, and especially Kaduna should be united towards the goal of fostering and accelerating the development of Kaduna and Nigeria for the common good of all. Inter-group relations should not be organized on the basis of competition among the ethnic groups for the scarce and dwindling resources, the challenge should be how to organise all groups and segments towards building a more prosperous community whose dividends will then benefit the rest of the society through better schools, housing, roads, health care, business environment, governance and security. Ethnic competition in Nigeria should therefore be reordered towards resource creation rather than the competition for resource allocation that it has been since independence. This disposition no doubt conflicts with the nature of political relations in Nigeria, which are often acquisitive rather than productive, and which Onigb Oite has enunciated as being at the root of inter-ethnic conflict in the country. To him, political positions are thus economic resources exploited in the context of an ethnically stratified society. The impact of the new Nigerian elite minimizing economy-based inter-ethnic conflicts has not been strong… in spite of their common socialization and education, members of the new elites continue to regard ethnic ties as important […] therefore, conflicts that occur between ethnic groups also have a strong tendency to divide elites on ethnic lines.

From the trajectory of the discourse, it is evident that the prospects of an integrated and fully functional Kaduna metropolis is one which will lead to greater social and economic mobility and overall development of human and physical infrastructure. This can begin with the development of policies of inclusiveness rather than exclusivity within the metropolis that will be crafted and implemented. Such policies will highlight methods of incorporating all residents into the education, cultural, social, political and economic life of the metropolis a process by which the city benefits all residents and the residents too are called upon to make vital contributions in knowledge, skills, labour and taxes to the upkeep of the city. Instead of fostering politics of difference and fragmentation, politics of inclusion that construct new social and political realities as well as economic opportunities should be promoted by the Kaduna elite within and beyond the city.

Thus, nation-building processes can be promoted in Kaduna to revitalise the society and economy of Kaduna through a patriotic ideology and spirit of inclusiveness that transcend ethnocentrism to the much more broad-based spirit of cosmopolitanism in consciousness and action, which while acknowledging ethnic and religious affiliations understand the commonly held identity of being a citizen of Nigeria. With this, it will no longer about confrontation among the ethnicities, and neither is it about incorporation, but about belonging to a wider national identity of being Nigerian, despite the inherent diversities. Thus while ethnic and cultural distinctiveness may exist among Nigerians, the higher national identity of being Nigerian will confer inclusive obligations and along with it rights that benefit all. Gerald W. Kleis has argued about the confrontational orientation of ethnic groups in urbanized settings that
“Confrontational ethnicity is more likely to emerge where groups are in keen competition for scarce resources, such as economic opportunity, living space, or political power.” This negative orientation can be offset with a driving ideology that highlights the possibility of shared prosperity among the city’s population.

Kaduna should therefore signal that it will adhere to what are normative best global practices by its citizens and authorities. Thus in the words of AbdouMaliq Simone, “It is important for communities to signal that they can be trustworthy partners or that they are safe bets for investment. But to a large degree, communities can usually only come to this larger stage by using terms and practices that emerge from their own aspiration and logic.” The broader message in this for Kaduna’s elite is a recognition of the need for traditional values to co-exist with the world of the twenty-first century in the areas of social, economic and political modernity with its ethos of inclusion rather than exclusion. This, will thus highlight a more national spirit and awareness among residents rather than the orientation of exclusivity and ethno-religious inclinations that still pervades the country.

To facilitate the development of inclusivity, cultural institutions such as the Kaduna National Museum can be used to strengthen the cultural bonds that exist among the various Nigerian groups together by organizing programmes that celebrates the diverse ethnic and cultural groups and by bringing together the residents of Kaduna to witness and celebrate the cultural legacies of the past and the still evolving and ongoing cultural productivity of the diverse and complex groups that call Kaduna and Nigeria home. E.B. White once wrote that “No one should come to New York unless he is willing to be lucky,” a similar thing should apply to Kaduna, where none should count the city home except they are prepared to live in it and thrive with others.

Furthermore, mass and qualitative education provided to all residents will be key to the evolution of a more prosperous and integrated city. This is because to transform Nigerian cities and states, it will be imperative to change the people living in these states over the course of the next two generations; so that the new people to emerge will then transform their cityscapes into highlylivable and lucrative centres. To change the people will mean educating them, thereby making them new and imbuing them with new orientations and competencies.

Conclusion
The study revealed the trajectory of the mass movement of Nigerians from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to Kaduna since the establishment of the city in the early part of the twentieth century more than 100 years ago. For the greater part of the existence of Kaduna, it had held itself up as an example of an integrated, inclusive and welcoming city, befitting of the identity of the “Sabon Gari” or new town of Nigeria. The beginning of the twenty-first century, however, opened up with the challenges of religious and ethnic conflict due to religious polarization; and the consequence has been the segregation of residential areas along religious and sometimes ethnic lines. The paper identifies this as a setback in the multicultural advancement of the city towards development and prosperity and consequently outlines that the state and elite positive agenda setting towards greater inclusiveness, greater understanding of ethnic and religious diversity as well as mass, qualitative and compulsory education are credible avenues towards resetting the harmonious co-existence that residents had hitherto known.

1. See Enoch Oyedele, “The British and the Making
of a Capital City: The Example of Kaduna 1913-


xi. NAP, SNP, 9, 100/1924 Zaria Province Annual Report for 1923.


xxvi. NAP, SNP, 9, 100/1924 Zaria Province Annual Report for 1923.


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xxxiv. The absence of a dominant majority, however, does not exclude the presence of the Gbagyi population that found scattered around site of the Kaduna that was chosen as the capital city. See Vivian Patrick Inyang, “Colonial Administration of Kaduna Urban Area, 1913-1960,” 44-49.


xxvii. NAK, SNP 15 15008 (Township Northern Province Statistics).


