

STATE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN NIGERIA: THE RISE AND COLLAPSE OF ZAMFARA TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the role of the state in the industrialisation process, using the Zamfara Textile Industries Nigeria as a case study. The study becomes necessary considering the critical role of textile production in any state's drive to economic development. Consequent upon this, the study investigated the extent to which the provision of efficient infrastructural facilities, legal and institutional framework as well as formulations of good industrial policies by the Nigerian state have led to the rise of Zamfara Textile Industry. The research also explored the extent to which problem of power supply, inadequate locally produced raw materials, manpower development, dependency on foreign technology, ineffective trade and industrial policies and low local patronage led to the collapse of Zamfara Textile industry. The framework of analysis adopted in this study is historical dialectical materialism considering the fact that the industry under study has collapsed and become a history. Both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The primary source included interview and personal observation. Key informant interview (KII) was used as the instrument of data collection. It was structurally designed to guide interface with stakeholders and other respondents deemed relevant to the study which were purposely selected. The secondary sources included documentary analysis of some literature and unpublished reports from the industry. The finding of the research revealed that the nature and character of the Nigerian state is largely responsible for the comatose status of the industrialization in the state. The study recommends for the creation and implementation of relevant policies to boot industrial development in the area.

KEYWORDS: Collapse, Industry, Industrialization, Rise, State, Textile

Introduction

Industrialization is a key component of any state's drive for sustainable development. It is a pivotal factor to growth and development. It serves as the bedrock for the development of all other sectors of the economy including employment generation, poverty reduction, and quality education and

health provision. In the same vein, Muhammad and Abubakar (2013) argued that industrialization also guards the state against total dependence on other state which perpetuates the problem of underdevelopment and exacerbates insecurity in the society. This suggests that industrialization is linked to economic

growth and sustainable development. In view of this, all states plan for industrialization and their development blue prints are normally anchored on industrialization.

Historically, the origin of modern industrial sector in Nigeria could be traced back to the late 1930s and early 1940s (Adebayo, 1993), when the major foreign trading companies which dominated the colonial economy modified their operations from commercial activities to import-substitution industrialization. By the end of the Second World War (1939 – 1945), the basic internal conditions necessary for local manufacturing in Nigeria had matured sufficiently. Not only had a significant number of Nigerians been separated from their means of production and were, therefore, available for employment as wage labourers, but also there was domestic market, large enough to absorb commodities manufactured locally (Adebayo, 1993). Furthermore, basic infrastructural facilities such as roads and rail networks as well as water and electricity necessary for supporting industrialization had been put in place by the colonial state. Moreover, by the 1940s, many of the colonial trading companies had accumulated sufficient capital for higher accumulation, concentration and centralization necessary for large scale industrialization. However, because of its complexities and policy requirements, only few succeeded. Following her independence in 1960, the Nigerian state through its various national development plans and policies made spirited effort towards industrialisation (Imevbore, 2010). Consequently, the Nigerian state started industrialization on a very solid foundation, albeit suddenly its industrial drive as contained in various development plans and policies and as spirited by the rapid development of local industries collapsed.

Thus, the state was thrown into industrial crisis.

The genesis of Nigeria's industrial crisis could be embedded in the early structures of manufacturing activities in the country. It could be argued that the trading companies that pioneered the industrialization process were the major cause of some of the distortions that were built into the import-substitution process from the outset. It is against this background that the research seeks to examine the role of the Nigerian state in industrialization with emphasis on the rise and collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries.

Research Questions

This study is guided by the following questions:

- i. What factors account for the establishment and development of Zamfara Textile Industry?
- ii. What was the role of the Nigerian State to the rise and collapse of Zamfara Textile Industry?
- iii. How could Zamfara Textile Industry be resuscitated?

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to:

- i. Identify the factors that influenced the establishment and development of Zamfara Textile Industry.
- ii. Examine the role of the Nigerian State in the rise and collapse of Zamfara Textile industry.
- iii. Offer recommendations upon which Zamfara Textile Industry could be resuscitated.

Assumptions of the Study

The study is anchored on the assumptions that:

- i. The resources available to the Nigerian state enable it to embark on Industrialisation.
- ii. The rentier character of the Nigerian state determines both the rise and decline of Zamfara textile industry.

Research Methodology

This segment explains the techniques adopted by the researcher in carrying out the research. It includes the research approach, the sources and method of data collection and analysis.

i. Research Design

The approach adopted in this study is the qualitative approach. It is essentially the application of qualitative research technique in the thorough examination and interpretation of research data (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2006). The approach relies on the skills and the abilities of the researcher in a way that is not normally acknowledged or expected in quantitative research. By implication, rather than emphasize on the extent of objectivity and statistical manipulations, what is noteworthy, indeed critical, is that qualitative research is characteristically more involving.

ii. Sources of data

For the purpose of this study, data was generated from both primary and secondary sources. In-depth interview is the primary source while documentary source serves as the secondary which was used to complement and corroborate the primary data.

iii. Instruments of data collection

For the purpose of this study, interview was used. As a method of gathering data, interview involves a face-to-face, verbal and

non-verbal communication between the investigator and his or her sample/population (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2006). Interview as instrument of data collection gives the researcher an opportunity to administer, elicit and record information from and possibly about the respondent. The interview style is unstructured and conversational, and the questions asked are generally open-ended and designed to elicit detailed, concrete stories about the subject's experiences.

iv. Population of the study

In the case of this study, population was drawn from five (5) categories of respondents which included: (i) state's officials (ii) Managerial Staff of the industry; (iii) workers of the industry, (iv) The middle men (Licensed Buying Agents) (v) The cotton producers (farmers)

v. Sample and sampling method

In the course of carrying this research purposive sampling and snowball methods were used.

Purposive sampling is concerned with the selection of respondents advertently because of their roles or knowledge in the research problems. In line with this, respondents were purposively chosen using the criterion of level of rank. Considering the central objective of the study, the focus is on those that are being described as the major stakeholders (for example the Ex-Executive Director, the Ex-Administrative officer and some engineers) who were reached through snowball method. Some of the respondents with which the researcher could not have direct contacted were reached through snowballing method. As a method of sampling, snowball sampling is useful for gaining access to groups which would normally be out of reach of the researcher (McQueen & Knussen, 2002).

vi. Data analysis

Two sources of data were used in this study, namely in-depth interview and documentary analysis. Both of the data were analyzed using the same technique of data analysis (i.e. qualitative data analysis). As stated earlier, the most significant feature of qualitative research is the fact that it relies heavily on the skills, creativity and abilities of the researcher. By implication, qualitative analysis depends greatly on the researcher's own style of rigorous thinking, along with sufficient presentation of evidence and careful consideration of alternative interpretations. Thus, the analysis began with the transcription of the previously copious and scattered recorded data. The transcription was followed by the organization of the data in accordance with themes and sub-themes of the research. Thereafter, the data were analyzed by comparing it with the data obtained from other sources with a view to confirming the veracity of the information in order to arrive at accurate research findings.

Conceptual Exploration

The State

The Liberalists, contends that the state is a political organization of human society that comprises the organized attributes of contemporary institutions like the legislature, executive and judiciary. These are governmental institutions that make and enforce laws that are binding upon the people within a defined territory. Thus, Mahajan (2000) traces the origin of the authority of state to Machiavelli who expressed the idea as "the power which has authority over men" as cited in Shaapera (2013: 13). The state therefore has a central role to play in an economy.

In addition, Marxists' writings of how the state emerged maintain that the State is not a creation for the interest of all. It originated in conflict situation and operates as a form

of instrument of domination. Scholars who argued along the Marxian perspective like Karl Marx, Fredrich Engels, V. I. Lenin, Mao and Lukas, were great philosophers, revolutionaries and political thinkers who observed that the state neither evolved as a result of agreement, contract nor a gradual process. According to Marx, man is not a political animal as Aristotle claimed; rather, man is a social animal. Marx maintained that the forces of production in any given society constitute the basis of all social relationships while the state is founded upon economic conditions. Thus, the mode of material production in social life preconditions the general character of socio-political and spiritual processes in the society (Mahajan, 2000).

The Marxists therefore believe that the development of the productive forces in the capitalist society produced surplus value as a consequence of the appropriation of property for private use that necessitated the constituting of the state. Therefore, the state then turns into an instrument in the hands of a powerful dominant class for accumulation and exploitation of the dominated members of the society. The classical Marxists, acknowledge that the state sometimes enjoys some form of relative autonomy and ensures the goodness of all, not just a few, in a society.

In contrast to the above, the Capitalist description of state is not done on institutional terms. For example, in reference to parliament, bureaucracy, guaranteed property rights, etc. although those elements would be present in all or most capitalist states that could be found in history. The criterion of description of the capitalist state would rather be taken from the relationship between the state and the accumulation process (Claus, 1975). Central to the description are, therefore, not structural attributes to a sector of society

(state), but the way it is functionally related to and dependent upon the accumulation process. The elements for the description of a capitalist state as outlined in Claus (1975:126-127) are four:

First, the state has no authority to order production or to control it. Production/accumulation takes place in enterprises that are said to be free in the sense of *exempt from state control*. The basic prerogative of *free enterprises* is a negative one (i.e. the right not to produce unless production is at the same time accumulative, that is, not only production of useful things but simultaneously production of surplus values, or profit).

Second, the state has the mandate to create and sustain *conditions* of accumulation. There are different levels of specificity in which the function of creating and maintaining conditions of accumulation could be performed. For example, individual accumulating units, categories of accumulating units (industries, regions) and capital as a whole. There are also different categories of threats that cause problems of accumulation, that is, threats coming from other accumulating units (inter-firm, inter-industry, and international competition) and threats coming from non capitalists, as well as from actors engaging in deviant, criminal, or other kinds of behaviour that are considered incompatible with the orderly pursuit of surplus-value production. The third element of the description of the state is that, its very power relationships and decision-making power *depends* on (like every other social relationship in capitalist society) the presence and continuity of the accumulation process. In the absence of accumulation, everything, and especially the power of the state, tends to disintegrate. Considering the budgetary obligations of the state in advanced capitalist societies, its extensive reliance on resources created in

the accumulation process and through taxation from wages and profits becomes immediately clear. The three elements of the concept of the capitalist state mentioned above are sometimes described as the principles of *exclusion, maintenance and dependency*, respectively. Exclusion means, that the state is not a capitalist itself, that is, something that has its existence outside the accumulation process. Maintenance implies that this process could not perpetuate itself in the absence of this external being, that there are threats and possible disturbances to the process. Dependency means that this protective device itself would be threatened if it engages in policies inconsistent with its protective functions (Claus, 1975).

The fourth element in the description of a capitalist state is *legitimation*. In this regard, state could only function as a capitalist state by appealing to symbols and sources of support that conceals its nature as a capitalist state; the existence of a capitalist state presupposes the systemic denial of its nature as a capitalist state.

Industrialization

Industrialization is a process that fundamentally seeks to combine science, technology, capital, workers, and raw materials to produce goods that consumers would buy (Yaqub & Maikudi, 2014). Industrialization is also a process in which a country transforms from a primarily agricultural and handicraft society into one based on the manufacturing of goods and services (Ladan, Abdullahi, & Haruna, 2012). It is a period of social and economic change that transforms a human group from an agrarian society into an industrial one, involving the extensive re-organization of an economy for the purpose of manufacturing (Arthur & Steven, 2003). Industrialization also involves vast economic and social changes, being manifested in urbanization, a growing body of wage-earners, increased

technical and advanced education. Individual manual labour is often replaced by mechanized mass production and craftsmen are replaced by assembly lines. Industrialization is most commonly associated with the European industrial revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Industrialization which is a deliberate and sustained application and combination of an appropriate technology, infrastructure, managerial expertise, and other important resources, has attracted considerable interest in recent developmental studies (Dazie, 2012) because of the critical role it plays in economic development. In fact, industrialization acts as catalyst that accelerates the pace of structural transformation and diversification of economies; enables a state to fully utilize its factor endowment and depend less on foreign supply and finished goods or raw materials economic growth, development and sustenance (Udah, 2010).

Theoretical framework of Analysis

In the case of this research, Historical Dialectical Materialism as a methodology within the discipline of Political economy is used as the framework of analysis. Political economy is concerned with the social relations into which human beings enter in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of basic necessities of life. The relations that occur in the process of production are objectively predetermined by the level of development of productive forces within the social formation. The state of development of productive forces is so important (Ake, 1981) for it decisively influences social organisation, culture, the level of welfare and even consciousness. The organic unity of productive forces and social relations of

production constitute the economic system or the mode of production.

Discussion of the findings

A. The Rise of Zamfara Textile Industries

Industrialisation is an important process that evidently could transform any state's economic and social sectors. For example, it is an engine of technological advancement that radically impact agricultural development, ICT, manufacturing sector etc. This is why many states consider industrialisation as an important policy drive. In any case, industrialisation was and is still the driving force of economic stability and social prosperity of the West, US, Canada and Australia. Conversely, the underdeveloped character of Africa, Latin America, and many counties in Asia is highly attributable to industrial backwardness (Udah, 2010). Nevertheless, industrial development requires certain prerequisite factors such as availability of raw materials, improved transportation network, production technology, investment capital, frequent power supply and effective leadership. Basically, in every state, the establishment of a particular industry is dependent upon the kind of raw materials such state is endowed with. Thus, in the establishment of Zamfara textile industries, availability of cotton as a raw material was one of the fundamental factors. Cotton production in Nigeria dates back to 1903 with the British Cotton Growers Association taking the lead in the process until the establishment of Marketing Boards by the state. Some of the marketing Boards were located in areas like Funtua, Gusau, Kaura - Namoda among others (Olatunji, 2014). The cotton marketing Boards were the monopoly and institutionalised markets geared towards marketing cotton for local consumption by

textile industries, feed mills and for export. This development encouraged cotton producers to increase the volume of production bearing in mind that the Boards could absorb whatever quantity of cotton is being produced. Conversely, cotton became relatively available within the area. Availability of this cotton could therefore be one of the factors that propelled the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries as rightly stated by Idris Koko as a respondent to the research that:

The Northern Regional Government have realized the availability of cotton and groundnut came up with a policy that: any business individual (indigenous or otherwise) who is willing to establish a business in the North will be given preferential treatment (Interview, 2016).

This policy gave an impetus for foreign investors to establish industries within the region. Not only this, the state also created an enabling environment for industrial development through the provision of road network that link industries to marketing boards where raw materials are sourced. The state also ensured relative water and power supply. Besides, New Nigeria Development Company (NNDC) and Bank of the North were also established by the state in Kaduna and Kano respectively to render financial assistance to the willing business individuals including the Licensed Buying Agents (L. B. A.). NNDC as an organisation was established in 1949 as a statutory corporation named, the Northern Regional Production Development Board (NRPDB) to contribute to the economic development of the then Northern Region of Nigeria. NNDC's portfolio of investments spans various sectors of the economy including industrialisation, solid minerals, consulting, Real Estate, construction etc. (www.nndcgroup.ng). The activities of these organisations contributed to economic development of the region and attracted

foreign investors from Asian countries like Japan, Pakistan and China which consequently led to the establishment of industrial estates in Kano and Kaduna. It was this development that also led to the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries. Therefore, the state played a very vital role in the establishment of the industry. Specifically, the following factors were found to be responsible for the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries:

Strategic location of Zamfara:

Zamfara state lies between latitudes 10° 50'N and 13° 38'N and longitudes 4° 16'E and 7° 18'E. The state is located in the Sudan Savanna ecological zone of Nigeria with a land area of 39,762km². Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the location of Zamfara State in the map of Nigeria and the local government areas in the state respectively. Zamfara state shares common borders with Sokoto and the Republic of Niger to the north, Katsina and Kaduna states to the east, Niger and Kebbi states in the south (www.zamfarastate.net, 2010). The state has a population of about 3,259,846 people in 2006 according to the National Population Commission (NPC.,2006). This is projected as population estimate in 2011 to be 3,838,160 people based on 3.2% annual growth rate in population (UNFPA, 2013).

The climate is essentially that of tropical climate. The climate is generally characterised by alternating dry and wet seasons. The rains usually commence in May/June and ends in September/October. The effective rainy season in the study area is restricted from July to mid September (Yakubu, 2005). The mean annual rainfall ranges from 969mm to 1,086mm. Relative humidity varies between 24% in January and rises to 85% in September. The mean annual

temperature also varies from 29°C to 37°C (www.zamfarastate.net, 2010).

Consequently, the suitability of the land for the cultivation of cotton makes it possible for the state to mobilize farmers to increasing the level of cotton cultivation for industrial use.

Employment Opportunity:

Before the Great Depression of the 1930s, the notion that state ought to be responsible for creating jobs would have seemed absurd. Today, however, it has become one of the cardinal objectives of every state to increase employment (Jordan, 2003). For instance, China's economy has drastically grown as a result industrial development and has led to an increase in the employment generation of its population. It could therefore be argued that the need to generate employment opportunities for the citizens was among the factors that necessitated the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries. According to Umar (2016), the need for employment opportunities was one of the cardinal objectives for establishing Zamtex by the Northern Regional Government. He further stated that:

The Sardauna of Sokoto met with one of the major shareholders of the company (who was a Chinese national) in Kaduna and discussed the need for employment generation in the region. In the course of their discussion, his visitor (the Chinese national) agreed to set up an industry to be located in Gusau being a strategic place (interview, 2016).

This is borne out of the fact that, one of the priorities of any state is the creation of employment opportunities to the citizenry. Creation of jobs is a keystone of any economic recovery programme. Providing a job is vital on many grounds. Politically, employment opportunities give the population a stake in the peace process by providing young men and women with

alternatives to violence. Economically, employment provides income to poor families, revives domestic demands for goods and services, and stimulates overall growth. Socially, employment also promotes social healing, encourages the return of displaced persons and improves the social welfare in the long run. Moreover, a state intervenes in the industrial development for achieving one or several of the traditional economic objectives of government, namely, employment generation, stability, equity, growth and balance of payment (Dazie, 2012). The northern regional government therefore, provided necessary support for the establishment of industry with a view to providing job opportunities for the teeming population in the region. Consequent upon this, a significant number of employable populations were involved in the relations of production within the industry. According to Yawale (2016), apart from those who sell their labour for the industries, there existed other classes of individuals around the industry involved in other chain of production and business activities though not directly linked. He further stated that:

Previously, I knew Zamtex to have a workforce of at least more than 7000. It was an institution of its own. In fact, it has even gone to a level of establishing a mini market where food vendors and other small business people carried transaction on daily basis within the industry. Indeed, the collapse of the industry has immensely contributed to high level of unemployment in the region. A lot of people lost their jobs as you could hardly find a household in Gusau metropolis and its environs that did not had a member who worked with the industry (Interview, 2016).

It could therefore be argued that the establishment of the industry was borne out of the desire to decrease the level of unemployment within the region. The industries succeeded in involving a large

number of the working class (cotton farmers, licensed buying agents, labourers etc.) in the relations of production.

Market for Agricultural products

The introduction of the colonial policy which gave much emphasis on the production of cash crops as against food crops has fundamentally changed the pattern of agricultural production in Nigeria (Ilufeye & Baba, 2015). As a result, Zamfara was found to be very effective in the support of cash crops production due to its climatic condition. Establishment of an industry could therefore provide an ample opportunity for such products transaction. Moreover, agricultural production is accomplished and completed only if the product reaches the ultimate hand of buyers when consumption takes place.

In line with the above, the Nigerian state through the Northern Regional Government established Zamfara Textile Industries. The establishment of the industry created an avenue for the farmers to dispose their produce. In other words, the industry serves as a ready market for cotton. Farm produce from Gusau Metropolis and its neighbouring towns and villages served as the major source of the required raw materials for the production activities within the industries. According to Idris (2016), the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries by the Northern Regional Government aided the successful transaction of farm produce (cotton in particular) in the region. The state established marketing boards and supported the Licensed Buying Agents with a view to absorbing cotton which could enable the textile industries to effectively perform production activities. He further stated that:

As part of the strategies to encourage cotton producers, an assurance was given by government that whatever amount of cotton they produce would be absorbed

by the industry. That farmers should ensure that they were paid equivalent of all what they offered to marketing Boards (Interview, 2016).

This policy by the state has immensely contributed in making available the needed industrial raw materials for the establishment and development of Zamfara Textile Industries.

Improved transportation system:

It is generally believed that any industrializing society needs to have an effective transport network, to enable the movement of heavy products and materials around in order to open up access to raw materials, reduce the price of these materials and the resulting goods, break down local monopolies caused by poor transport networks and allow for an integrated economy where regions of the state could specialize (Wilde, 2014).

In view of the above and having realized the importance of transportation in industrialization, the British colonialists linked some major cities and towns in the state with rail networks which aided the exploitation and evacuation of raw materials with which they serviced their industries. The British government began construction of a railway from Lagos Colony to Ibadan in 1896 and later extended to Minna where it met Baro – Kano railway. The railway reached its Northern terminus of Nguru in 1930. After Coal was discovered at Udi, the Eastern Railway was built to Port Harcourt between 1913 and 1916. This railway was extended to Kaduna in 1927, connecting the Eastern Railway to the Lagos – Kano Railway. The Eastern Railway was extended to its northern terminus of Maiduguri between 1958 and 1964 (Yakubu, 2005).

With the grant of independence to the Nigerian state by the British colonialists, the establishment of industries became mostly

dependent upon the linkage of those rail and road networks. As indicated in figure 4 above, Zamfara was among the locations linked with railway and road network by the Nigerian state for easy evacuation of raw materials (mostly cotton and groundnut) to seaports for export. The rail lines and road networks were later used for easy transportation of raw materials to the industry and finished products from the industry to the market. Furthermore, it was discovered by the researcher during the field work that the industry was located closely to the railway lines that passes to Kaura Namoda from Zungeru. It was with a view to easing the transportation of the industrial products to the market. Therefore, road network has equally contributed immensely towards the development of the industry. Not only this, a number of feeder roads linking different farm and village locations were also constructed by the state with a view to easing the evacuation of raw materials to industry. Examples of such feeder roads include those of Tsafe, Moriki, Kaura, Zurmi, Dansadau, Kiyawa, Nahuce, Wanke-Rijiya, and Magami. These feeder roads successfully aided the transportation of raw materials to industry.

Effective management

Competency-based human resource planning serves as a link between human resource management and overall strategic plan of an organization (Dubois & Rothwell, 2004). Competencies are defined as observable abilities, skills, knowledge, motivations or traits defined in terms of behaviours needed for successful job performance. Competency-based management supports the integration of human resources planning with business planning by allowing organizations to assess the current human resource capacity based on their competencies against the capacity needed to achieve the vision, mission and business goals of the organization. Targeted

human resource strategies, plans and programmes to address gaps (e.g., hiring and staffing; learning; career development; succession management; etc) are then designed, developed and implemented to close the gaps. Competency-based management solutions typically provide input into and drive all aspects of employee career development. This allows organizations to improve productivity in most areas of human capital management (Dubois & Rothwell, 2004). Improving the productivity of an organisation guarantees its development. According to Sani (2016), Zamfara Textile Industries enjoyed a very competent management as a result of which the industry was able to expand its production capacity. He stated that:

The industry enjoyed a hard-working and competent management staff whose aim was ensuring a maximized productive capacity of the industry. As a result, the industry was able to increase its installed capacity from 13000 – 32660 spindles and 256 – 1076 weaving looms with an average monthly production of two million meters of grey cloth (Interview, 2016).

The management of the industry was structured in such a way that it allows a harmonious relationship within and among the workforce. For instance, the industry was headed by a General Manager who served as the overall superintendent responsible for the performance of regular administration and management activities of the industry. He/she designs and executes development plans, annual action plans and investment, maintenance and expenses plans. It is also the responsibility of the General Manger to assign the investment of available funds which are not necessary for the immediate company operations and at the same time direct accounting processes.

In addition, the General Manager was assisted by a financial Controller, purchasing officer and Assistant General Manager Administration and production. The financial controller controls the revenue of the company realized through the sale of company's products and reports to the General Manager. The Purchasing Officer is charged with responsibility of the purchase of raw materials, machine equipments and other inputs for the company. Assistant General Manager (Administration) oversees the day-to-day administrative functions of the company and controls personnel management and security of the company on behalf of the General Manager. In the production section, which comprises of the ginnery, spinning and weaving sections, an Assistant General Manager also overlooks their activities and reports direct to the General Manager. These senior officers were assisted in carrying out their tasks by various categories of staff within their respective departments. This has aided the development of the industry

B. The Collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries

There is no gainsaying that the Zamfara textile industry had the potentialities of contributing profitably to human capacity development, revenue generation (through exports) as well as promoting the sustenance of the national economy. Unfortunately, the antithesis inherent in the establishment of the industry led to its eventual collapse. This section examines the factors responsible for the collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries and its implications for national growth and well-being of the Nigerian citizens. These factors include but not limited to irregular power supply, inadequacy of locally-produced raw materials, manpower development, taste and fashion for foreign textiles, dependency on foreign technology, inconsistent trade and industrial policies and

porous Borders which aided smuggling activities among others.

Problem of Power Supply

Electricity is a significant component of virtually any production process. As such, its limited supply by the state has the potential to directly and/or indirectly affect the economic activities of industries. One of the fundamental contributors to the large productivity gap between developed and developing countries are low quality infrastructure, and the starkest example of infrastructure failure is electricity supply. It is so because, electricity is an essential input - most industries could not produce anything without electricity for lights, motors, and machines - shortages could significantly reduce output (Alcott, Allan & Stephen, 2014). In line with this, Lineweber and McNulty, (2001) submitted that industries could technically suffer from two types of power disturbances: poor quality, and power outages. The first refers to the fluctuations in voltage, which could result in severe damage to machinery and equipment, and a corresponding high cost of frequent repair and replacement. The second relates to a complete loss of power, lasting from one second to hours.

It is imperative therefore, to note that setting an industry is one thing while its sustenance is another. Limited power supply was one of the major factors that led to the eventual collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries. This is so because; the Nigerian state through the Northern Regional Government established Zamfara Textile Industries but failed to take measures that could sustain the industry and guard it against lower productivity or eventual collapse and this is an apparent contradiction of the thesis that propelled the establishment of the industry. At its inception, the industry enjoyed relative

power supply, but measures that could sustain such condition were not put in place and eventually, the industry collapsed. In 1967 the industry first experienced greatest challenge of power supply when the ECN generator that supplies electricity to Gusau metropolis broke down for six months. Throughout the period, there was no production in industry and workers were paid fifty percent (50%) of their salaries while they stay away from their jobs due to the problem of power supply (Zamtex Report, 2004). As a result, the industry could not realize any surplus value but losing the capital base which adversely affected its developmental capacity. According to Iliyasu (2016) inadequate power supply was among the greatest challenges experienced by the industry which led to its eventual collapse. He stated that:

Power supply was our main challenge. I could still remember vividly well; the General Manager once told me that sometimes they had to use income from the ginneries to pay the whole of Zamtex's workers before they finally closed it. All as a result of underproduction due to inadequate power supply (Interview, 2016).

The industry being a capitalist oriented entity could not afford to lose its capital base when the production process was not favourable due to power shortage. As a result, it found it uneasy to keep the workforce idle and at the same time taking the brunt of paying them. This is because; the essence was to accumulate more capital. In a capitalist production system, those who sell their labour earn a living only when they partake in the production process and get their share based on contribution, they made in the production process. Epileptic power supply has therefore affected the quality and quantity of goods produced. In line with this, Iliyasu (2016) argued that sudden

power outage was also another fundamental problem that affected the industry and contributed its eventual collapse. He stated that:

Sudden power outage was another challenge faced by the industry, because it caused a lot of damages to the machines and even the product during production process (Interview, 2016).

This by implication compels the industry to produce more goods to replace the low-quality units, or discarded units. Consequently, production cost may further increase. As the production cost increase, the surplus values to be realized from the production process decrease which also affects the capacity of the industry to compete with other business entities in the market. Another fundamental way through which the problem of power affected the industry is the uncertainty channel. This is a situation where industry could not predict with any accuracy the occurrence of power outages. This situation translates into uncertainty in meeting deadlines, getting materials from suppliers on time, or profiting from new market opportunities. In the end, rendered the capital base of the industry to idle more capital and contributed to reducing the number of workers needed.

In an attempt to arrest the situation, the management of the industry wanted to insure it against power outages by acquiring generators, but the situation persisted. It could not solve the problem because; the generated power from the generators could not serve the whole industry, and as such, it was rotated among the Ginnery, Spinning and weaving sections simultaneously. Meanwhile, the industry needs a constant power supply all the time. This has drastically reduced the productive capacity of the industry there by rendering the

production process to be unprofitable. To buttress this, Musa (2016) stated that:

The industry purchased three generators with the capacity of 2000KVA each, with a fuel consumption capacity of 226.6 liters/hour (Interview, 2016).

This development further compounded the problems faced by the industry as the production by generators turned to be unprofitable because it was so expensive to run a generator and the production capacity using electricity outweighs that of generators. The diesel consumption capacity of each of the generators was 226.6 liters per hour and 13 drums of engine oil per month. Meanwhile, the price of a liter of diesel as at then was 22 Naira and a Drum of engine oil was sold at the cost of 8000 Naira. Below is a summary of cost of power used for the production activities in the industry:

As a result, the industry found it unbearable as the production becomes unprofitable which caused the industry to lose its capital, because all the production sections could not function together with the power from generators. Rather, it was rotated and the resultant effect was reduction in the productivity. Consequently, this led to the collapse of the industry as vividly captured in the Industry's Report that:

As the situation continues to bite hard of the market, electricity, and high cost of petroleum product which we use in production of our grey cloth, we have no option than, on 15th October 2004 close the production sector... (Zamtex Report, 2004:3).

To this end therefore, it could be argued that power failure serve as a deterrent not only to the industry but to the economic growth of Nigerian state. This stems from the fact that power outage causes a lot of damages to the household and the industries whose

activities will be limited due to non-availability of regular power to power the equipment and machine used in the process of production. In a nut shell, the problem of power supply has been identified to be the greatest challenge which contributed to the eventual collapse of the industry.

Human Resources Management and Labour Issues

A critical success factor in the realization of the lofty objectives of an organisation is a professional, competent and result-oriented workforce with the impetus to effectively discharge its catalytic role of facilitating successful conception, planning, execution and monitoring of the projects and programmes. Human resource management is therefore that part of the field of management which provides for effective utilization of human resources to achieve both the objectives of the organisation and the satisfaction and development of employees. It covers such diverse areas as human resource planning; job analysis; staffing; training and development; compensation and benefits; performance appraisal and management; industrial relations; staff welfare; disengagement etc. it is as such necessary to enhance the capabilities of employees and ensure that they possess the requisite level of competence, knowledge, skill and attitude which must be continually improved upon to increase productivity.

In the 1920s, textile industries in Nigeria employed and trained their factory staff on the job to satisfy the principles of manpower development which aimed at preparing an employee for a future, and well – defined job at a higher level. This helps in increasing productivity in an organisation. However, only expatriates (foreign experts) were usually allowed to man the sensitive sections of the industry in order to keep Nigerians

away from understanding the secret and basic technological workings and operations of the industry to the advantage of the colonialists (Ahmed, 2014) a situation which persisted even after independence. An Interview with an anonymous Staff of Zamfara Textile Industries indicates that, some important positions within the industry - General Manager and Financial Controller were exclusively reserved for foreigners (Chinese) for an undisclosed reason. Where indigenous people were employed, they had their freedoms censored while interactions curtailed, restricted or confined to just a particular section of the industry (mostly the production section). Most of the employees in the industry were the unskilled labourers. This is because; the exploitative nature of a capitalist oriented organisation requires a larger segment of the population that is ready to sell their labour to earn the basic necessities of life.

As the situation persists, there came a time when the workers union revolted and demanded an equal treatment with civil servant in the public sector. According to the civil service rule of the Nigerian state, a civil servant is expected to work from 8:00am to 4:00pm during the week days, but in the case of Zamtex, workers do not enjoy that leverage as most of the time, they spend the whole days of the week on the productive process. The workers therefore, realized the level of exploitation which they were subjected to by the industry and demanded for a share from the surplus values produced. The owners of the industry felt reluctant in granting the request of the workers as a result of which morale of the workers was reduced leading to low level of productivity in the industry. By implication, the inability of the state to influence the industry formulate and implement policies that could compel private organizations to provide favourable working condition for

the workers was among the reasons for collapse of the industries in the state.

Dependency on foreign technology

The textile industry is a labour intensive and thus, requires manpower and many technological devices, especially inform of machines and accessories for efficient operation of the production process. Some of the technological devices especially machines and equipments used in are usually imported and without required technical knowhow of repairing them. This practice becomes problematic and costly to the nation's economy due to high cost of importation of materials and tools. Non-availability of spare parts for the replacement of worn-out or damaged tools was also another problem. Consequently, these machines wear out with too long usage and age while the unserviceable ones are often cannibalized in an attempt to put the working machines in good shape (Ohiorhehuan, 2001). This invariably affects production and quality of products thus leads to abandonments of local textiles for the imported ones as better option.

Zamfara Textile Industries was also affected by this scenario as imported and installed machines within the industry became obsolete and difficult to repair. According to Umar (2016), a significant percentage of the machines installed in the industry later became obsolete and consumed a lot of power which was not readily available. He stated that:

The spinning and weaving machines are all there intact, but they are obsolete and outdated. They consume a lot power and their spare parts are difficult to find. (Interview, 2016).

From the above therefore, consumption of too much power coupled with its inadequacy and lack of spare parts to repair the worn-out

machines has invariably led to low productivity in the industry and low productivity adversely affects surplus value accumulation. It also made it difficult for the industry to supply the needed products to the UNTL Kaduna and other textile mills in Lagos, the resultant effect of which led to workers not being adequately paid their rewards due to short income.

Smuggling activities and Low Patronage

Smuggling could be described as the clandestine transportation of goods or persons past a point where it is prohibited, such as across an international border, in violation of applicable laws or other regulations (Ogundele, 2000). In textile trade, much smuggling occurs when enterprising merchants attempt to supply demand for a particular textile that is illegally or heavily taxed. Smuggling is an attritional problem, evidence of corruption, greed and disrespect for due process. It does not encourage the growth of local industries. The activities of smugglers have posed a serious threat to the survival of the textile industry. This is because the foreign textile materials are always cheaper and they are considered superior to local textiles even when the local textiles are more expensive. These factors make foreign textiles more marketable than the locally produced ones.

Furthermore, Ogundele, (2000) also asserted that more than 70% of textile consumers in Nigeria preferred imported textiles against locally produced ones. Price and quality have been observed to be the determining factors for consumer's choice of goods. This study argues that the state deliberately made its borders porous with a view to giving undue advantage to a particular class of individuals to smuggle in goods and services for exploitative motive. The concomitant effect of all these is that smuggling has become a "booming industry" to the few

privileged class of citizens and has drastically affected the level of production of those textile industries that produce finished products for consumer, because, the attention of the consumers have turned to smuggled textile products which they consider to be cheaper and more attractive. In effect, low patronage of locally produced textile materials has drastically affected the level of intake (market) of semi-finished products by other local textile industries from industries Zamfara Textile Industries. As a result, of which the industry experienced low productivity leading to unprofitable production. This has also contributed significantly to the collapse of the industry.

Ineffective trade and industrial policies

It has been asserted that Nigerian state has not been able to make an appreciable progress in industrial development due to policy failure (Duru, 2010). This is why from the import-substitution industrial policy of the 1960s to the Small and Medium Industries Investment Scheme (SMIEIS) of 2000 have not repositioned the sector for its contribution meaningfully to GDP in particular and development of Nigeria in general. These failures accordingly emerge and reemerge from policy formulation, implementation and precisely lack of continuation.

Suffice to say that, prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960, the Nigerian economy was predominantly agrarian, both in the production for domestic consumption and exports as industrialization was not part of the British colonial economic policy rather, to make the colony producer of primary raw material and consumers of imported manufactured goods. Besides, the construction of roads, collection of taxes and maintenance of law and order to aid trade,

no particular industrial policy was initiated by the erstwhile colonial administration to promote industrial development in the state (Duru, 2010). Early manufacturing activities predating independence were limited to the semi-processing of agricultural products as complementary to the trading activities of foreign companies (Duru, 2010). The first task the new indigenous administration had after attaining political independence in 1960 was the transformation of the country into a modern industrial economy and for this, import substitution industrialization policy was employed behind protective barriers. This strategy entails manufacturing local goods that were previously imported into the country by the colonial companies. One of the major factors for the lackluster performance of the policy was that the structure of tariff protection (low tariff on imported inputs and high tariff on imported finished products) encouraged the concentration on light consumer goods and has at the same time contributed to the inefficiency in the industrial sector and the inability of most domestically manufactured products to be competitive.

The other problem of the policy was that the sector had no existing structures to perform the expected functions at the time in question. As a result of the type of industrial policy the country adopted, the manufacturing sector was characterized by industries with low value added which have little intra and inter- sectoral linkages. Today there is no linkage among the sectors of the economy, rather giving the economy mono-cultural status as a petro-dollar economy. Another issue was input's structure which was highly importing intensive. This succeeded in creating balance of payment problem and lack of patronage of local raw materials which made most of the Nigerian industry assemblies that put finishing touches from imported inputs up till date. With this bad beginning,

today the manufacturing sector is a failure for its lackluster performance over the years.

The manufacturing sector is a child of misfortune through industrial policies. Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) had the aims of promoting investment; stimulate non-oil exports and providing a base for private sector led development; promote efficiency of the Nigeria's industrial sector; Privatization and commercialization of the economy towards the promotion of industrial efficiency; and to develop and utilize local technology by encouraging accelerated development and use of local raw materials and intermediate inputs rather than depend on imported inputs (Oyedele, 2009). SAP in summary, had the aim of diversifying the productive base of the economy and eliminating the observed structural distortion, the most significant overvalued currency (Onwioduokit and Nwachukwu, 1998). This culminated in the establishment of the auction system in 1986 as a mechanism through which the real value of naira would be determined in which Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) was established. What is important at this point is the fact that the operation of SFEM led to a huge devaluation of naira such that from an exchange rate of N1.55/35 to dollar on 25th September 1986 the naira depreciated by 71.00% to N5.35/30 = \$1:00 at the last bidding session held in December 1988. In 1993, the average official exchange rate stood at about N22.40/84=\$1:00. However, between the first foreign exchange auction in September, 1986 and December, 1994, the exchange rate depreciated by about 93.0% (Onwioduokit and Nwachukwu, 1998). The depreciation of naira heightened the cost of production and deepened the sectoral alexia. Currently, one US Dollar (\$1:00) is exchanged for more than three hundred Naira (N300:00) thus causing imbalance of payments at the long-

run in Nigeria. With this development therefore, it could be submitted that industries policies are largely responsible for comatose status of the manufacturing sector.

In addition to this, Oyedele (2009) contended that Nigeria has benefited little or nothing positive from her industrial policies. Supporting this view, Duru (2012) held that the structure of tariff protection (low tariffs on imported inputs and high tariffs on imported finished products) encouraged the concentration on light consumer goods and at the same time contributed to the inefficiency in the industrial sector and inability of most domestically manufactured products like textile to be competitive thus hampering quest of industrialization. As a result of the type of industrial policy the country adopted after independence, the manufacturing sector is characterized by industries with low value-added which have little intra-sector linkages. Their input's structure is highly import intensive. The linkage with the rest of the economy is weak; which most of them were assemblies that put finishing touches to imported inputs. The issue above is contended by Ayodele (2003) to manifest as a result of Nigeria's dependence on the external sector which did not reduce as expected; thus, rendering the import substitution industrialization impotent. Accordingly, this paved way for export promotion industrialization strategy in the mid 1980s. The private indigenous entrepreneurs relied on crude technologies for the production of these light consumer goods that are scattered across the country. From the 1970s and early 1980s, large-scale capital-intensive industries in petroleum refining, petrochemicals, iron and steel, textiles, fertilizer, pulp and paper and automobile spare parts were established mainly by the government to produce basic inputs for the downstream industries. However, owing to the very poor

performance of these basic industries, attributable to poor management, most of them collapsed.

For instance, in the case of textile industries, it was reported in one of the national dailies, Daily Trust of February, 2016, that it was the reluctance of the state to implementing the recommendations presented to it on the Cotton and Garment schemes that has further deteriorated the conditions of textile production in the country. According to Idris, (2016) frequent change in policy direction of the state by the previous regimes also contributes to the collapse of the industries. It could therefore be argued that the way and manner industrial policies are designed and implemented in Nigeria is was also among the factor that led to the collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries.

Conclusion

The general argument of the work is that the antecedents of factors and forces that cause the collapse of textile industries in the country could be located within the context of the state's inability to provide infrastructural arrangements necessary for industrial development. This is due to the fact the Nigerian state allows neoliberal agenda to shape its trade and industrial policy

Extensive smuggling activity, which the state has so far failed to address because is aided and abetted by its very officials and that the influential members of the governing class in the state, regardless of their ideological and party affiliations have been acting in accord with the needs of the international capital rather than the needs and aspirations of the citizens for better life. This explains why they pursue policy measures, which deprive the state the electricity to power its industrial development and efficient infrastructural

development. The overall effect of which has led to the collapse of the textile industries in the country.

However, the Nigerian textile industries have the capability of making the nation develop if given proper handling and attention. Finding a lasting solution to the problems of power, transportation and other basic infrastructures have the potentiality of revamping the textile industrial sector to its normal operational capacity. The Nigerian government's determination and political will to be active players in the industry would help to fully realize its potentials. There is the potential to grow the textile industry, with government determination and a push by actors in the textile industry. Therefore, anyone who invests in production for export could gain the advantage. The patronage of smuggled textiles by Nigerians indicates that there is a good market for textile products. The fact that Nigeria is already acknowledged as a big market makes this a worthwhile venture.

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