

**A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF YAM ECONOMY IN TIV LAND OF
CENTRAL NIGERIA, 1960-2000**

BY

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**THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
BENUE STATE UNIVERSITY (BSU)
MAKURDI, NIGERIA.**

MAY, 2019.

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REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D) IN HISTORY.**

MAY, 2019.

DECLARATION

I Mr. John, I. Gumh, here declare with all sincerity of purpose and to the best of my knowledge that this thesis is entirely a product of my research efforts, initiative, and handiwork. Empirically, it has never been submitted to any other university for the award of a Doctorate Degree or any other degree. All sources of information that are not mine are duly acknowledged in accordance with the acceptable standards of the academic traditions.

John Iyorliam Gumh

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis titled, A History of the Development of Yam Economy in Tiv of Central Nigeria 1960-2000 is examined and approved for the award of the Doctor of Philosophy of History at Benue State University, Makurdi, Nigeria by the undersigned Examiners.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the Almighty God. I highly appreciate His enabling Grace, Power and Protection towards my academic pursuit, which successfully sustained me to it's peak.

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Most of all, this dearest parents nurtured me to become a life full-filled product of yam production and trade in Tiv land. As a pupil at SUM Primary School, Zaki-Biam, I was all through, fed by this parents, three times a day on yam food, a part from sneaking into the yam-market after school hours to mark and load yam tubers into lorries to collect money from Igbo traders. I also used to assist my uncles in carrying hoes and cutlasses for them in the morning hours to the farm during holidays for tilling of mounds. That was the closest time, I went about learning the art of making mounds as a male child.

During my Secondary School period, my school fees and all other expenses were effectively paid from the proceeds of yams sold from my mother's farm. During this period, I

could as well assist my father while on holidays from Combined Secondary School, Takum to count and sell yams at the Zaki-Biam Yam Market. When I went to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, monies realised from the sale of yams as well as the profits generated from the market by my father were used for payment of my school fees and other needs to sustain my university education. On certain occasions, during long vacations, I would always assist my father selling yams at Zaki-Biam Yam Market especially at the time he became the Chairman of Ngyenev Yam Marketing Association (NYMA) in Zaki-Biam Yam Market.

As a matter of facts, my first time ever in life to travel to Lagos was when I accompanied my uncle, Terseer Uhine to convey my father's fully loaded yam truck from Zaki-Biam to Lagos for sales. It was an exciting and memorable experience more so that at the end of it, I got extra money for new jeans, T-shirts and shoes to take back after the vacation to A.B.U Zaria.

To crown it all, after my graduation from the University, and at the completion of my National Youths Service Scheme, (N.Y.S.C.), it became compelling for me as the first son of my father and only child of my mother to marry a wife early. It was the accumulated money realised from the sales of yams from my mother's farm that was used for payment of dowry and all other expenses for my marriage. Today, I am married to my wife, Mbatomon, with four children, namely, Nguavese, Zahemen, Orva and Oryiman. All of them are highly acknowledged here for their long time endurance and reasoned concerns for this study.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| BSU | - | Benue State University |
| HIS | - | History |
| Ph. D | - | Doctor of Philosophy |
| Prof. | - | Professor |
| Dr | - | Doctor |
| MKD | - | Makurdi |
| AD | - | After the Death of Christ |
| LGA | - | Local Government Area |
| LGC | - | Local Government Councils |
| FAO | - | Food and Agriculture Organization |
| CFAE | - | Franciaise de Afrique Equatorial |
| RNC | - | Royal Niger Company |
| CAC | - | Central African Company |
| UAC | - | United African Company |
| WAFF | - | West African Frontier Force |
| NCW | - | Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) |
| MOA | - | Ministry of Agriculture |
| BNARDA | - | Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority |
| CBN | - | Central Bank of Nigeria |
| SPAT | - | Small Plot Adoption Technique |
| ACGSF | - | Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund. |
| COA | - | College of Agriculture, (Yandev) |
| FTC | - | Farm Training Centre, (Mbatie) |
| Uni-Agric | - | University of Agriculture, (Makurdi) |
| UPE | - | Universal Primary Education |
| GTC | - | Government Teachers College |
| ECOMOG | - | ECOWAS Monitoring Group |
| NKST | - | Nongu U Kristu U Sudan hen Tiv |
| NYMA | - | Ngyenev Yam Marketing Association (Ukum LGC) |
| WW ² | - | Second World War |
| NA | - | Native Authority |
| DAC | - | Development Area Centre (LGAS) |
| DAO | - | Development Area Offices (LGAS) |
| WMBSS | - | William Michael Bristow Secondary School, (Gboko) |

| | | |
|-------|---|--|
| NTC | - | Nigerian Tobacco Company |
| NISER | - | Nigerian Institute of Social & Economic Research |
| MT | - | Metric Tonnes |
| PPSM | - | Persons per square mile |

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GLOSSARY

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| TIV | - | The Name and the language of one of the largest ethnic group in Central Nigeria |
| AKA | - | The great grand father of Mena and Gar Kindreds in Uyam Ward |
| AKOMBO | - | Traditional Fetishism of the Tiv people |
| CHAKA TOR U | | |
| MBA ZULU | - | CHAKA The King of the Zulu Kingdom |
| MDUGH MAN M | | |
| MNYER U TIV | - | The Departure and entry of the Tiv people |
| DAM IYOU | - | Yams from Udam people |
| GIRINYA | - | A particular style of dance very common among the Tiv people (Kunav) who share a common boarder with Udam |
| KPANDEGH | - | Tax |
| IHYANDE | - | Land Clearing for the purpose of yam farming |
| ASHAGBAIOR | - | Distinguished Men |
| ASHAGBA UKASE | - | Distinguished Women |
| AKUUL | - | First Fallow after yam harvest on a plot of land |
| TSA | - | Second Fallow after yam harvest on a plot of land. |
| LOGO | - | Cassava |
| ATSAKA | - | Sweet Potatoes |
| YA | - | Compound |
| ORYA | - | Compound Head |
| TASHI | - | Traditional alcoholic brewed drink of the Tiv people |
| KWAZA | - | Tin or Tin Mining |
| SULE | - | Yam Farm |
| SULE U KAHAN | - | Yam Farming |
| SULE U HURAN | - | Weeding of unwanted bushes off the yam farm |
| AKÔR A LÔÔN | - | Planting of yam seeds |
| AKÔR A GBEREN | - | Harvesting yams on the farm |
| AKÔR A KURAN | - | Transporting home of the harvested yams from farm |
| DECHE | - | The First biggest line of mounds of the yam farm |
| ABYA | - | A small hoe |
| TÔV | - | A sharp pointed stick for planting yam |
| AKUUL AKENDEN | - | Resuscitating the first fallow back to a new yam farm |

| | | |
|--------------------|---|--|
| BASHI | - | Brass rods used as money during the pre-colonial Tiv land. |
| TUGUDU | - | Traditional white clothes made by the Tiv people in the pre-colonial era and exchanged for high value of money |
| SOKPO | - | Iron rods used as money during the pre-colonial Tiv land. |
| ATEM ITYOUGH | - | Breaking the heads of the enemies in Tiv land in 1964 |
| NANDE NANDE | - | Burning down the houses of the enemies in Tiv land in 1962 |
| KASUA U YOUGH | - | Yam market or yam business |
| KAR NYÔR | - | The business name of Iorpande Chaha |
| IHYOM NDEREN YONGO | - | The business name of Tyover Ninga |
| UCHICHI TRANSPORT | - | The Company name of Fave Uchichi |
| MUMMY MARKETS- | - | Yam markets within the Military barracks |
| NGYENEV | - | The name of one particular district in Ukum LGA |
| ITYO | - | District/Kindred/or Tiv people |
| GBERIFAN | - | To vow that something should take place or not. |
| AKOMBO AITYÔÔ | - | The magico –fetishism of a particular group in Tiv land |
| IYOUGH KI JIIR | - | Boiled yams for eating |
| GBAGH I YOUGH | - | Roasted yams for feeding |
| KPOR IYOUGH | - | Yam flour |
| LUAM KUMEN | - | Pounded yams for feeding |
| KPENGA | - | A container for carrying about goods for sales or act of trade itself |
| ACHAKPA | - | A bigger container for carrying about heavy goods for sales |
| PAASE | - | Pack away bushes or grass for mounds-making on the yam field |
| PONA | - | A variety of yams from Ghana |
| EGUSI | - | A delicious soup prepared in Igede land for special occasions like the yam festival |
| IGEDE AGBA | - | An annual yam festival of the Igede people |
| OCHINKPE | - | A variety of yam in Igede land |
| IHUARE | - | Another variety of yam commonly found in Igede land |
| IJIGBO | - | Also another variety of the yam crop in Igede land |
| OGODOGODO | - | A special traditional clothes of the Igede people |
| IGBAGIRI | - | Another traditional clothe of the Igede people |
| ETULO | - | An ethnic group living within Tiv land |
| ABAKWARIGA | - | Another ethnic group also living within the Tiv land |
| NYIFON | - | A small ethnic group living in Buruku LGA of the Tiv land |

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| JUKUN | - | An ethnic group living in Guma LGA of Tiv land |
| DAKO | - | A prominent yam market in Niger State visited |
| BIDA | - | Another yam market in Niger State visited |
| DAN-ANACHA | - | A prominent yam market in Taraba State visited |
| UDAM | - | A conglomeration of ethnic groups living in the present Cross River State, sharing a common boarder and cultural ties with the Tiv people |
| IGBO | - | An ethnic group of the southern Nigeria with critical stake-holding in the Tiv yam trade |
| NUPE | - | Another ethnic group in central Nigeria that equally produces a lot of yams |
| IGALA | - | Another ethnic group in Nigeria also well known for yam production |
| KABBA | - | Another ethnic group of yam producers living in Kogi State of Central Nigeria |
| SANKERA | - | A geographical area, made up of Ukum, Katsina-Ala and Logo Local Government Areas and leading in yam production in Tiv land of Benue State |
| TOR-AGBANDE | - | Drum chiefs appointed during the colonial period in Tiv land as autocratic chiefs |
| ANIGBAAM | - | Offspring of a daughter who is married to another place |

ABSTRACT

The present study, *A History of the Development of Yam Economy in Tiv land of Central Nigeria between 1960 and 2000*, historicizes yam production and trade in Tiv land from the colonial to the post-colonial Tiv land. The study is a critical examination of the origin of yam production, methods of production, as well as trade within and outside Tiv land during the study period. It also examines the impact of the colonial economy as well as post independent Nigerian government policies on yam production and trade during the period. The study further examines the socio-political and economic impact of yam production and trade in Tiv land to include the emergence and expansion of market centres, entrepreneur class, population movements, promotion of Western education and the socio-economic development of Tiv land, among others. The analysis used historical methodology of narrative analysis to obtain information from oral, archival, written as well as internet sources. The study further demonstrates how yam production and trade caused land conflicts, soil degradation and land exhaustion in Tiv land. It further argues that in spite of the seeming positive impact of yam production and marketing in Tiv land, several challenges inhibited the realization of maximum benefits of yam production and trade in Tiv land within the period of the analysis. This includes lack of modern scientific knowledge and technologies that would have boosted yam production, hence the continuous use of the traditional methods of cultivation, especially the use of cutlasses and hoes, as well as the absence of modern methods of yam processing and storage facilities. Based on the findings, the study suggests, among other things, that both the Federal and Centre State governments should create an enabling environment to ensure socio-economic security that would guarantee adequate access to both social and economic infrastructures to transform yam production and its marketing in Tiv land and outside Benue State. Also, domestic monetary policies, such as giving loans at subsidized rate to yam farmers should be provided. On the whole, the study generates new knowledge on the specificity of yam production and trade as it relates to Tiv land and beyond, from 1915-2000.

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CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Agriculture is broadly defined as cultivation of crops, as well as livestock rearing, either for food consumption or other essential needs for life sustenance.¹ It has always been the basis for livelihood since the pre-colonial period. With time, agriculture, graduated to a position of staple food and cash crops provision as well as other essential services like gifts, ritual ceremonies and others in most of the communities of the developing world, including Tiv in Central Nigeria.

The history of human development is in stages, which begins from the use of crude stone tools to the use of metals. The dramatic transformation of a palaeo-man from hunting and gathering of wild fruits stage to close observation of certain edible food plants, like yams, to nurture and reproduce over time, marked the beginning of proto-agriculture. The selection of different palatable varieties of these wild edible plants to convenient sites for cultivation during the following stage led to the formation of main agriculture. The follow up transfer of individual work to group work in a wider social context enhanced agricultural development and man's control over plants, like yam, in the forest as edible food, thereby culminating to real agricultural formation. According to Coursey,² yam plant was key to early agricultural formation in West Africa, which makes the study of its production and trade among members of one of the West African ethnic groups, the Tiv, very essential in a study of food agricultural product and its trade. This background scenario also provides a justifiable base to begin a study of yam production and trade with the genesis of agricultural formation world wide.

Generally, many renowned scholars, made up of agriculturalists, botanists, historians and geographers, like Chevalier,³ Burkill⁴, Coursey⁵, including indigenous ones, like Akiga⁶ have all agreed that the most important edible species of yam crop botanically known as *Dioscorea rotundata* and *Dioscorea Cayenensis* are indigenous to West Africa.⁷ West Africa

is home to Nigeria, where many “agricultural ethnic groups” like the Tiv, Nupe, Idoma, and Iggede, among others, are located in the central part of the Nation. The strategic location of these ethnic groups, especially the Tiv in central Nigeria, which is situated within the West African yam territory is an added advantage for Tiv to become one of the leading yam producers in Nigeria at present. “Varvar once argued that:”

This location of Tiv land in the guinea savannah zone of Nigeria has over the period given the Tiv the advantage of producing both root crops and grains. Thus the production of yam, a tuber crop described as the ‘king’ of the crops in the forest belt and leading crop in the Middle belt by the Tiv people clearly dates back into history.⁸

In Tiv land, yam crop has a more favourable disposition among the people than the production of grain crops, even though Varvar also argued that grain crops production is said to have been introduced into the Tiv agricultural system before yam. The research survey of this study however, reveals many causal factors or reasons why yam production overran grain production in the pre-colonial Tiv land. First, the field survey also proves that the food quality of yam fitted most into the dietary habits of the traditional Tiv people than the grain crops. Second, the techniques of the Tiv labour-force favoured yam cultivation more than the grain crops for example, the labourforce divide between women and men. Men were shared with only hoeing of mounds allowing them the extra time to perform other serious tasks like hunting. The labour-force divide between women and men for yam production allowed men to partake in land clearing and hoeing of mounds, leaving the rest to the women. “Bohannan once remarked” about the hard labour-force of the Tiv thus:

Tiv, say that, work is a good thing. They spur one another to work with a chant “is work a bad thing? No! Work won’t kill a man” Tiv work hard and they agree that hoeing fields is the most important work of the Tiv.⁹

Third, evidently there was adequate fertile land, suitable for yam cultivation everywhere in the pre-colonial Tiv land. Fourth, the Tiv traditional system of yam cultivation, which was always leading the rotational cropping cycle in every farming season, allows the yam crop to

take the lion share of the virgin soil fertility, thereby yielding more than other crops that followed thereafter. Fifth, yam tubers are more portable and easy to carry about for gifts giving, likeable for ritual performances, (*akombo adam*) and serves as a valuable article of trade than the grain crops. All these put together positioned yam production, its consumption and trade far ahead of any other food crops in Tiv land from the pre-colonial period up to date. Briggs once asserted that:

Yam is the staple food crop and a family's well-being depends entirely on the success or otherwise of this crop. Grain is also used for food but as a rule only when yams are not available.¹⁰

Evidently at the inception of colonialism in Tiv land in about 1915 A.D, the colonial administration emphasised more on cash crop production for commercial reasons in order to achieve the immediate goals of the colonial imperialists in Tiv land. These goals were to fast track the development of cash crop production that would boost commercial activities, especially trade, in their colonies¹¹. This development brought about many contending views, including the target to dethrone food crops production, especially yam, as argued by Abba thus:

...the food sector in Nigerian agriculture was systematically and severely attacked by the colonial government in order to dethrone it as one of the most important means of exchange and of accumulation of wealth by farmers.¹²

However, the colonial administration could not deter increased yam production in Tiv land with the enforcement of its economic policies. Even though these policies were new and strange to the Tiv culture, the study shares the view that they were not formulated deliberately to deter increased food production, especially yam. For instance, the multiplier effects of the colonial economic policies added value to yam crop by commoditizing it as the main economic product for sales. In the same vein, the introduction of both the new monetary system and the wage labour policies provided direct money into the hands of Tiv yam

farmers. The money in turn was used for more marriages to increase labour hands on yam farms, thereby leading to increased yam production, similar to cash crop production as an outcome of the colonial policies¹³. In the long-run, rather than deterring yam production in the colonial era, yam production increased. Varvar argued in the affirmative, when he stated that: "...in spite of the unfavourable colonial economic policies towards food production, the production of yam food crop still increased rather than decline during the colonial period".¹⁴

Indeed, statistical data and figures are lacking to back up the assertion that there was increased yam production in Tiv land, especially from the pre-colonial time to the end of the colonial period because of its relative low consumption and marketing outside the Tiv land. However, available facts and evidence suggest that after the colonial time till date, the value of yam products as the commercial main-stay of the Tiv economy has been on the increase. Tiv farmers kept increasing and sustaining the production of yam to meet up with the ever rising demands for yam trade and food supply for their people. Ninga once ascribed increase in yam production in the post colonial era as being synonymous with increase in yam trade and affirmed that "out of the large quantities of yam produced in Tiv land, the fattest of them are not consumed by the households but marketed".¹⁵

From available evidence, the continuous growth of yam trade in Tiv land during the post-colonial era surpassed that of beniseed export trade during the colonial period as evidenced in the socio-political and economic transformations across Tiv land and beyond. Colonial beniseed export gave birth to infrastructural facilities and Tiv desires for more enterprises in their land. Nevertheless, yam trade built on this foundation and surpassed beniseed during the post colonial era with much more landmark achievements in Tiv land. Ninga's words:

Nonetheless, beniseed production significantly declined, and in its place, yam production was stepped-up. However, yam marketing properly started during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970. With the ever expanding war demands and money incentives plus the

availability of transport, yam production doubled its pre-war volume by 1970.¹⁶

To sum up this introductory background, it is here hypothesised that yam is an indigenous and likable staple food crop of the Tiv people in Central Nigeria of West Africa. With the inception of colonialism in Tiv land in about 1915 A.D, colonial economic transformational policies induced and accelerated the commoditization process of yam products in Tiv land¹⁷. In the post colonial era, available evidence suggests that yam production overran benniseed production to become one of the leading commodities for an expanded trade.

This historical assertion continued that yam production and trade which developed and expanded throughout the colonial era to the post colonial epoch had already emerged as an economic main-stay in Tiv land and taken over from the Tiv benniseed export. Yam production and trade have strategically become catalysts for economic and socio-political transformations across Tiv land and beyond. In the end, the dire need to authenticate and historicise this assertion greatly informed this historical research, thereby translating this inaction to a study problem.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Available literature on Tiv economic history and the background information suggest that yam is the most important staple food crop, which was transformed during the colonial era to become the main commercial commodity in Tiv land. It is also asserted that more than 93% of Tiv people survive on yam in one way or the other¹⁸. Over time, the production of yam dramatically increased with expanded scope and intensity of its trade. However, the trend of productive and trade expansion of yam crop has not been systematically and empirically studied, especially within the scope and time frame as intended in this study. The statement of problem for this research study is therefore to re-construct an authentic history for added knowledge on yam the main staple food crop of the Tiv, its production and trade among them in central Nigeria. It is specifically pertaining to how the whole process of how the production and trade of this food crop emanated and continued to develop and expand to

it's present heights of transforming the economic and socio-political life in the study area and beyond from the pre-colonial era, (1900-1915), through the colonial period (1915-1960), to the post-colonial epoch of 1960-2000.

The genesis of yam production, and its trade among the Tiv, in general, constitute an important historical phenomenon of economic and socio-political development for a long time in the area. The whole idea is simply a modest attempt to investigate, and historicise the process of the development of yam economy and its development in the study area and beyond especially between 1915-2000 A.D. In a nut shell, the research is to literally examine stage by stage the development of yam economy and the economic, social, and political, as well as environmental transformations, in Tiv land as a result of yam production and trade for a historical reconstruct. The following questions guided the focus of this research.

- i. When and how did yam crop production and trade originate and develop in Tiv land?
- ii. What are the impact of yam production and trade development as well as expansion on Tiv land between 1915-2000?
- iii. What are the main constraints and prospects of yam production and trade expansion in Tiv land from 1900 to 2000?

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this study is to historicize the development of yam economy for added knowledge especially, its production and marketing as a food crop which in the course of time transformed into economic main-stay of the Tiv especially between 1960 and 2000. This is intended to significantly create new knowledge in addition to the existing body of literature on the generational history of the yam economy in the study area. This may assist policy makers and other stakeholders in agriculture, especially yam producers, to adapt and formulate best strategies towards bolstering yam production. The specific objectives of the study are:-

- i. Determine the origin and development of yam production and trade among the Tiv, specifically from 1960-2000;
- ii. Analyse the constraints of yam production and marketing in Tiv land, from 1960-2000; and profile suggestions for the way forward.
- iii. Examine the socio-economic and political impact of yam production and trade on Tiv land from 1960-2000 and assess their contributions to the over all socio-economic and political developments in Tiv land and beyond.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Findings of this research will be beneficial to yam farmers, marketers, researchers, students, among others. For instance, there are a number of scholarly works on Tiv people generally, however there are scanty works on Tiv economic history. The literature review of the present study suggests that so far, there is none specifically dealing directly with the study of yam production and trade in Tiv land from 1960 to 2000. The study therefore stands to fill in the gaps that have existed in the economic and social history of Tiv society which further unveils the significance of historical studies to humanity.

Yam as food crop is a major source of food supply all over the world. One of the current problems of the developing nations including Nigeria, is that of food security. A good background knowledge of the economic history of yam production will enhance its increased production and facilitate more approaches to tackling food insecurity problems in Tiv land and beyond. Even though man shall not live on bread alone, food remains the vital element of life sustenance. The study is therefore more justified because it projects yam production and commercialization as a source for providing job security and wealth to many youths, without which they would have entered into too deep socio-economic and political vices in Tiv society. This makes the topic a new important area of study which generates knowledgeable literature and can constantly be improved upon for renewed economic and socio-political developments in the study area and beyond.

Another justification of this study is in the fact that, apart from impacting new knowledge to yam farmers especially on the use of fertilizers as improved farming method and traders to improve production and trade, it serves as a pathfinder for subsequent mode of Tiv economic production, playing the role of moral economic values e.g gifts, bride prices, and wedding ceremonies.¹⁹ The new nature of the study coupled with its indigenous initiatives, determination and the experience of participant observers in their own environment to acknowledge and appreciate their personal touch with real life situation and economic development informed the validity of the study.

The study will be significant/beneficial to researchers as more researchers will be encouraged to emulate this work so that more knowledge on yam production and agricultural produce in general will continuously be generated and improved upon. This will accelerate the present thought of diversification of the economy in Nigeria from oil back to agricultural production and other areas of the economy and to assist not only in tackling the environmental degradation problems, presently confronting the developing nations but also create a fountain base for subsequent studies on the Tiv economic history.

Finally, this study is justified because as yam commodity production increasingly consolidates its strategic economic position in the Tiv economy, it attracts scholarly attention and global economic challenges to be taken up from a well informed intellectual stand point which the present study attempts to provide.

1.5 Scope of the Study

Apart from an extension into the Cross River State of the South-South, the territorial scope of this study is limited to the northern and eastern parts of Tiv traditional territory, extending into parts of Plateau, Cross River, Taraba and Nassarawa States, where Tiv farmers are dominantly found farming yams. Besides, there are up to date distinct locations of non-Tiv settlements within the traditional defined land area of the Tiv people, like Abinsi of the Jukun people in Guma Local Government Area, the Adi settlement of the Etulo ethnic group,

the Abakwa settlement of the Abakwariga ethnic group and the Uga settlement of the Nyifon ethnic group in Buruku Local Government Area, among others. All these areas covered with multiple ethnic settlement groups are regarded as Tivland. The study therefore upholds Terlumun Avav's definition of Tivland thus:

*The Tiv of central Nigeria occupies more than 25 Local Government Areas (LGA) in five States. The LGAs are Gboko, Guma, Gwer, Gwer-West, katsina-Ala, Konshisha, Kwande, Makurdi, Logo, Tarka, Ushongo, Vandeikya, Buruku and Ukum in Benue State; Wukari, Ibi, Takum, Donga and Gasol in Taraba State; Oquampan in Plateau State; Obudu in Cross River State and Doma, Awe, Obi and Lafia in Nassarawa State. The territorial spread of the Tiv is comparable to that of the so called major ethnic groups, namely: Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba.*²⁰

The choice of this area is as a result of its famous location, specialty, abundant skills in yam production, and the researcher's familiarity with it. According to Njoku, Tiv is one of the leading producer and trader of yam that makes Nigeria the highest producer of yams in the world²¹. It is nationally known and identified for yam production, but yet, is relatively unresearched and there is a dearth of written records to appraise and analyse this aspect of their history. This encourages the researcher to make an attempt in this area; more so, the economic strides of this area in yam production might go unrecorded by an indigenous Tiv scholar. It is also an insider's perspective on yam production and trade. This is in agreement with Abdullahi Smith who asserted that:

*It is really essential if the work is to be efficiently done; that traditions should be recorded by a worker who either speaks the language in which traditions are reserved as their mother-tongue or speak and understand with complete fluency as a second language.*²²

However, for the purposes of clarity and aim of generating indepth knowledge on the topic, mention can be made of other areas concerning yam production and trade outside the time and scope of the study. The focus is on the development strides of yam production, trade and its impact in Tivland within the study period of about forty years.

The study covers the period between 1960 and 2000 A.D. specifically, the period within the two dates (1960 and 2000 A.D.) has defined the scope of this study. The

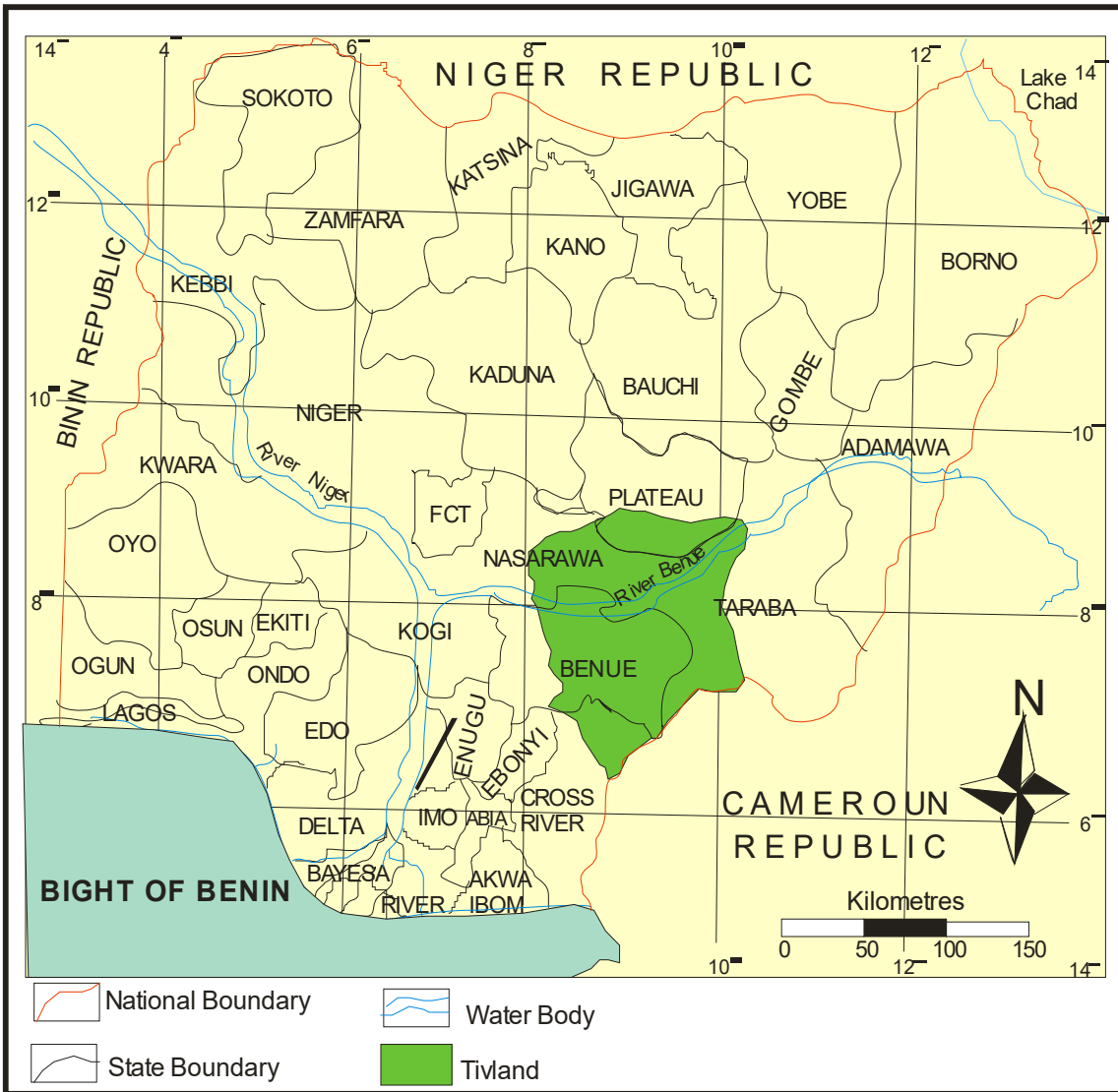
development of yam economy in Tivland, which is the heart spring of the study, had experienced economic and socio-political transformations within this time span. Before 1960 A.D., yam crop was produced as a staple food crop under subsistent mode of production. Between 1960 and 2000 A.D., its production process was transformed to commodity production process under the capitalist mode of production, attracting economic and socio-political upliftments in Tivland and beyond.²³ Bristish colonization of the Tiv area started earlier in about 1906 with the war between the WAFF and Tiv/Basa people at *Anter* in the present Makurdi Local Government Area²³. It was followed by the acceptance of tax payment of the *Lumbur* people in the present Ukum Local Government Area in about 1910²⁴ and continued with the gradual penetration to the hinterland of the Tiv area until the formal declaration for the colonization was made in 1915 at Abinsi as the first headquarters of British Administration in Tiv land²⁵. Between 1915 and 1960, Tiv territory was controlled by the colonial administration which actually anchored the critical stage of the transformation of yam economy to capitalism. In 1960, colonialism exited this country and Tiv area inclusive. The date 1960 therefore stands up as the benchmark or baseline for the scope of the present study denoting the beginning of the transitional development of yam economy in the post colonial Tiv area. On the other hand, immediately after year 2000 A.D., yam production and trade were recessed by the 2001 Tiv massacre. In 2001, the economic growth of Tiv yam witnessed a catastrophic economic recession occasioned by the 2001 Tiv massacre. Many of Tiv yam farmers were massacred, their yam farms and markets destroyed, and most of the displaced farmers came back to only 14 Local Government Areas in Benue State. The year, 2000 A.D., therefore, marked a significant economic historical growth of Tiv yam economy and is chosen as the upper limit of the time scope of the study. Truly, there was Tiv yam economic recession across Central Nigeria and indeed in the whole country. Many scholars argued that by the end of 2000, over a million Tiv people were displaced from Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba States and yam markets, like Gbeji, Anyiin, Wukari, Dan-Anacha, Zaki-

Biam, Abako and others, were burnt and closed down.²⁶ Infact, there was actually a temporarily close down of the Tiv yam industry with effect from 2001 in Nigeria.

The second importance of the scope and time span of the study is that, land which has been the main factor of yam production also recorded a lot of adjustments which impacted on economic development of Tiv yam within the period.²⁷ For example, the whole of Tiv land was made up of one Native Authority, Tiv Native Authority (Tiv N.A.) during the colonial period²⁸. From this single Native Authority, the traditional home land of the Tiv people is presently composed of fourteen Local Government Councils namely, Gboko, Makurdi, guma, Gwer East, Gwer West, Kwande, Katsina-Ala, Vandeikya, Ushongo, Tarka, Buruku, Logo, Konsisha and Ukum²⁹. Due to border restrictions, many Tiv farmers were compelled to remain within the Tiv territory, where land is over used, overpopulated and has become unfertile for yam production. The massive yam production of the Tiv farmers for economic gains on the land of the non-Tiv neighbours has come to stay as a potential source of conflicts and wars in Central Nigeria. This study intends to recommend solutions for the way forward.³⁰

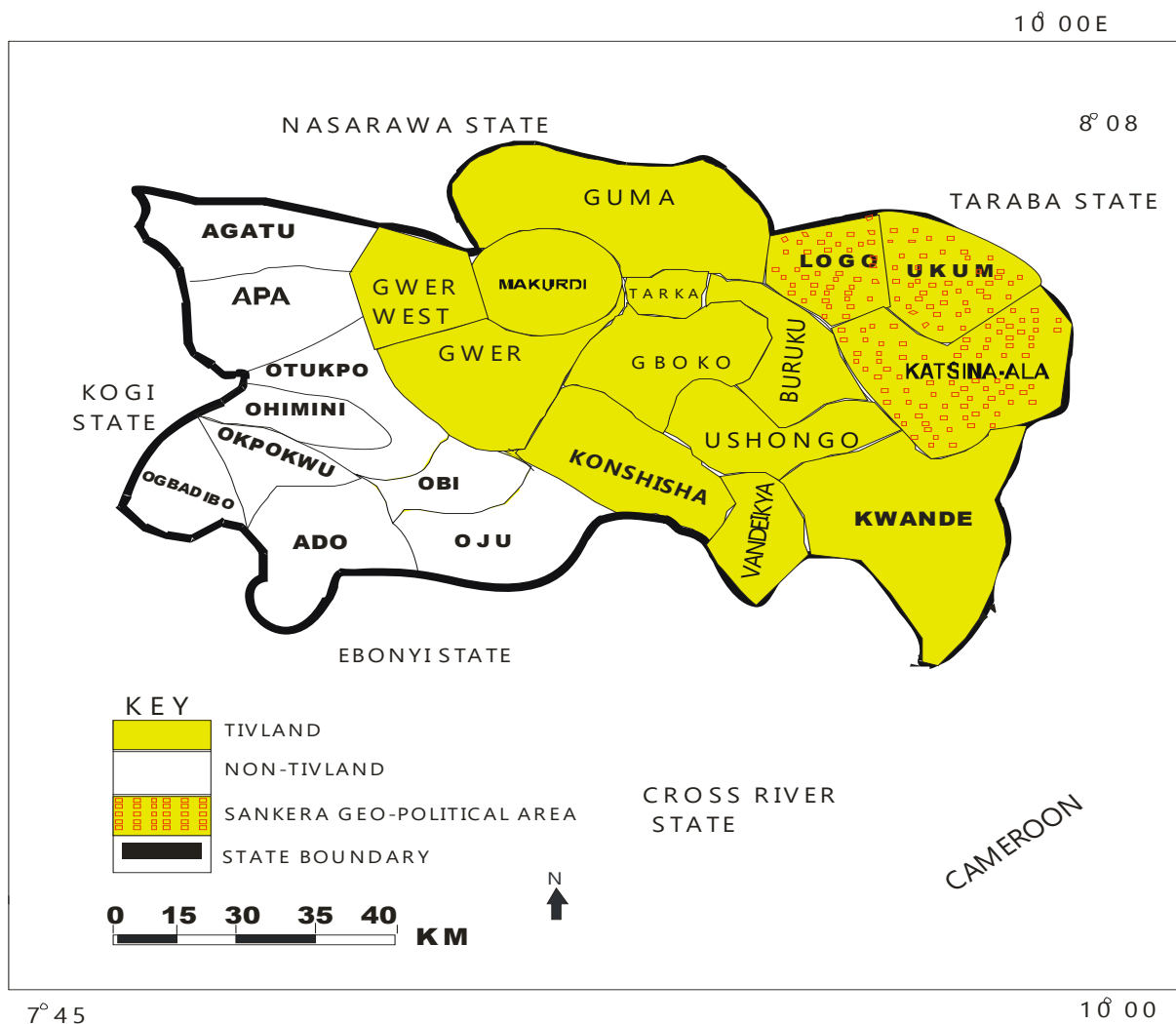
Finally, the period between 1960 and 2000 A.D. is significant in this study because the transformation of yam as food crop to an important commercial commodity has achieved a lot economically for the Tiv people within this study period. For instance, trade in yam brought about the emergence of yam markets and the dire need to reach those markets led to the opening up of rural roads and purchase of lorries in Tivland, which have contributed significantly to development in Tivland.

Map I: Map of Nigeria, showing the precise location of Tiv land in Central Nigeria



Source: Ministry of Lands and Survey Makurdi (2013).

Map II: The Map of Benue State highlighting Tiv Areas



Source: Bureau of Land and Survey, Makurdi, 2013

1.6 Research Methodology

This study employs a historical methodology of narrative analysis using both chronological and thematic approaches. It therefore becomes imperative to start this opening section with the analysis on the various historical approaches employed to source for data and information in the conduct of the study. In order to achieve the objectives of this study, data were collected from primary and secondary sources.

1.7 Sources of Data

The relevant data were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The data obtained were predominantly from primary sources since published and documented data on the historic development of yam production in the study area are not readily or sufficiently available.

The sources of primary data include: personal observation and oral interviews from over 218 yam farmers, porters, transporters as well as traders within and outside the study area. To this end, the researcher and three assistants travelled to various places across the country to gather information and confirm the realities on the ground about the economic development of yam in Tiv land and beyond. During the visits, the researchers interacted with different groups of persons involved in yam production, consumption and trade in such specific areas. Such places visited include Iddo yam market in Lagos; Port-Harcourt yam market, River State; Ogbete yam market in Enugu; Onitsha yam market in Anambra State; Doko and Bida yam markets in Niger State; Dan-Anacha, Donga, Takum yam markets in Taraba State; Zaki-Biam, Katsina-Ala, Ugba, Afia yam markets in Benue State and others. Apart from visiting yam markets across the country for information gathering and comparative analysis, prominent peasant yam farmers were as well visited on their farms in Logo and Ukum Local Government Areas among others, in different locations of the study. Other people who for one reason or the other were perceived to have useful information on the subject matter were also consulted. These included students, civil servants, military personnel both serving and retired, yam marketing association members, among others.

Secondary sources of data include: archival publications, theses, dissertations and undergraduate students projects. Other sources of secondary data were: well established research institutions like Institute for Yams, Ibadan; National Archives and Centre for Historical Documentation, Kaduna; Kashim Ibrahim library, Ahmadu Bello University (A.B.U), Zaria; and Benue State History library. For instance, at National Archives and centre for Historical Documentation, Kaduna there was extraction of valuable information and data from files like NAK/KADMIN AGRIC/3717: Food supplies- Benue, 1941-1942, NAK/MINAGRIC/34983: Yams and yams flour; control movement 1949-1953; NAK KADMIN AGRIC, 1/1/480 VOL. IV and others.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

In the course of this study, some limitations were encountered. One of such challenges was the inability of our interviewees or informants to open up freely and dish out the required information, particularly from the local Tiv farmers and yam traders. Some of them were unwilling to avail information for fear of the unknown. To overcome this challenge, most of our interviewees were interviewed in the presence of their literate sons, daughters and relations, to convince them that the research was being conducted purely for academic purposes.

The second challenge faced during the field interview was the failure on the part of those interviewed or informants to respect or keep to appointed time for our pre-arranged meetings. In most cases, one had to go to them repeatedly before meeting them for interviews. The implication of this was the waste of money and time for the project. With financial assistance from friends, family members and well-wishers on one hand, and patience, perseverance and resilience on the other hand, this challenge too was surmounted.

The scanty, pilfering, disorderliness and the scattered nature of historical records at research centres, like the National Archives, Kaduna for instance, due to mismanagement on the part of their staff was another challenge. The researcher had to go through the rigours of scouting out data scattered among the disorderly heap of papers without needful. This is a nightmare for any researcher as it wasted valuable time and was energy consuming. The inadequacy of available records on food crops during the colonial period on the part of colonial administrators and traders contributed to worsen the researchers challenges. For instance, after several visits to the National Archives Centres at Kaduna, the closest one could get on the figure indicating the data amount of yam production and trade during the colonial period was in file NAK/KADMINAGRRIC/3717-food Supplies-Benue 1941-1942. The records in the file stated that the Provincial Resident of Benue had railed to the Jos Mines 246 tonnes of yams which were specially required for the 4,000 Tiv labourers recruited. To tackle this challenge two under quoted statements from prominent scholars are recalled. The study

therefore depends on evidence, facts and the scanty figures of data not enough to generate statistical tables of their own for detailed analysis during the colonial era. D.C. Dorward admitted that:

Unfortunately owing to the nature of this trade (yam) quantitative data is unavailable. However, it must be born in mind as a future competitive source of income in any analysis of the Tiv economy³¹

It will also be recalled that, facing this similar problem, while writing on the colonial economy of yam production in Tiv land, Professor Varvar affirmed that:

...the production of yam in Tiv land witnessed a significant increase during the colonial period. Although statistics on the actual quantities of production is lacking, there is enough evidence to justify such a conclusion³²

Sharing the experience from the two scholars and bearing in mind, B.V. Rao's conclusion that history knowledge could be imperfect sometimes, because it deals with the actions of human beings in the past. "Where such knowledge is not forthcoming, it is derived by inference." The inference deduced from empirical evidence, recorded statements of facts, and estimated data tables could be used to support the argument that yam production was on increase throughout the colonial period in the absence of quantitative statistical figures.³³

1.9 Conclusion

Research works are essentially embarked upon to solve an identified problem(s) of society and to proffer solutions to them. In the course of conducting a historical research, certain steps were taken and certain measures applied. Certainly, a historical research must follow or adapt its basic features. This chapter is a demonstration of the essential features of a historical research. It is entitled, the general introduction and deals with such issues as background to the study. The chapter also discusses statement of the problem, as well as the aim and objectives of the study, which among others include determination of the impact of yam production and trade in Tiv land. The significance of the study has also been spelt out in the chapter. The scope of the study in terms of time is stipulated as between 1960 and 2000,

while the study area is stated to be within Benue. The limitations of the study include the difficulty in securing information and data, especially from oral and archival sources. These were, however, tackled through patience, perseverance inference and diligence. The study sourced information from primary and secondary sources. In the former, oral interviews conducted while in the later, published works and the internet were employed.

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a review of relevant literature on the subject matter of yam production and trade. The idea is to highlight the relevance, strengths and weaknesses of the already existing literature on the subject matter in order to provide a focus on the issue in view and to fill in the gaps in the existing body of literature as well as to redirect and strengthen the focus of study. The review is divided into three parts for purposes of specificities and easy comprehension.

- i. Review of literature on the origin of yam production and trade in Tiv land of Central Nigeria.
- ii. Review of literature on the development of yam production and trade as well as its impact on Tiv land and beyond.
- iii. Review of literature on the development and expansion of yam trade as well as its impact in Tiv land and beyond.

2.2 Review of Related Literature on Yam Production and Trade in Tiv land.

2.2.1 Perspectives on the origin of yam production in Tiv land.

Much of the available literature on the history of Tiv people is related to the origin and migration from their ancestral home in Central Africa to their present location, in the Benue Valley Area of Central Nigeria which falls completely within the West African Yam zones¹. European and indigenous scholars have contributed in detail on Tiv origin and migration to their present location of yam belt in Central Nigeria.

Some of the literature on Tiv history in this review include:- R. East's *Akiga's Story*², Paul Bohannon, *The Tiv of Central Nigeria*³, Eugene Rubing, *Sons of Tiv*,⁴ Mvendaga Jibo *Tiv politics since 1959*⁵, Tesemchi Makar, *A history of Political Change Among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th Centuries*⁶, G.N. Hembe *J.S. Tarka: The Dilemma of ethnic Minority Politics in Nigeria*⁷ and many others. All these source materials, unanimously acknowledge *Swem* as undisputable ancestral homeland of the entire Tiv people from where they migrated in streams to settle and live in the present area of Central Nigeria.

R. East (annotated) *Akiga's Story*, is a presentation of the Tiv ethnic group as seen by one of its members. The work justifies itself as a pioneer work and opens up Tiv people, their culture and the origin of yam economy to future research. The book is the first indigenous and the most popular study on Tiv ethnic group of Central Nigeria⁸. Akiga recorded his view about his own ethnic group as a modest contribution of his life as well as a documentation on Tiv history. His intention was that those who could read, write and understand Tiv should know their past so that history will not be forgotten and or buried; thereby denying the younger Tiv generational knowledge of the history of their people, considering the overwhelming significance of history in life. Akiga's prayer was that:

...God would help me to write this book in order that, the new generation of Tiv, which is beginning to learn this knowledge should know the things of their fathers as well as those of their present generation.⁹

Akiga's work is justifiable because it sets precedence or lead way for subsequent studies on Tiv people as well as yam production. After its first publication in 1939, it became a source material for more studies on various aspects of the Tiv ethnic group such as Tiv politics, economy, agriculture, religion, history, and other perspectives. In addition, many foreign and indigenous scholars were encouraged to emulate him and write about the Tiv people of Central Nigeria, particularly, Tiv scholars who had no language barrier as a hindrance. They include T. Makar, M. Jibo, G.N. Hembe, J. Gbor, J. Tortema, Ayem Luga, and many others. It was after Akiga's study that many other Tiv people developed keen interests and seized the opportunity to write on different aspects of Tiv history, including the Tiv yam farms and about the foreign religion, Christianity in terms of scholarship.

The importance of these works on Tiv history is that they are published in Tiv language. For example, Pastor Joshua Shimlumun Yakobu's "*Mbaheberu man Tiv*"¹⁰ is built on co-relating the Tiv cultural affiliation with the history of the Hebrews in the Bible denoting their physical fitness to carry out farm works generally. Terwase John Gbor (1995) also wrote extensively on both the socio-cultural life of the Tiv people; *Mdugh man Mnyer U Tiv ken Benue*¹¹ and *Chaka Tor U Mba Zulu*¹² While Gbor's first textbook traced the journey

of the Tiv people from Central or South Africa to their present location in the Benue valley, *Chaka Tor U Mba Zulu* is devoted to the accomplishments of Chaka, the Zulu Chief, to establish a connection between Tiv and the Zulu traditions as great warrior and farming groups in Africa. All these are clear manifestations of how well Akiga's pioneering study influenced and encouraged Tiv literary work to advance knowledge about most perspectives of Tiv life and yam crop inclusive. The book also significantly encourages the spread of Christian religion which came along with the knowledge of agricultural economy among the Tiv of Central Nigeria, thereby justifying its relevance to the present study.

Akiga's Story is fundamentally relevant to the present study on several aspects of Tiv history, as well as, yam production and trade. Firstly, the book highlights the origin and migration of the Tiv people from the Congo area of the present Central Africa to their present location in Central Nigeria, a place where vast fertile land for yam production was available. This has generated a lot of historical investigations as to whether Tiv migration originated from the Congo area of Central Africa or Swem. Akiga in his book, referred to Swem as a resting settlement, but were the causal factors for migration adventurous or a search for fertile farm lands to the Cameroon/Nigeria boarder point?

Secondly, the book touches on Tiv agricultural system relating to yam production with remarkable issues. For example, how can yam crop be referred to as the last crop to be introduced into the Tiv agricultural farming system and over time became the crop that was yearly starting the agricultural cropping season of the Tiv people? What was the situation before its introduction into the Tiv traditional farming system?

Thirdly, Akiga's Story deals with the origin of yams in Tiv land emphasising on its indigenous discovery by a desperate orphan during a drastic famine period. According to Rupert East, yam was discovered by a desperate orphan who went hunting in the forest during a terrible famine period. Thereafter, it became popular and was accepted into the Tiv society as an edible plant. However, the process of its domestication and cultivation was acculturated from the Udam people of Cross River State of Nigeria.¹³ The discovery of the

origin of yams in Tiv land by an orphan in Akiga's book sounds more of a dramatic presentation in a symbolic term than a historical reality. All these gaps as identified in the story formed the basis for further research on the Tiv-yam study for better understanding.

On the whole, Akiga's Story has significant influence on the present study. In fact, his book does not originate from a viewpoint of a detached observer and its originality is not questionable. It is from a mental experience and exposure of the author who viewed his people from within and presented them to the outside world. Akiga was not well educated to read and be influenced by English books, so he presented his people to the outside world in their original form. His affection for the old people and customs of Tiv people with personal touch of fulfilling his objective to keep alive their cultural pride for posterity brings out more clearly the relevance of his work in the present study in the following words:

And do you, however great your knowledge may be, remember that you are Tiv, remain a Tiv and know the things of the Tiv; for therein lays your pride. Let us take heart. The old mushroom rots another springs up, but the mushroom tribe lives on.¹⁴

Conclusively, Akiga's study becomes a backbone for most subsequent studies in addition to the present review on Tiv in their land.

Tiv and Their Neighbours by T. Tseror¹⁵ is another important work carefully reviewed in this study. The Central issue in his work is the analysis of 'intergroup relations' which underscores the need for mutual interdependence or co-existence in the Central part of Nigeria. According to Tseror, the diverse non-centralised groups in the pre-colonial Nigeria had co-existed and interacted with each other on diverse issues. Such interactions include socio-cultural interactions, agricultural grounds, socio-political exchange and socio-economic interactions. Furthermore, Tseror postulates that the above mentioned interactions existed most commonly between the Tiv and other groups like the Udam, Jukun, and Idoma during the pre-colonial era which directly relates his work with the present review¹⁶.

One of the main issues directly related to the present study is the socio-political and economic relations between the Tiv and Udam ethnic groups during the pre-colonial period. According to elder, Chief, Ivokor Unongo, items of trade back then included salt, chickens, yams, cultural dances and others. Up to today, certain items linked to ‘Udam’ ethnic names are highly in use in Tiv land: For example, a specific type of salt in Tiv is called *bar dam*, ducks are called *Kyegh Dam* a special type of yam is called *Dam Iyou* and the *Girinya Udam Dance* is very famous among the *Kunav* people in Tiv land¹⁸. By implication, these commodities and styles of cultural dances were exchanged between the Tiv and Udam people in the pre-colonial era. Naming these commodities after Udam suggests that, these items and other cultural trends were either borrowed from the Udam to Tiv land or vice versa. They remain as legacies of the pre-colonial trading relationship between the two ethnic groups. The involvement of yam crop as one of the items of trade during this period enriches our knowledge the more on the subject matter. This is to support Akiga’s earlier view that yam cultivation was initially borrowed from the Udam and yam trade was in existence across borders in Tiv land since the pre-colonial period.

From Tseror’s presentation, it seems clear that the Tiv had a great sense of diplomacy and external relations with their neighbours. Indeed, “no man is an island”, there was need for interdependence and interaction with others. This natural need for support made them relate with their neighbours to learn new ways of doing things harmoniously. For instance, Akiga’s story speculates earlier that, in as much as yam crop was discovered by a Tiv desperate orphan from a nearby forest, its system of cultivation was adapted through cultural interaction with Udam people. Apart from indications that there was a close socio-economic relationship between Tiv and Udam in the pre-colonial era, it also suggests that yam production had existed earlier in Udam land than in Tiv. After all, Marxist historical Materialism, asserts that the manner in which human beings produce the necessities of life determines the form of the

societies in which they live. This agrees with the pre-colonial relations between Tiv and Udam which further highlights on pre-colonial socio-economic affinity with yam crop.

Tseror states that, the interactions between the Tiv and their neighbours were peaceful. He emphasises that, the Tiv and Udam interactions were based on commerce and cultural diplomacy. However, his oversight of the aspect of conflicts and wars between the Tiv and their neighbours, which were mostly generated from the struggles over fertile and arable farm lands where their main crop was cultivated. Thos alone gives the present study the impetus to dwell more on conflicts and crisis. The conflicts and crises became even more rampant at the time most of the Tiv neighbours also began to engage in yam cultivation at the same time with Tiv yam farmers who were busy enlarging their farms for more economic gains.

In conclusion, Tseror presents a lesson for inter-dependent co-existence to enhance cohesion of mutual socio-political and economic interactions, among diverse ethnic groups in this country. This can be enforced for national cooperation, unity and global economy and as well be replicated in Tiv-yam trade for global economic development.

Another study is S.F. Wegh's *Between Continuity and Change: Tiv Concept of Tradition and Modernity*.¹⁹ Much of highlighted issues are related to the subject matter of the present study. Wegh unveils Tiv people as traditional agricultural people who rely on their land for life sustenance. Tiv people had suffered to secure their land as their main and only source of subsistence. The author discusses agricultural crops such as guinea corn, millet, yams, benniseeds, cotton, and others, in terms of production and use of surpluses to fulfil the primary intention of consumption for which they were cultivated.

He states clearly how Tiv traditional subsistence economy was controlled by the household system especially women, leaving husbands with certain rights to food crops for legitimate entertainment and ritual performances. The emergence of colonialism brought economic policies such as taxation system, the development of wage labour and cash crops

such as benniseed, cotton and tobacco production to raise money in order to meet up with the demands of these policies²⁰. During the field survey, Gbechin Gwebe remarked that benniseed was nicknamed *kpandegh* meaning taxation. The predominant role of women in agricultural production shifted to men due to much emphasis on cash crop production which raised more money for taxation by men during the colonial period. The book also highlights the failed attempt of the colonialists to suppress food crop production, such as yam crop, in preference for cash crops, leading to vast growth of yam production.

In as much as the author greatly contributes on the study of yam production and trade in his book, a missing link is observed where benniseed production and trade in Tiv land gave way for yam production and trade at the demise of the colonial period in Tiv land. The present research study is intended to fill in the gap as a valuable point.

Elizabeth Isichie's *A History of Nigeria*²¹ is an important history book, published in twenty chapters touching on various sectors of the Nigerian history. Her book becomes relevant and formidable for review at this juncture in two folds. Firstly, the book shares the general opinion on the indigenization and localization hypothesis about the origin of yam plant in the West African Yam belt. This further buttresses the local discovery of yams in Tiv land as speculated by Akiga in his book. It also reveals the sensitive response of a desperate orphan to a terrible famine situation to discover food from his natural vegetation for his dietary needs. Secondly, Ishichie discusses the relevance of African cultural mysticism associated with yam production among African communities generally. She talks about the reverence given to the yam plant as it is called the 'king of all crops'. This is manifested in the various sacrifices and festivals attached to yam planting and harvesting for greater yields.

Isichie's analysis on the topical issues in this context, yam production and trade sounds brief. Her study actually requires another study to make up these short falls for added knowledge especially on the origin of yam production and trade of an ethnic group like Tiv, the leading yam producer in Nigeria, which needs a follow up study.

A History of Political Change among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th Centuries, by T. Makar²² is an important work on Tiv. The thrust of the book is a historical analysis of Tiv socio-economic and political transformation in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Using a historical narrative approach, the author traces the genealogy of the Tiv race from a single family origin, and moves on to Tiv migration from Swem, the ancestral home location to their present area in the Benue valley.

Makar identifies Tiv as traditional agricultural race who values yam production more than most of the ethnic groups around them. He portrays the Tiv people to the outside world as brave agriculturalists who produce a lot of yams and other crops, including benniseeds, cotton, groundnuts and others. Makar argues that the preference of the colonial government for cash crops production, rather made yam production, the most viable staple crop of Tiv and presently plays the dual role of food and cash crop in their area. Furthermore, the author explains how the British colonial administration transformed the socio-political and economic life of the people during the colonial era.

Makar's study is valuable as a political study, however, a history of Tiv politics cannot be meaningfully analysed and understood in the absence of the economic basis of Tiv life. Historical materialism upholds that, economy is the structural base of every society upon which other structures are built, which Makar's work fails to take cognisance. In fact, his book indirectly traces most political upheavals and crises in Tiv land to economic related issues. The non-inclusion of certain economic factors, for the explanations of certain political changes in his book, denies his readers, a better understanding of certain actions which led to violent political changes the Tiv people were demanding in Makurdi town during the 19th and 20th Centuries. For instance, when the Tiv ex-soldiers noticed the imbalance in sharing of the socio-economic dividends between Tiv and other groups in Makurdi Town and resorted to war against the Hausa/Fulani group, the author did not see any good reason for their actions and resorted to calling them bad names like "vagabonds", "Penniless people" and "good for

nothing people”²³. The relevance of Makar’s work to the present study serves as a reminder to reposition this issue in its proper perspective necessitates a similar follow-up research on Tiv socio-economy.

2.2.2 Perspectives on yam production in Central Nigeria

Yam crop (**dioscorea species**) is a starchy food crop that is predominantly found among most ethnic groups in Central Nigeria, especially the Nupe and the Tiv, who are its leading producers and other neighbouring ethnic groups.²⁴ Yam crop has played a significant role in tackling food security problems of the growing population across Africa. Nigeria is located within the traditional “yam Zone” and accounts very high for a large percentage of the total yam production of the whole world.

Yams (*Dioscorea species*) constitute the predominant starchy staple in sub-Saharan Africa where food security for growing population is a critical issue. The five West African countries, Nigeria, Coted’Ivoire, Ghana, Benin, and Togo are located in the traditional “yam zone” and accounted for 93% of total yam production of the world in 2008 (FAO 2010) Nigeria is the largest yam producer in the world which accounted for 68% of the global production in 2008 (FAO 2010)²⁵

According to Akiga, yam crop was introduced to Tiv land later than other food crops like beans, millet, guinea-corn and maize, and is regarded as “the king of crops” and the leading crop in the North-Central, as well as, the Forest Zone of Nigeria. In addition to the food and market values, yam plays significant roles in the socio-cultural, rituals, and traditional religions of the Tiv people. It is generally said that, yam is a staple food crop of the Tiv people because the well-being of every family member depends much on yams.²⁶

Yam production and trade in Tiv land though dates back to a thousand years ago, still maintains rural farmers at the Centre of its production, using traditional technologies for production and vulnerable to the vicissitudes of nature, especially drought and rain fed agricultural system. However, yam economy is increasingly developing among the Tiv people from its inception up to date in Nigeria, with corresponding economic growth and

development. “Production of yam in Tiv land witnessed significant increase... although statistics on the actual quantities of production is lacking, there is enough evidence to justify such a conclusion”.²⁷

Paul Bohannan Tiv *Farm and Settlement*²⁸, presents Tiv people in their traditional and agricultural way of life to the outside world, narrowing them down to short sighted people who could not see anything good beyond their farms and were contented with land and farming as their only source of livelihood. His words: “Tiv are virtually interested in their farms... I found that, a dozen or so of the key words I heard most often were words which had to do with land in one way or another”.²⁹

Bohannan begins his study with an introduction of the Tiv people, as farmers whose farms could determine everything about their life, including their settlement patterns. He vividly presents a descriptive analysis of Tiv settlement patterns, their rights to land ownership and types of crops with emphasis on yam crop cultivation and distribution of agricultural produce. He gives a descriptive analysis of Tiv farm tools which were all geared towards productive activities and survival on their farm produce.

Very much central to the present study, Bohannan’s publication provides details on the Tiv traditional means of determining soil fertility through crop rotation and shifting cultivation to enhance yam production on their land. He further explains how yam crop begins the rotational farming cycle, followed by beans, millet, guinea-corn and others until the cycle is completed. He carefully describes the process of yam production beginning with land clearing “*Ihyande*,” making of mounds (*Avom*) on the farm “*Sule*” up to the harvesting stage of yam tubers and seeds.

Finally on Bohannan’s work, there appears to be several gaps of important information on yam cultivation. For example, yam cropping does not necessarily start Tiv farming cycle in the present dispensation of yam production in Tiv land. This is as a result of scarcity of farmland which has necessitated the introduction of farming with herbicides and

fertilizers. The present study, therefore, benefits from this review by way of updating the study on yam to fit into the present contextual scheme of agricultural development in Tiv land and beyond.

T.A. Varvar's "The Impact of Colonial Economy on Yam Production in Tiv land, 1900-1960"³⁰ is a historical analysis of how the British colonial government interrupted yam production and consumption which led to the transformation of Tiv economy during the colonial era. That is how yam was transformed from food to cash crop. According to him, even though the socio-economic situation in Tiv land was transformed during the colonial period, yam still maintained its position as the main staple food crop which later transformed to become the main cash crop of the Tiv people.³¹ The dire need to trade in yams for monetary needs and consume more of it to gain strength to produce cash crops, led to constant increase in yam production in Tiv land. Varvar emphasises that: "In spite of the unfavourable colonial economic policies towards food production, the production of yam, a food crop, still increased rather than decline during the colonial period"³².

Varvar's article is relevant to the present study in various ways. Apart from the scope of it's period, it coincides with part of the present study and significantly highlights on the main issues covered during the pre-colonial and colonial periods about yam production and trade. Secondly, the article emphasizes on the failed intention of the colonial administration to discourage yam production increase in preference to cash crop production through its economic transformation policies as an obstacle to the development of yam in the colonial Tiv land.

Despite the relevance of Varvar's argument in the article, the present study differs on certain issues he raised. One of such issues is that traditional yam production techniques are initially not discussed as a derivative of the Tiv cultural beliefs and values. This would have provided us with a good background knowledge of what the traditional methods of yam production were all about and what they stood for before the colonial economic interference

making the difference simple. It would also have gone a long way in assisting us to decide if actually, colonial economic policies were put in place as hostile or detrimental measures to increased yam production in Tiv land at that time.

Secondly the unfavourable colonial economic policies were focused towards discouraging increased production of food crops, especially yams, in Tiv land during the colonial era. According to Varvar, this situation was only saved because of the already entrenched pervasive and decisive position of yam crop in Tiv land before the enforcement of these colonial policies, like imposition of cash crops.

In view of the above, the present study finds it difficult to pin point at any of the colonial economic policies which were deliberately formulated and designed to undermine food crop production, especially yam crop, on Tiv land as Varvar argued. Of all the colonial economic policies, firstly, the only one that went closer to negatively impacting on increased yam production was the conscription of able farming hands out of Tiv land for public and military services. But even that, his study dismisses that view on the fact that children, women and old men replaced such farming hands and there was no remarkable decline of yam production as a result of this policy. As would be further argued, the present study noticed that there was no division of labour at that time in Tiv land. Therefore, conscription of farm hands out of Tiv land was not certainly designed to deter only food crop production. The negative effects of this policy applied to both cash and food crop production since it was these same hands and tools (hoe and cutlass) that were producing the two at that time in Tiv land.

Thirdly, the argument in his article postulates that there was “imposition and promotion of cash crop production over and above the production of food crops especially yams”³³. In the same article, the author had earlier stated that yam production in the pre-colonial Tiv land had “permeated Tiv society,” and became most popular and “the one most highly priced”. Realistically, if the imperialists had found yam production already occupying

such a premium position in Tiv land, there was no good reason to encourage or promote it beyond where it was found, more so that the cardinal goal of the imperialists at that time in Tiv land was to exploit specific raw materials to feed the hungry industrial complex in Europe. And truly, there was no hungry industry for yams in Europe then. However, the dire need to feed the locals to produce maximally the needed cash crops and other raw materials also informed the colonial administration of the dire need to increase production of yam crop.

Fourthly, in the argument which he had earlier stated that there was no remarkable decline in yam production as a result of human conscription in Tiv land during the colonial period later came to glare, that the 1930s famine disaster on Tiv land was caused by beetle pests destruction of the yam crop.³⁴ And that the colonial administration stepped in to remedy and restore normalcy with relief materials and stop orders for yam exportation out of the Tiv land. The point to note here is that the quick and drastic stop-measures taken by the colonial administration to prevent yam shortage in a famine situation significantly suggest that the administration had never contemplated to underscore increased yam production in Tiv land throughout her control of the Tiv territory. This study shares the opinion that the colonial administration rather encouraged and promoted increased yam production and trade through her economic policies in Tiv land. The commoditization policy of yam crop and the colonial provision of infrastructural, facilities like railway, for instance, immensely enhanced and boosted yam production and trade in the colonial era. The purpose of these points of argument and many more raised in detail at the onset of this literature review, is to pronounce the high level of disparity between the present study and (Varvar's pioneering) works on relatively similar studies. This also redirects into focusing at the main argument in the present study.

Regina H.Y.Fu, H. Kikuno and M. Maruyama's Research on "Yam Production, Marketing and Consumption by Nupe Farmers of Niger State, Central Nigeria"³⁵ comes handy for review at this stage. Their research focuses on solutions to the problems of why the

Nupe small scale farmers produce a lot of yams annually for consumption and trade in Central Nigeria, yet, problems of food security and massive poverty still persist among the producers in Nupe land. These researchers employ agricultural fact-finding approach to identify the root causes of their stated problem above.³⁶

In the end, these researchers discovered that production of the Nupe farmers could not adequately tackle food security problems of the Nupe producers due to the seasonal nature of yam production. In addition, lack of storage facilities, insects, decay, fire disasters and other numerous ways of colossal yam consumption, such as eating, gifts, marriages and rituals all contribute to food insufficiency and poverty of the Nupe yam farmers.

Accordingly, these authors further discovered that, in spite of the massive yam trade that goes on among the Nupe people, the small scale farmers do not derive commensurate benefits from yam production. This is partly because the seasonal productive nature of the yam crop permits excessive production at one time in a particular season and sale of all the products during the season even when the prices were low to avoid wastage. According to these researchers, Nupe yam producers lack financial capabilities to improve on yam transport system to distant markets for better sales. All these put together, combined to accelerate and perpetuate poverty syndrome among Nupe yam producers in spite of all the traditional efforts to improve the living standards of the yam farmer/traders through the development of yam economy in Nupe land.³⁷

Among other things, their research, finally recommends the introduction of dry season yam farming in Nupe land, the introduction of herbicides to avoid insect's damages, long term preservation of yam and numerous methods of improving yam storage system in Nupe land of Central Nigeria.

In as much as their research review is relevant to the present study, there are cultural variations between the Nupe and Tiv societies, especially as regards land tenure and labour systems, which are key to yam production. Agricultural research findings of this nature

among the Nupe people cannot produce the same results with the Tiv farmers on their land. The present study is, therefore intended to bridge the gap.

M.O. Odey's article on "Igede Agba Celebration as an Aspect of Igede Cultural Renaissance in Africa"³⁸ is a genuine attempt to throw more light on the nature, objectives, and significance of the popular 'Igede Agba' Yam festival not only for its call for Igede cultural renewal but because it also underscores other aspects and significance of yam in Central Nigeria.

The author employs the historical narrative approach in his analysis and provides explanations of key concepts in the article, both in English and Igede languages like "culture" "Agba" which makes the essay easy to understand and what 'Igede Agba festival' stands for; what it is intended to achieve culturally among the Igede people and the larger Nigerian society.

Of more relevance to the present study is that, the work attributes special status to yam in Igedeland as "the king of other crops and as a male crop" probably as a result of the numerous roles of the yam crop in Igedeland relating to the culture of the people. According to Odey, this probably constitutes a deciding factor for the annual celebration of yam crop in Igede culture as far back as 1959. During the celebration, the biggest yams of special varieties like *Ochinkpe*; *Ihuara*; *Ijigbo*, and others, are displayed for recognition and acknowledgement of the people who produced them. Special traditional clothes with a lot of cultural memory like *Ogodogodo* and *Igbagiri* are used for the occasion. Assorted types of foods, like goat meat, pepper soup, fried fish and *egusi* are all prepared to add value and grace to the occasion of celebration once a year by all Igede people in Igedeland and in the diaspora. *Igede Agba* festive period brings about economic boost to Igedeland similar to Christmas celebration in the Christian world. It is the only occasion that attracts without fail the presence of all Igede people in the diaspora and important dignitaries, such as the State Governor of Benue State, to Igede land annually.

One important issue raised in his article relating to the present study is the cultural connection between yam production and the West African cultural system. For example, yam is used for food, cultural celebrations, rituals, marriages, trade and gifts in many producing communities in the West African sub-region. The author, however, calls for abrogation of an aspect of the Igede yam culture by “demystification” of the yam festival and removal of rituals from the celebration activities. This review shares the opinion that this will surely end up reducing the cultural value of the festival and result in hampering its economic impact. The elders who are the custodians of Igede culture will out rightly reject participating in such an act which is against their traditional tenets and doctrines passed unto them by their ancestors. African cultural festivals should not be separated from African traditions and rituals, as this is what gives them their uniqueness and peculiarity and makes them valuable for economy and tourism. Odey’s article is also related to the present study with emphasis on yam crop production in Igede society as in Tiv area of Benue State.

Matthew Aramah’s *Investment Opportunity in Ghana: Commercial Seed Yam Production*³⁹ is an important work that is related to the present study. The work underscores the need for investment in yam production and trade in Ghana. Highlights are placed on reasons to invest on yam production and trade in Ghana. Such reasons include dynamics of yam market, seed yam multiplication, the available enabling environment and incentives for yam production and trade in Ghana.⁴⁰

According to the author, there are new methods of increasing yam production, such as, focus on increasing the most tasteful *Pona* yam variety in Ghana. That, the growing cycle of this variety ranges from six to eight months with planting season starting between February and April, and harvesting period commencing in October to the end of the season every year. The author shows the efforts of the Ghanaian Government to assist the traditional small scale farmers improve seedlings and farming methods. This is shown in the changing of mounds cultivation systems to ridge system which produces more yams in a season. Farmer

and enterprise training programmes are introduced to accelerate the development of entrepreneurial skills and knowledge among yam farmers. Security of tenure system is encouraged to facilitate access to land and to improve land fertility. Government and the private sector get more involved in providing credit facilities to farmers and investors in agro allied businesses. All these are geared towards a higher level of yam production and output.

The significance of his work to the present work lies in its exposition of improved techniques of increased yam production by changing from the mounds system of cultivation to ridge system of cultivation. Secondly, a new system of dividing or cutting yam tubers into smaller pieces to generate more yam seedlings to increase the amount of yam seeds for more cultivation further leads to more production of yam seeds. This information adds more knowledge to yam production and shows a good example of what a government in a neighbouring nation like Ghana does to facilitate massive and improved production of yam crop. After all, Ghana is the leading exporter of yams in the world even though Nigeria leads its production worldwide.

2.2.3 Perspectives on yam trade in Tiv Land of Central Nigeria

Yam is one of the most famous staple crops among the Tiv people. More than 93% of the Tiv people survive on yam crop in one way or the other. In spite of other studies on the valuable contributions of yam crop, it has not been specially and systematically studied as an emergent and important area of the history of Tiv trade, even though agriculture conspicuously and persistently stands as a key factor in the history of Tiv economy and as a corner-stone for the development of Tiv land.

*Tiv Economy*⁴¹ by Laura and Paul Bohannan was published in 1968. The book which focuses on Tiv economy contains seventeen chapters on different captions of Tiv agricultural economy. It has become handy for review at this level of the study.

Chapter seventeen is the analysis of Tiv subsistence economy. According to this chapter, the initial over-riding idea of yam production by the Tiv peasant farmers was to fulfil

the people's food requirements for survival during the pre-colonial Tiv land. Yam crop gradually started finding its way into the Tiv local markets when other exigencies like settlement of bride-price, gifts, payment of debts, needs for securing ingredients, like salt and others, arose. This happened especially at the time when there were no other better means of exchange to earn income by the Tiv people. Today yam crop doubles as the main food and cash crop in Tiv land.

The authors emphasise the growth patterns of yam trade. In the pre-colonial period, exchange of yam for other goods was mainly by women at compound market level. During the colonial period, there was improvement of the road network and increased accessibility, emphasis, therefore, changed from compound markets where trade was carried out to the neighbourhood markets located in strategic and accessible locations in Tiv land. These authors accept that, this move received much patronage across the different divides of Tiv land and beyond. An example was the Ticha Market in the present Vandeikya Local Government in Tiv land. The authors visited Ticha Market in 1950 and saw chief Ikyaagba's agents collecting market dues from the yam sellers as an aspect of economic build-up. This was an exemplary illustration of the increasing volume of yam trade beyond Tiv land, especially, with the '*Udam*' people of the present Cross River State in Nigeria.

Additional strength of the Tiv economy to the present review is manifested in many dimensions. The study being the first of its kind on Tiv economy serves as an eye opener to the Tiv people to become well informed, knowledgeable and conscious about economic developments in their land. Apart from providing reference/or a source of material for Tiv economic history, it also serves as a challenge to Tiv scholars to undertake studies in the field of economic history as an agrarian society, more so that the development of every society depends on its economic strengths. The present study seeks to amplify this issue and many others unmentioned in the review.

Finally on Tiv economy, it is strangely noticed that the colonial interference in yam production during the colonial period, an important phenomenon in the economic and political history of the Tiv people, was not mentioned in the book. Probably, the European researchers or scholars wanted to keep out of the local politics during their anthropological works in Africa. It is common knowledge that, every human society is built on the foundation of its economic forces upon which other structures are developed. The present study hopes to fill the gap in the Bohannans' book and further analyse the post- colonial yam trade and its impact on the sphere of the Tiv people and their economy.

Another text to be reviewed is O.N. Njoku, *Economic History of Nigeria: 19th and 20th Centuries*.⁴² The author's first attempt was to employ both chronological and thematic approaches to explain in broad strokes the Nigerian economy, starting from the domestic and external stand points, making use of multi-historical spatial organizational and social process. Taking off from the general and contrary viewpoints that the domestic sector of the Nigerian economy is far less significant than the international one, his contrary views are well articulated at every given point in the book.⁴³

Njoku describes agriculture as the main-stay of Nigeria's economy which has been the bedrock of development over time in the country. The problem of inefficient leadership, on the part of the political class, led to eventual abandonment of the sector in preference for crude oil. He posits that, with over reliance on crude oil, the Nigerian economy becomes vulnerable in case of any fall in oil prices while agriculture remains always dependable and reliable. The author's mention of the Tiv ethnic group as the leading yam producer that has been feeding the whole nation with yams, significantly relates his study with the present research.

The author further analyses the origin of the yam crop and attributes the origin to an indigenous theory. This, he rightly captures by stating that:

The Middle Belt Zone is referred to as the transitional belt, and is made up of outstanding ethnic groups of yam

production such as Tiv, Nupe, Igala, and Kabba- the Tiv and Igala have been yam cultivators.⁴⁴

After identifying the Tiv ethnic group with the discovery and masterliness of the yam crop, he further points out the significance of yam trade in this country. In his words:

Yam was the king of crops in the forest belt and a leading crop in the Middle Belt. It has been a major item of inter-regional and rural-urban and rural-rural trade in Nigeria.⁴⁵

This is akin to saying that yam trade was vital in harnessing national unity and integration as it brought a lot of people together in friendship, and it serves as an avenue for dieting and wealth creation.

Njoku's book is indeed relevant to this study in the above mentioned ways most especially some pitfalls, such as having a lot of sweeping generalizations without being specific. For example, "the new yam festival is universal in all the major yam farming communities". This does not apply to Tiv, whom he has already described as:

Yam cultivators per excellence and leading yam farmers in Nigeria... their pre-colonial history shows that they have been a land-hungry and expansionist people... thanks to their prodigy as (yam farmers)⁴⁶

Attempts to address these pitfalls will surely refocus the present study.

Kwaghkondo Agber's "The Tiv Economy in the Colonial Era" in *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria Area*,⁴⁷ is reviewed at this juncture in the course of the present study. The article under reference is written as part of contribution to the study of Tiv economy during the colonial period and featured in the above referenced book for publication in 2004.

The article is a historical analysis of Tiv economic transformation during the colonial era; how it started at the subsistence level and later induced and transformed to the present capitalist economic status, courtesy of the colonial economic transformation policies.

Agber's article on Tiv economy during the colonial period under review is relevant to the present study. The present study is coincidentally situated within the limits and scope of the article under review. Yam crop was instrumental to the development of the colonial

economy which brought about infrastructural transformation to Tiv land. The yam crop was used in feeding the huge Tiv labour-force at different colonial project sites, and this in turn increased yam production and trade across Nigeria. The growth of the general trade later resulted into the emergence of new social and economic orders, urbanization, roads and most importantly, the boosting of yam trade. This was effectively done as a result of railway construction from Igbo land to Makurdi in 1923. The present economic impact of yam trade among the Tiv people constitutes an important segment in the present study for more knowledge.

On the whole, Agber's non-inclusion of the key role the colonial infrastructures, like roads and railway, played in the transformation of the yam economy is viewed as an oversight which will be attended to in the present study.

D.C. Dorward's "An Unknown Nigerian Export: Tiv Benniseed Production, 1900-1960" in *Journal of African History*, XVI, 3 (1975) Pp.431-459⁴⁸ is another important article for the review exercise of the present study.

Dorward's article commences with the central argument on the general opinion about the misleading and prevailing notion that, Tiv people were lovers of leisure and very contented with their subsistence mode of economy until the vigorous intervention of colonialism. That it was only colonialism that enforced the transformation of Tiv traditional economy to its present capitalist system on Tiv land. And that, during the colonial epoch, after the enforcement of taxation, Tiv farmers were still producing only for consumption and a little left over for payment of taxes.

Dorward's argument debunks this eurocentric view about the Tiv people. He proves that Tiv agricultural economy started from the scratch and grew to its present position with time. He also disagrees that, the Tiv were "lazy people" or "pleasure seekers" but naturally hard working farmers. According to him, this further explains why Tiv preferred yam production with high labour intensiveness than cotton production during the colonial time.

Despite the colonial encouragement and monetary incentives, Tiv remained adamant and kept producing more yams than any other crop, except benniseed, which could serve as both food and cash crop, throughout the colonial period on their land. Dorward argued further that, in a strict economic sense, Tiv farmers were actually not practicing subsistence mode of economy on their land during the pre-colonial era. They were also involved in production for consumption, exchange, gifts, payment of dowries, rituals among others ever before the advent of colonialism on their land.

Dorward also posits that, before the beginning of colonialism in Tiv land, there was a form of external trade with Hausa, Udam and Jukun. At the international level, trade with the European firms on the banks of River Benue in yams, benniseed and tobacco was carried out and was referred to as the so called “silent trade”. That the colonial government policies and infrastructures only gave a greater impetus to Tiv yam production and trade.

Dorward’s article under review adds an important inspiration to the present study, specifically, on the development of yam trade among the Tiv people. His emphasis is on the remarkable expansion of yam trade outside the Tiv land as a result of the railway construction from Enugu-Makurdi in 1923. The insight provided on the steady growth of yam trade from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial period leaves nobody in doubt that yam economy for long has been contributing immensely to the infrastructural development of the Tiv land. It has equally been transforming from the food crop stage to both the food and cash crop of the Tiv people.

On the whole, Dorward’s contribution to the present study in terms of flow of ideas, knowledge on yam topic, critical appraisal of Tiv economic issues and provision of more information are highly insightful. These insights have become the driving force for more research works in the field of the development of Tiv-yam economy.

S.T. Yandev’s M.A. dissertation, titled “Yam Production and its Impact on the Tiv Economy and Society, 1921-2000 A.D.”⁴⁹ discusses the economic impact of yam production

on Tiv Society. These impact include, social prestige and class, infrastructural facilities and economic development which relate to the present study. His dissertation is an important additional attempt to provide knowledge on the development of yam economy in Tiv land. Yandev's work correctly identifies that at present, the major centres of yam production in Tiv land are in the North-eastern part of Tiv land comprising Logo, Ukum, and Katsina-Ala Local Government Areas of Benue State and Bali, Takum, Wukari, Ibi as well as Gashaka Local Government Areas of Taraba State, which tallied completely with the scope of the present study. This view point is in agreement with Manyong and Oyewole (1997) "But in recent time yam production has shifted to the Guinea and even Sudan savanna zones due to shortage of arable land in the forest areas under increasing population pressure".

Yandev also agrees that, high yield of yam used to qualify one for an enhanced social status, and such farmers were knighted *ashagbior and ashagba u kase* (prestigious men and women) in Tiv land. These were titles reserved for farmers with quantitative and qualitative harvest of yams. His work is relevant to the present study in that, it serves as one of the pace setters in making available yam production knowledge in written and documented form in academics at a higher level. This has been done by enumerating certain impact of yam economy in Tiv society of his study.

In as much as Yandev's work is related to only the productive aspect of yam crop in Tiv society, the present study significantly differs from his work in the following, various perspectives. The present work being a doctorate degree thesis is larger, wider and deeper in scope, especially in terms of date, area coverage and the intensity of research. Yandev's dissertation is centred on North-east and Central Tiv land, while the present thesis covers the whole of Tiv land in Central Nigeria and beyond. Yandev's study dates from 1921 to 2000 (79 years), while the present thesis covers a period from 1960-2000 (40 years).

Also, Yandev's dissertation deals with yam production only and its economic impact on the Tiv and in general terms, leaving out trade and certain key issues which would have

provided a holistic study on Tiv yam economy. The present study, on the other hand, being a study with bias on economic history concentrates on the aspect of yam trade which provides a critical, systematic and stage by stage examination of yam economy and focussed fully on both ‘production’ and ‘trade’ of yam crop. It begins from the subsistence level in the pre-colonial era through several transformational stages to the position of a key food and cash crop during the colonial period to its present stage. Thus becoming an economic main-stay as well as economic and socio-political transformer in Tiv land and beyond. In other words, Yandev’s dissertation though on yam economy, it does not give an in depth analysis and stage by stage development of the yam ‘trade’ in the transformation of Tiv socio-economic and political developments, while the present study focuses on such developments, their positive and negative impact in Tiv land.

While Yandev’s work simply mentioned the words ‘trade’ and ‘market’ for instance, the present study indepthly conceptualises the two and applies them to the production strategies and how they generated trade mechanism during and after the colonial Tiv land. Because Yandev’s work is not conceptually and theoretically anchored or frame-worked on any working theory or concept, it lacks practical application, clarity and definitions of key terms generally. For instance, he remarks at one point in his work that “one is not unaware of the negative attitude of the colonial government towards commodity trade or food sector” which actually calls for definition and more clarification of the concepts of “commodity production and trade”. This is completely lacking in his study. On the other hand, the present study deals critically and detailedly with the issues.

Another point of departure of Yandev’s dissertation from the present thesis is his use of sweeping and inaccurate expressions. When the tax system became very effective in Tiv land at the tail end of the colonial period, benniseed production was equated with the major source of raising money to pay taxes, known as *kpandegh* by the Tiv. Tiv farmers tended to produce as much benniseed as yams on their farm lands. Both the first and second fallow

lands '*akuul and tsa*' were jointly cultivated at once to enlarge the size of benniseed fields for more production of it in a cropping season without interfering with increased yam production. Yam crop was not a determinant of benniseed production. To ascertain the validity of this ascertainment from the oral source, three interviewees namely Ivokor Unongo⁵⁰ Debo Orakaa⁵¹ and Demeor Aka,⁵² confirmed that, benniseed planted on *tsa* land could yield more than the one planted on *akuul* plots during the colonial period in Tiv land. This finding confirms that in the present day situation, benniseed is mostly cultivated in the *Iharev/Nongov* area of Guma Local Government Area on the *tsa* plots of land, gives credence to the present view point. It is also doubtful to accept that "yam is the only crop which requires the edible parts as seed (for planting) to reproduce in a farming season of Tiv agricultural system". The reality of the situation on ground in Tiv land is almost a direct opposite of what is quoted in the above. Apart from cassava (*logo*) and sweet potatoes, *atsaka*, the rest of the crops cultivated in Tiv land, as elsewhere, since the pre-colonial time till date require their edible parts as seeds for reproduction in the next season. Be it yam seedlings, benniseeds, beans, soyabeans, millets, all others, except cassava and sweet potatoes.

On the whole, Yandev's dissertation gives the present study, a moral courage and deep sense of commitment to do a thorough study on Tiv yam production and trade. The present study will develop on this foundation to update the yam study for additional knowledge specifically on yam production and trade (yam economy) in Tiv land from 1960-2000.

Beyond Hate and Violence by Iyorwuese Hagher⁵³ is another text for review in the present context. The thrust of Hagher's book is on despotic legacy of the colonial government which resulted into a cumulative build-up against the Tiv ethnic group. These institutionalized corruption, murder, injustice, hatred, theft and other vices eventually degenerated into the Tiv massacre in Taraba, Nassarawa and Benue States in 2001.

The central issues in Hagher's book that relate to this review are many. First, he decries the unfair balkanization of the Tiv people into other States within Central Nigeria by both the colonial government and the present Nigerian government. This turned up to be the major source of land (the major factor for yam production) conflicts between the Tiv and their neighbours.

With a population of about 7.5million people, the Tiv have been excluded from having a state they could call their own. Worst of all, the balkanizations of the Tiv into four States is seen as a punitive step by both the Tiv and non-Tiv.⁵⁴

Secondly, Hagher's work touches extensively on the labour-force of yam production and the high magnitude of yam trade in Tiv land and beyond. He emphasises that, yam production economically made the Tiv people better-off than their neighbours, who became jealous of the Tiv economic prosperity on their own land. This brought about the main cause of the 2001 Tiv massacre aimed at sending out and restricting all the Tiv people scattered and farming yams in different States of Central Nigeria back to Benue State. The book further states that, "by the end of 2001, over a million Tiv were displaced from Nassarawa and Taraba States".⁵⁵

Thirdly, the aspects of yam production and trade in the study are touched in Hagher's work where many labour hands of yam production were destroyed and displaced. Yam trade was badly deterred by the total burnt down of many of its markets especially the leading yam market, Zaki-Biam in Tiv land. He asserted thus:

...the Nigerian Army have completely destroyed the following towns and villages so far- Gbeji, Vaase, Anyiin, Iorja, Ugba, Sankera, Zaki-Biam and Tse-Adoor in Logo, Ukum and Katsina-Ala Local Government Areas. These are 3 out of the 14 Local Government Areas in Tiv land of Benue State.⁵⁶

Importantly, Hagher deals with the issue of land crisis in his book, especially as it culminated into the Tiv ethnic hatred degenerating into the 2001 massacre. This massacre

greatly affected yam production and trade in the whole country. More significantly, the Tiv massacre of 2001 A.D. marked the beginning of the Tiv yam economic recession in Nigeria, thereby recording the year 2000 A.D. as the terminal point of the first phase of Tiv yam economic growth in this country. This importantly informed the choice of 2000 A.D. as the upper time limit of the scope for the present study (1960-2000 A.D.). However, Hagher's views as expressed are from the point of view of being a judge in his own case and, therefore, partly devoid of sound neutrality and objectivity where the present study requires a multi-disciplinary approach for its usage.

2.3 Conceptual Clarification

The purpose of explaining concepts and theories at this stage is to devise a suitable framework upon which all analysis and explanations on yam production and trade among the Tiv of Central Nigeria are anchored. It is also to ensure that all analytical issues are conceptualised in accordance with the contextual meaning of the study. The following concepts are defined and explained taking into consideration their sequential relationships to this study namely: the mode of production, the concept of trade and market, the theories of commodity production, and vent for surplus.

2.3.1 The concept of mode of production

Mode of Production refers to the joint operation of the forces of production. The materialist theory of history asserts that, "the manner in which human beings produce the necessities of life determines the form of society in which they live"⁵⁷. These include human labour, land and work implements on one hand, and on the other hand, social relations, the issue of ownership of property, its transfer as well as the relationship between the producers of labour and organizers of productive activities are implied.⁵⁸ From the above quotation, Tiv society when viewed in this light had a functional and organised mode of production hinged on agricultural production. This was obtainable in every pre-industrial society with the

interactive factors like the organization of land, labour-force, working implements and a well formed social relation all in place to facilitate this complex.

Land: In every agrarian society, land remains the most significant factor of production. With the availability of land and sufficient rainfall, it is only required of such communities to harness the technology of the hoe and cutlass. If such farming implements are made ready, then human labour could equally be mobilized for utilization of land. This was practically the case in Tiv society; as earlier said, there was a well conceptualised mode of production in form of agricultural production and land was of great value to this society. The Ownership of land was by birth as one could inherit farmland from parents or grandparents. In a situation where the dead had no relative to inherit their plot of land, it automatically became a property of the community.⁵⁹ Land also served as a commodity in colonial times, even to post-colonial era till date.

Labour: This is another very essential factor in the mode of production in which the family formed the base of production in the pre-colonial Tiv society. The unit, which was made up of the man (*Orya*), his wife or wives as the case may be, and children, all formed the working unit or labour force. The family unit (*Ya*) in Tiv community is of great relevance as a socio-political institution, just as they themselves in the economic aspect of the society. Any great *Ya* or family must work hard to become economically viable and numerically relevant by growth and expansion. The *Orya* in Tiv society is bestowed with the responsibility over the agricultural production. He ensures compliance to the farm calendar with the advent of every new raining season and also decides when to move to new farm land.

Social relations: In Tiv society, surplus farm outputs, such as yams, were exchanged by women in their various homesteads for commodities, like salt and others, while men exchanged prestigious commodities, such as brass rods and *tugudu* (a strip of cloth for cows and horses). But gradually, the need for markets emerged as a resting day from tedious farm activities. Thus, the compound markets emerged where men relaxed and drank *tashi* (alcohol)

and made economic exchanges with other people according to their needs. Social interaction and contracting of marriages between men and women was the second reason for the emergence of compound markets. Thirdly, women met at a more central location to acquire salt and soup items.

With the inception of colonialism, the compound market evolved into neighbourhood markets which were situated in more strategic locations. These markets were moved and situated strategically under the full control of traditional chiefs. That explains why the entire neighbourhood markets in the colonial era were named after traditional chiefs, who controlled them “spiritually” and physically such as Zaki-Biam, Ayati, and Kyado markets in Ukum Local Government Area, Ugba and Anyiin markets in Logo Local Government Area, Ihugh and Agbo in Vandeikya Local Government Area among others. These markets in strategic locations were also protected by non-aggression pacts such as killing or enslavement and others. This shows that, there were social relations and exchange of goods and services in the pre-colonial and colonial Tiv land. Trade is mentioned here but will be treated separately in detail.

2.3.2 Trade and Market

Trade was an important concept in the pre-colonial Tiv society even till present day.

The concept of trade and market, is defined (*Wikipedia*) thus:

Trade is the transfer of ownership of goods and services from one person or entity to another by getting something in exchange from the buyer. Trade can be called “commerce”, financial transaction or barter. While market is the main concept that allows trade to exist.⁶⁰

In the same vein, there is emphasis on the relationship between trade and market as defined by Karl Polanyi etal, (1959):

Inevitably, the market appears as the locus of exchange, trade as the actual exchange, and money as the means of exchange. Since trade is directed by prices and prices are a function of the market, all trade is market trade, just as all money is exchange money. The market is the generating institution upon which trade and money are the functions.⁶¹

The most common medium of exchange in Tiv pre-colonial society was by barter as goods and services were exchanged between both parties without the use of money. Trade in Tiv land during the study period can be grouped into local trade and Long Distance.

The local trade involves the barter and exchange system carried out by local Tiv people across their different locations. The external trade was carried out between Tiv people and other neighbouring ethnic groups along border towns. Ethnic groups like the Hausa and Bafun people from Cameroun, had traded with Tiv people by carrying about their wares from compound markets or market centres to another like Kyado, Ugba, Abinsi, Ibi, and others in the Northern Tiv land, while the Igbo and Idoma people traded with Tiv in markets like Tsar, Obudu, Yela and others. As regards to items exchanged or bartered, Y. M. Ochefu, argued that the inter-group economic relations and early European contacts also involved trade in yams, benniseed, shea butter, salt, soup condiments, brass rods, while the other ethnic groups from close by regions brought in 'dansiki clothes', weapons, gun powder, cows and horses⁶².

According to J.I Biam, in his study of "Yam Marketing in Tiv land"⁶³, suddenly there arose the necessity to find a day of rest from the rigours of work leading to the introduction of the fifth day rest and compound market system in Tiv land. The market was designed to serve as a day of rest and economic exchange based on ones needs. It also became a meeting point for social interaction and camaraderie where marriages and friendship were contracted and consolidated. Women also used this avenue as a central point to purchase unlimited variety of soup condiments as more persons brought their commodities for display and barter.

Other than the fact that these compound markets were economic avenues, they were also social platforms and political centres where by fresh ideas could spread. It was in the

light of this that the colonial government created a larger platform by encouraging the neighbourhood market system. These markets were located in more strategic and central points that were accessible to all within a given locality. These markets (neighbourhood markets) were under the purview of traditional chiefs who administered their operations and collected tokens. For example, Ticha market (now Tsar) where Ikyaagba used to collect yams as market dues in the 1950s in Vandeikya Local Government Area makes a good case study. The neighbourhood markets became a point for information dissemination by colonial administration, whereby colonial policies were announced, published and enforced.

Tiv land was also involved in both Long Distance trade or International Trade. This type of trade became more prominent during the colonial era. Claude Ake (1981) views it as: “A critical mechanism for the integration of African or colonial economies into the European or the metropolitan capitalist system”.⁶⁴ With the advent of the imperialist system into Tiv land, a systematic subjugation of the economic and political systems ensued. Tiv land, like any other African group, was forced into imperialist control. This occurred at the point where capitalism had generated a lot of momentum and was popular in practice. With capitalism came industrialization, and with industrialization came an increased demand for raw materials and even market outlets (vents) which were mostly lacking in Europe. Wealth accumulation and profit maximization were the very impetus for trade expansion. This led to the colonization process in African societies, including Tiv land.

An unequal trade justifying the tenets of the Vent-for-Surplus theory in the pre-colonial and colonial periods was carried out whereby exchange was not on even terms. Systematically, Tiv resources were exchanged for foreign goods that were not comparable in quality and quantity. Imperial agents like John Holt, Julius Berger, the Niger Company, and others, had brought simple and foreign commodities, like clothes, mirror, whisky, and dry gin to exchange for local products like yams, benniseed, shea butter, groundnuts, palm oil, gum and soya beans. These raw materials were loaded in tons and ferried through water channels

of Rivers Benue and Katsina-Ala to Europe, to feed the hungry industries of the capitalist industrial complex.

The concept of trade can be applied to explain the phenomenon of Tiv-yam production and trade from, 1960-2000 A.D. At the initial stage of the act of trade, when it was referred to as a system of barter, Tiv people were exchanging yams for other valuable goods, like salt for their survival. With the introduction of money capital into the Tiv economy, the dual roles of yam commodity as use-value and surplus-value transformed the crop significantly into food and cash crop, special commodity of the Tiv people during the colonial epoch.

At the level of international trade, D.C. Doward established that, the completion of the railway line in 1923 and Makurdi Bridge in 1932, boosted yam trade between the Tiv and Igbo people in Nigeria. The increase of yam trade among the Tiv and Igbo brought more economic benefits to Tiv land; transportation system, rural road network, location of yam markets, and others⁶⁵.

The concept of trade is also relevant to the present study for its provision of quite a lot of insights into the new dimension of capital intrusion into Tiv land. This action affected yam trade in Tiv land largely because it transformed the socio-economic life of the Tiv people in Nigeria. Emphasis on the introduction of the capital factor into the explanation and its application to Tiv-yam trade largely added impetus and repositioned the present study.

On this note, trade concept can be combined with other relevant concepts to meaningfully conceptualise according to the context the present study, since its explanations are specifically limited to aspect of the study in trade (yam trade) and the need to further search for other concepts to fully explain the whole study.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Commodity Production Theory

Naturally, anything identified as a commodity has value to mankind. To graduate from a single value to double value item, makes a product a commodity product. Lenin defined “commodity product thus: a commodity is in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing”.⁶⁶

At the stage of “commodity production” the item has both the use-value and exchange value. Take for example, yam food is eaten to quench hunger and the hoe tool is used in its cultivation. The issue of exchanging two separate commodities comes in because of one thing they have in common. Thus, every commodity item is created by human labour. The commodity, therefore, derives its value from the human labour dispensed for its production. There must be a certain amount of human labour for every nature of commodity to become fully a commodity product. All commodities, therefore possess value as a common characteristic. The value of each commodity is, however, decided by the amount of labour-time socially dispensed for its production. Ideally, exchanging commodities based on their values, human beings simply exchange their own labour results. This once led Karl Marx (Nan Ching) to state that: “a commodity is not just a material thing but a definite social relation between people concealed beneath a material wrapping”.⁶⁷

The history of commodity production, which means commodity for exchange, became known at a certain stage of human development in life. This was when social productive forces had emerged with social division of labour and conditions for commodity exchange, thereby leading to private ownership well after the primitive stage of human development. Over time, commodity production appears in three distinct forms: simple commodity production, the capitalist mode of commodity production and the socialist type of commodity production.

2.4.2 Simple commodity production

Essentially, the capitalist mode of commodity production can be referred to as the end product of simple commodity: the foundation for simple commodity production was the

individual private ownership of the means of production and individual labour; for instance, the individual Tiv farmers and artisans during the pre-colonial era. There were different conditions and labour times spent for the production of one similar kind of commodity, yam. Yam commodity was sold at the same price in the same markets, like Ibi, Zaki-Biam, Gboko, Abintse, and many others. Eventually, a small group of yam sellers earned plenty of yams and money, which were transferred into capital, while a good number of other Tiv yam sellers could not make it and went poor. The poor group had to sell their labour power to sustain life. During the colonial period, these conditions in Tiv land were transformed and necessitated the rise of the capitalist mode of production, especially, the capitalist relations of production. This led to the emergence of the capitalist mode of production in Tiv land ⁶⁸

2.4.3 Capitalist mode of production

The capitalist mode of commodity production is a situation where the capitalists command the means of production and put them into use for exploiting wage labour to get surplus-value. This explains why Lenin referred to the development of commodity production as “Capitalism, the highest stage of imperialism or exploitation”⁶⁹. Under this mode of production, the general products of labour take the form of commodities where labour power becomes commodity (sold). This system of production creates the economic relations between the exploiters, who are the capitalist, and the exploited, who are the labourers (workers). The end result is that, the system of production makes it possible for owners of the capital to acquire (amass) great wealth, while the workers get poorer day in day out. The difference between these modes of production is that while the socialist mode of production involves the whole people and collective ownership, the capitalist mode is about individual ownership and capital accumulation.

Equipped with a good understanding of how the capitalist mode of production relates to commodity production, Claude Ake also defined the theory of commodity production thus:

The capitalist mode of production is one in which capital has penetrated and taken over production. That means that

production is geared to sale, and thus becomes commodity production. A commodity is a production made expressly for sale.⁷⁰

Ake, further emphasised that, a commodity product is made with the cardinal purpose for sale, the main purpose of producing a commodity becomes mainly that of generating money through sales (wealth generation). That is, the process of production at this stage employs capital and is directed exclusively toward the creation of more wealth, where it becomes a commodity product. Capital at this stage becomes any value or economic asset which is used to generate more wealth or surplus-value. It is either in assets form or money and becomes transferable into goods and services for profitable sales. When it is loaned at interest rates, it becomes capital. When it is used to build a house to rent out for profit generating more money, it remains capital. Capital in itself acts as a process of self-augmentation, but not when used for building a house for self-use.

The theory of commodity production has to be related to an economic historical study of yam production and trade among the Tiv people of Central Nigeria from 1900-2000. In doing so, one agrees with Varvar⁷¹ that, commodization of the yam crop was encouraged by the colonial government in Tiv land through her economic transformation policies, like cash crop production, monetization and taxation. These economic policies encouraged more Tiv people to cultivate more land to produce more crops to satisfy the commercial needs of the colonial government, thereby getting more and more involved into the international capitalist system.

During the post-colonial era in Tiv land, both the development of the oil sector economy and the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 coupled with the improved infrastructural facilities drastically enhanced the process of transforming the yam crop. Yam crop was transformed from a mere staple food to a commodity product and to an immense commercial value at the level of micro economy of the Tiv people. Yam production was increased to provide food to the increased population of the working class in our urban settlements like in

Port-Harcourt, working in the oil sector of the Nigerian economy. So also, yam production was increased to meet up with the ever demanding challenges to feed soldiers and victims of the civil war after the war. The improved infrastructural facilities and transport system combined with all this led to what Varvar further referred to as “trade complex based on the exportation of foodstuff particularly yams”.⁶⁰ Really, this relationship between the present study and the theory of commodity production makes the theory suitably qualified to constitute the theoretical framework for the study.

Finally, the theory of commodity production as defined and sufficiently explained in the above, presents better and sound explanations, specially on ‘production’ of the historical phenomenon of yam production and trade in the study area, more so that it will be supplemented with vent-for-surplus theory to framework the aspect of trade and market in the study. The theory also explains how yam was produced as a simple commodity and later transferred to the capitalist production exhaustively explaining the inter-relationship between yam production and it’s trade in Tiv land. It is, therefore, chosen as a theoretical framework for the study of yam production and trade in the study area, 1960-2000A.D.

2.5 Vent-for –surplus theory

The theory of vent-for-surplus was propounded by Adam Smith in 1776 and later in 1958 was revised by Hla Myint. Adam Smith defined it thus:

Between whatever places foreign trade is carried, they all of them derive two distinct benefits from it. It carries out that, surplus part of the produce of their land and labour for which there is no demand among them, and brings back in return for it something else for which there is a demand. It gives a value of their superfluities, by exchanging them for something which may satisfy a part of their wants, and increase their enjoyments...⁷²

According to the above definition, with trade in place, the narrowness of the home market does not hinder the division of labour in any particular branch of manufacturing (production) from being carried to the highest perfection. The opening up of a more extensive market for whatever part of the produce of their labour may exceed the in-house consumption. Trade,

thus, encourages improving its productive powers and to augment its annual produce and increase the real revenue and wealth of the trade societies. Essentially, the central argument in the Vent-for-Surplus theory as reviewed by Myint is to provide a suitable explanatory model on how the colonised States of Africa, Latin America, Asia and other underdeveloped nations would partake in foreign trade for mutual benefits and economic developments.

Smith explained that, foreign trade exports out that surplus part of the produce of their trading countries-(land and labour) for which there is no demand among them. This clearly explains that a country or commodity, especially in a developing nation like Nigeria and Tiv community may be able to gain from the international trade by exporting the products of factors like land, labour, raw materials, and many others that would not have been employed at all without trade.

In summary, the explanation and application of the Vent-for-Surplus Model, M.O. Odey in his book, *The Development of Cash Crop Economy in Nigeria's Lower Benue Province, 1910-1960* articulates five notable points on the revised version of the Vent-For-Surplus Model.⁷³ These key points are self-explanatory and applicable to the present study.

The first point explains that, during the 19th century, economies in the colonial territories were isolated and subsistent for lack of both transportation and communication systems and the unaffordable costs before the inception of the international trade. The inception of the international trade, resolved all of this.

Two, these isolated or closed economies in the colonial African States, prior to the international trade had the underutilized potential surplus capacity for output (Vent). This was as a result of the underdevelopment condition or non-use of certain factors of production in their home territories. On this very point, Hla Myint argued, that where land as a factor of production existed in surplus and labour factor relatively scarce, it was the labour supply that became the problem to the increased production. Even if the land factor all of a sudden matches with the surplus labour, the labour factor would still remain “unproductive” for

reasons of economic backwardness in the colonial communities, like the lack of demand in Tiv land of Nigeria.

Thirdly, “narrowness of home markets” was a derivative of the absence of productive capacity and isolation of economies in the African colonies. Any increased development in both transportation and communication system would accelerate international trade or guarantee the necessity for such facilities in the colonies. On this point, Myint argued that it must not necessarily be explained by the concept of comparative cost (theory).

The fourth point also clarifies that the Vent-For-Surplus Model relies solely on the international trade for the provision of a “*Vent*” or an effective demand for export commodities of the affected communities in the colonies, like the Tiv community in central Nigeria, under the then British Colony. Any increase in demand for raw materials in the colonial Tiv land which the British industries needed direly was the primary drive that brought the colonial resources into production. It must not so much be “their reallocation” of which, without the existence of the trade they would still have remained unused.

Finally, the model explains that small scale producers in the colonial African societies, like the Tiv, were encouraged to take active part in the export trade by the presence of the finished goods imported to them from abroad. This was their major source of incentive for increased capacity in form of “the energy and thought of the natives”⁷⁴

The application of the five articulations of the Vent-For-Surplus Model to Tiv-yam development phenomenon is visibly seen at a stage of affecting an outlet for surplus productive capacity and labour. At the time Tiv youths were sent to Jos for mining and abroad for soldiering, the money in exchange was brought back to Tiv land for development. Export expansion in labour-intensive manufacturing industries of Britain also promoted the growth of industrial output and transfer of large volumes of surplus labour from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector, like the construction of railways (*Adogon*), hospitals, bridges, tin mining (*Kwaza*), and others. All these put together contributed to improve transportation system, urbanization and road network in the colonial Tiv land.

In fact, an important feature of the theory is that all developing countries possessed “surplus productive capacity” left unexploited because of the poor state of internal economic organisation and low domestic demand. The function of trade in this inelastic situation becomes that of providing new effective demands for the output of surplus resources as against the comparative advantage theory of reallocation of resources. In short, such surplus capacities by this process became export materials.

In this case, the Vent-for Surplus model applies to the present study when the surplus productive capacity of yams, benniseed, groundnuts and others existed above domestic consumption demand that remained unexploited before its exposure to the international trading opportunities. Access to the British international markets served as increased consumption demand markets and inducement to employ the underutilized productive capacity of the Tiv people. Vent-For-Surplus model impacts greatly on the total growth in staple production, invaluable impacting on the Tiv rural welfare generally. For instance, during the pre-colonial era, commercial production of yam crop at the international level was largely limited to coastal areas of water ways like Rivers Benue and Katsina-Ala. Alexander Boyd confirmed that before the opening up of Tiv land, yam trade between the Tiv farmers and foreign firms was restricted at the banks of River Benue.⁷⁵ This goes to further prove that lack of rural roads was a severe constraint to the expansion of commercial yam production in the pre-colonial Tiv land, more so that yam crop is a perishable commodity and very heavy to carry about frequently for long distant trading purposes.

The development and expansion of commercial yam trade was a result of mobilizing new resources that previously were absent with little economic value, like roads, and railway, transport system(s) and many others. On the whole, the most dynamic feature of Vent-for-Surplus model in relation to Tiv-yam production is the presence of underemployed resources prior to their under-utilization in export production, like surplus labour force and of course land for yam cultivation, apart from disposing yam surpluses. By implication, the expansion of international trade in Tiv area implied that substantial improvements were made in

economic organisation and human capital, for instance, proper and effective utilization of fertile land and human labour force for yam cultivation in Tiv land.

On the whole, the theory of Vent-for-Surplus emphasises its application on colonial economies with little consideration on cost benefits and comparative advantage aspects. In as much as the theory can strengthen the trade in yam aspect of the present study, it cannot suitably, explicitly and sufficiently serve as a theoretical framework for the entire study for its insufficient explanations for cost benefits and comparative advantages of the individual trading communities involved in the production aspect of the yam study.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature that is relevant to the subject matter. The review also generated information that this study would build on. Information, such as the economic structure of the Tiv, the origin of yam production and trade. In as much as the reviews provided useful information for the development of this present study, all of them had lucunas in situating specifically in the current study. The lucunas were found most in the areas of the scope of the study, both in terms of its geographical and time frames. The works also did not meet the aim and objectives of this present study. Consequently, the knowledge which this present study generates upon conclusion would only be close to the previous knowledge generated by the previous literature on yam production and trade in the study area or elsewhere, but would not be the same.

The chapter attempts at providing a theoretical tool to be used in analysing yam production and trade in Tiv land between 1960 and 2000. It argues that the Vent-for-Surplus theory is most suitable in analysing yam trade, however, it cannot sufficiently serve in explaining yam production in Tiv land during the period due to its inadequate explanations for the productive and comparative advantage aspects of the yam study. Therefore, the two theories of commodity production and the vent-for-surplus are found to be most suitable to framework and anchor the present study.

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CHAPTER THREE

PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE TIV SOCIETY

3.1 Introduction

According to Claude Ake, what makes the economic structure outstanding among others such as the political system, belief systems, social systems, and others in human societies world wide is it’s ability to influence the characters of the other structures¹. With the background knowledge of the economy of a society, the general characters of other structures such as the social system, belief systems, political system and others in such a society are also attained. This goes to explain why it is generally agreed that the economic structure of any

given society automatically forms the foundation upon which the rest of the structures are built.

Certain economic elements therefore determine causation in the historical events of the human societies. For the better understanding of the key economic terms of ‘production’ and ‘trade’ as well as how they later factored, the development of yam economy during the colonial and post colonial periods in Tiv land, this chapter provides the necessary background knowledge. The chapter will further attempt to relate production and trade to the agricultural production, especially yam crop production, identifying briefly and linking it to other sectors of production in the pre-colonial Tiv land. All these sectors combined to provide the foundation upon which yam production and trade sprang up in the pre-colonial era among the Tiv people and continued to grow till date in Tiv society. How yam production and trade continued to influence the development of yam economy from the pre-colonial period to date on Tiv land and what circumstances facilitated or impeded the development of yam economy will be covered. Subsequently, the origin and development of the key terms, “production” and “trade” as well as their fusion into a single eventful phenomenon of producing yams purposely for trade in Tiv land will be traced and narrated to present the roots and direction of the present study. All these and many other related issues will be further stressed to give credence to analysis on the historical phenomenon of yam production and trade in the subsequent chapters of the study.

Tiv economy in the pre-colonial period is said to be broadly divided into the agricultural sector, which involved farming, fishing, hunting, livestock keeping and the crafts sectors. All these sectors combined significantly to the development and expansion of yam economy in Tiv land and will be briefly analysed in this chapter. Agricultural production, however, was the main economic activity especially in the pre-colonial Tiv society.

3.2 Organization; Land; Labour & Tools.

The pre-colonial socio-economic organizations in the pre-colonial society of the people were influentially centered on Tiv land, which equally served as the main factor for agricultural production. As an agrarian community, the pre-colonial people considered land as the most dependable source of livelihood. According to Wegh,² Tiv who are said to have originated from one progenitor, known as Tiv, from where they derived the name of their ethnic group and their language, do not consider their land as mere track of the earth on which they live. To them, Tiv land is a hereditary commodity from their great grand fathers and it remains up to date sacred in their society. According to their oral traditions, it really took their fathers a lot of hardship and agonies to acquire and preserve the land for them and their incoming generations exclusively. Tiv land is exclusively for them and is always referred to as the Tiv land, Tar Tiv. The pains, fatigues, stress, wars, long treks and ritual sacrifices to appease spiritual fathers of the world for protection as well as fertility of their great grand fathers provided them with enough justification not to sell their land; but could go extra miles to guard and protect it against any encroachment, confiscation and any other means of deprivation from its use.

Accordingly, arrangements of the Tiv traditional settlement patterns were said to be based on land allocation and accommodation of all their closely related kinship groups. This was in accordance with the genealogical spread of their respective domains within Tiv land, Tar Tiv. The Kinship groups were ranging from the smallest nucleus compound level called 'ya' and Tiv, headed by the compound head, 'orya', upwards to the kindred level, or 'iye-ingyor' level, headed by the eldest person in each of the kindred as leaders of the kindred levels to the district level, called 'ityo' to the last level of Tiv land, 'Tar Tiv.' The various compounds based on family groups from one kindred were located near each other on one particular territorial area next to the other kinship kindreds. Under this arrangement, all kindreds of one territorial zone were of the same genealogy and belonged to one district and the territorial land coverage belonged to 'ityo' or the entire district. Every married male adult

had his own share of the 'ityo' land. All the districts located, district by district across the territorial land coverage of the Tiv area, called the Tiv land and exclusively belonged to the entire Tiv living on earth where they draw their legitimacy and allegiance.

During our subsequent interviews, elder, G.T. Gwebe revealed that the significance of this traditional settlement pattern in relation to the pre-colonial society was that quite a lot of gaps or land areas were created in between one compound and another³. Then, between one kindred and another, so was it between one district and another and even between the Tiv land and the land of their neighbours. The economic wisdom in creating all these gaps was to allow for the expansion of yam farms and other crops as well as grazing or rearing of the domestic animals. The essence was also to avoid communal conflicts over farm or grazing land. The gaps were also used to provide temporary settlement land for strangers and 'anigbiaav' in Tiv land.

Land:

Agricultural production naturally depends on land, labour and farming tools such as hoes and cutlass in the pre-colonial period. During the pre-colonial period, the combination of these factors sustained and nurtured agricultural production to a high level of providing food and other utility needs of Tiv people before the colonial intervention on their land. As earlier mentioned under this chapter, traditional Tiv people rated land so high and over valued it because of the agrarian nature of their survival which over depended on land as the main source of their livelihood. With the availability of fertile land at their disposal in the pre-colonial time, Tiv people needed labour force and farm tools to effect the production of their valuable crops for living.

Labour:

Essentially, it is human labour that ultimately makes nature very bearable for human existence and the provision of his needs. According to C. Ake⁴ for instance, it is only with human labour or work that the fish in the water becomes nourishment in the body, grass and

wool become clothing for prevention of cold and bring about beauty, yams becoming a veritable source of food and wealth. Education wise, a student who does not read hard would not pass his examination. This further suggests that labour or work should be rated higher than any other means to provide for other socio-economic means of living. Labour to a large extent does everything about the man's material existence. Through the functions of labour, man also creates his ways of life, history and even his consciousness for living in this world. On this note, it is generally agreed that "man is as he works".⁵ On the whole, with the availability of the natural land and possession of human labour, the pre-colonial Tiv people needed their ingenuity to invent the farming tools to complete the process of crops production for survival in their traditional society. Bohannan once remarked that Tiv say work is a good thing and spur one another to work with a chant that is a work a bad thing? No! Work won't kill a man. He further agreed that Tiv work hard and that hoeing fields is the most important work of the Tiv.

Tools of land cultivation (farming):

After the stage of securing land and being in possession of their labour to farm their crops, farming implements were required to complete the process of cultivating land for crops production. It was the necessity to create tools for farming that spurred or incited the ingenious power of the pre-colonial people to invent the hoes and cutlass as traditional farming tools in the pre-colonial period. As already mentioned, crafts work, was another economic activity in Tiv land during the pre-colonial era. They engaged in wood work, blacksmith industry and textile production. The products that emerged from these activities included hoes, machetes, axes and other were the main tools of farming crops. Other products such as furniture, utensils like spoons, knives and others were put to household use as well as items of trade. In fact, hoes machetes, axes, knives bows, arrows, canoes and others remained up to date the tools for farming, hunting, wars, fishing and yam production in Tiv land. It is important to also mention here in passing that another aspect of Tiv pre-colonial

economy was quarrying which involved quarrying of clay for the production of earthen items, such as pots, grinding stones and other implements. With the invention of the farming tools, all the three requirements for crops production were met and it began in earnest on the pre-colonial Tiv land.

3.3 The Origin of Yam Production.

Yam a food crop and to a certain extent, cash crop belongs to annual root tuber-bearing plants or root crop species, botanically referred to as *dioscorea spp.* It is a valuable tuber crop in the tropics, with more than 600 species out of which ten species produce edible tubers and only six are cultivated in Africa.⁶ The most common species widely grown in West Africa include: white yam (*Dioscorea rotundata*), water yam (*Dioscorea alata*), and yellow yam (*Dioscorea Cayenensis*). As earlier stated, West Africa is the highest yam producing Zone in the world (75% cultivation) and Nigeria is the highest yam producing country in West Africa.⁷ In Nigeria, Benue State, with an average land area of 226,000 hectares, produces 2.8million tons as the leading producer with the highest amount of yams produced from Tivland.⁸

Historically, there are arguments about the true origin of yam in the world. The main argument unfolds two perspectives. The first perspective is the one spearheaded by Gordon Childe.⁹ This perspective strongly speculates that, based on the hypothesis of crop diffusion, yam crop first originated from the Far East and gradually diffused to other parts of the world. The second perspective on the origin of yam is championed by Coursey¹⁰, Chevalier¹¹, Burkill¹², Akiga¹³, Isichie¹⁴ and others. This perspective argued that yam crop is indigenous to West Africa, based on archaeological findings, dated back to 500B.C. in the early Iron-Age period. These renowned botanists, agriculturalists and historians have all agreed that the most important edible species of yam, botanically called *Dioscorea Rotundata* and *Dioscorea Cayenensis*, are indigenous to West Africa.¹⁵ Coursey, once, emphasised in all probability that the cultivation of these two species is very ancient and played an important role in the development of the entire agricultural system in the sub-Saharan Africa. He notably recalled

two food plants of the ancient production that are up to date most predominantly produced in Ghana and Nigeria namely, yam (*Dioscorea rotundata*) and oil palm (*elaeisguineensis jacq*) Isichie also corroborated that, the Nigerian yam probably originated from the Niger Bend Cradle of the West African Yam Zone.

Based on the report of Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) of 2003, yams are produced on 5 million hectares in about 47 countries of the world. In 2005, world production was 48.7 million tonnes with African continent accounting for 94 percent. In Africa, Nigeria is the leading producer of yams with 31,136,000 tons in 2007. But Ghana leads Africa in yam export, while Benin Republic has the highest average yam consumption per capita followed by Cote d' Ivoire. In Nigeria too, yam consumption has been on increase hitting 9,211,400 metric tons in 2003. (FAO Website; <http://www.iita.org/cms/details/research-summary.aspx?Articleid=268 & zoneid=63>)

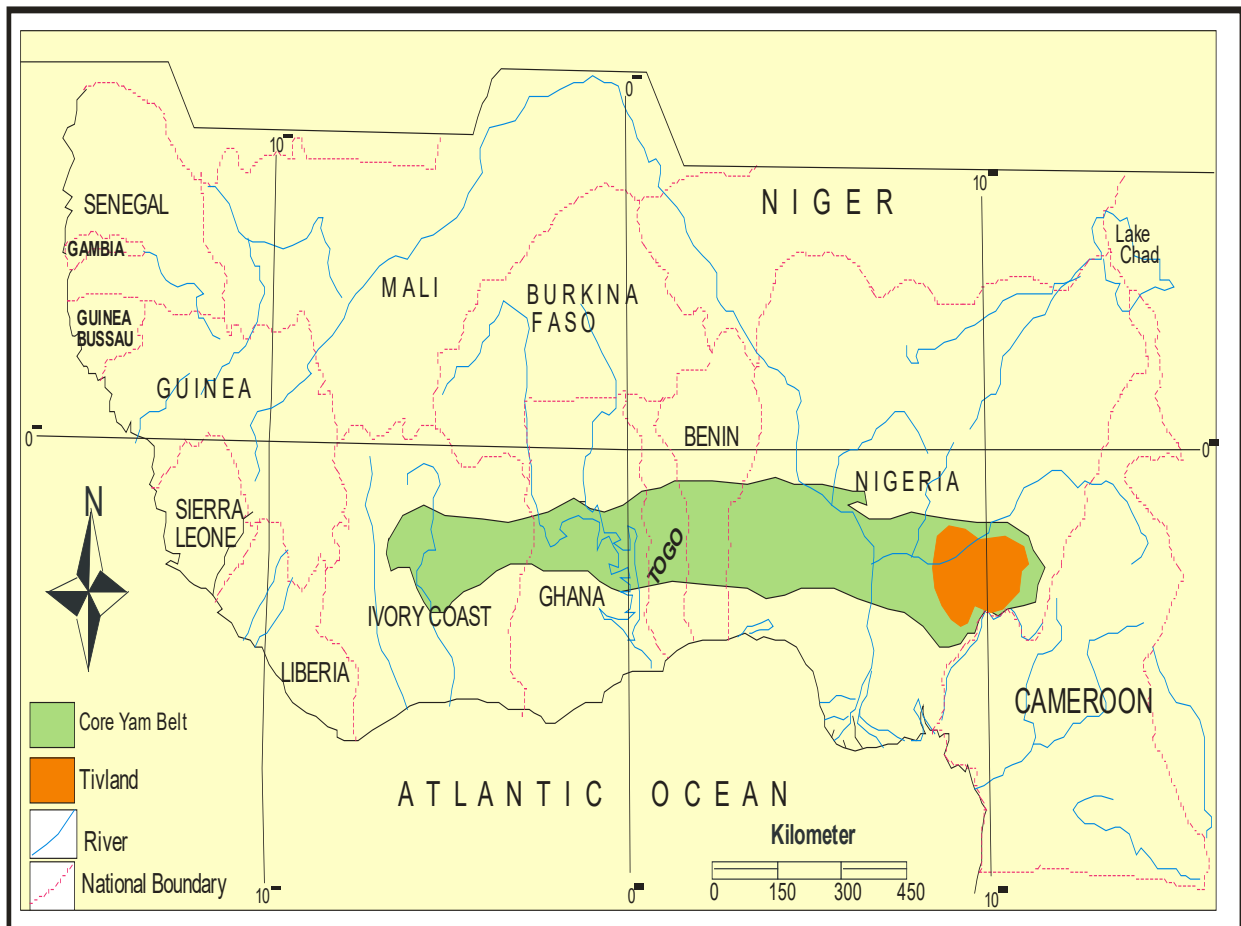
Accordingly, in Nigeria, major yam producing states are Benue, Kwara, Niger, Ondo, Ogun, Ebonyi, Delta, Plateau, Taraba, Abuja and Nassarawa, which now exports 'pepa' yam to Europe.

That Benue State is the largest yam producing state in Nigeria (Umar et al, 2008) with an average annual production of 2.87 million tons from about 226,000 hectares of land. In Benue State Ukum is the highest yam producing Local Government Area (LGA) followed by Katsina-Ala and Logo LGAs, which make up the present Sankera geo-political area of the North Eastern Tiv land.

According to Akiga¹⁶, yam production discovery was indigenous to Tiv land in ancient time through an orphan in a nearby forest. Even though grain crops, like beans, guinea-corn, millet, and other crops, were already in the Tiv agricultural productive system; yam overran them in terms of production. This was initially attributed to the favourable disposition of the yam food to Tiv people and their labour system for crop cultivation followed by the availability of fertile farmland at their disposal in the Central part of Nigeria. With time, yam crop was transformed into a valuable commodity for trade. These perspectives on the origin of yam provide valid historical evidence; more so that the available

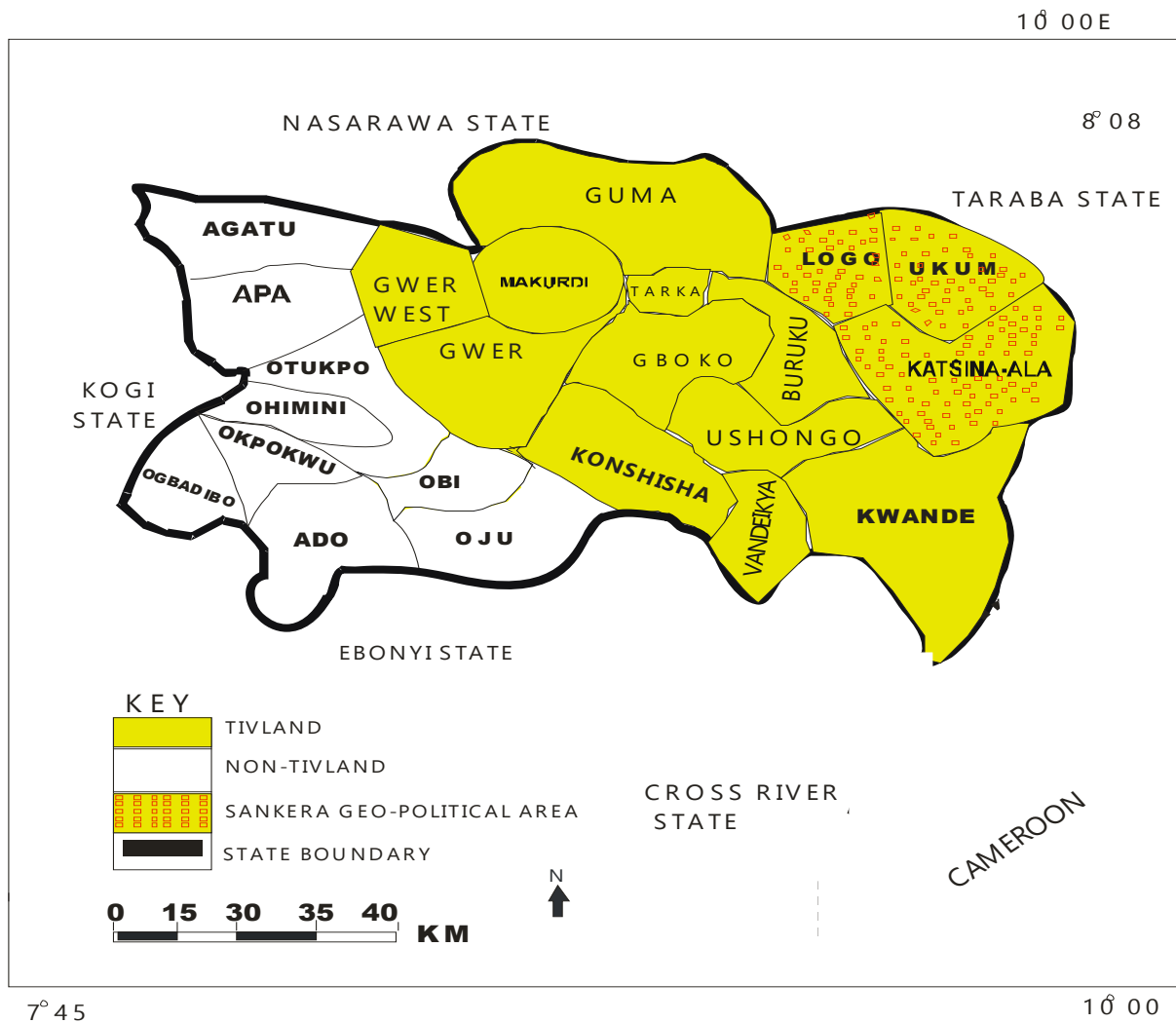
facts so far suggest that yam cultivation has been with the Tiv right from the time of their earliest known history. This made its production to steadily expand from the pre-colonial through colonial to post-colonial era. According to Njoku and Yandev, Tiv land is the highest producer of yam in Nigeria as indicated on the map showing Tiv land in Benue State of Nigeria ¹⁷

MAP III: The Map of West Africa, showing Yam Belt and the location of Tiv land within the Yam Belt.



Source: D.G. Coursey (1966), p.38

MAP IV: The Political Map of Benue State highlighting Tiv land.



Source: Bureau of Land and Survey, Makurdi, 2013

Essentially, crop production especially yam was the the main economic activity in the pre-colonial Tiv land. It involved the production of a wide range of produce such as cotton, guinea corn, beans, millet, maize, benniseed and a host of others as well as different varieties of yams (iyough) such as anumbe, angawa, agbo, and others. All these crops were produced for family consumption and surpluses for exchange by barter for other goods and services. Tiv crops were yearly cultivated in accordance with the traditional farming calendar of crop rotation of the people.

As earlier stated, before the arrival of yam, there were already other crops such as millet, beans guinea-corn, benniseed, maize and others in the traditional agricultural farming system of the Tiv people. The inception of yam into their agricultural system brought about changes into their traditional system of farming. This was as a result of the accidental

discovery of the yam crop from a nearby forest by a desperate orphan who went into the nearby forest desperately in search of food during the famine period. With the inception of yam into the Tiv traditional farming season it took over the leading role of rotational crops cultivation cycle. With the leading role, yam could determine the space and amount of all the crops that would be cultivated after it in a cropping annually season. Playing the leading role, yam was placed in a first position order to benefit from the soil fertility of the plot before other subsequent crops to be planted later on that same piece of land. As a first beneficiary of the soil fertility, it was produced in big tubers as well as in large quantities because of the large space of land occupied in preparation to accommodate other subsequent crops to be planted.

The researchers' curiosity to know why yam which arrived late into the Tiv traditional farming system over ran the other crops, a face to face verbal interview was conducted among yam farmers in the North-Eastern part of the Tiv land. They included Abeega Akawe¹⁸ from Anyiin town, Andrew Daka¹⁹ from Ater-Ayange village, Azor Akombo²⁰ from Vaase settlement, and Gbakaan Ashe²¹ from Kyado town and many others. All of them agreed in separate interviews that yam is the most preferred food crop of the Tiv people that suits the dietary nature of their food consumption. According to these farmers in their separate interviews, till date, what keeps them healthier and stronger during the yam farming seasons is the nourishing and energizing nature of the yam food that is served to them, three times a day in different forms. Boiled yams with fried/pestled benniseed in the morning on the farm, pounded yams with 'egusi' and other soups in the afternoon on the farm and light pounded yams with vegetable soup in the evening before going to bed for the next days farming.

These revelations from the farmers, suggest that yam crop had the most favourable disposition food consumption among the Tiv people than other crops from the pre-colonial time till date. There is further indications to support idea that yam crop despite its late arrival in the agricultural farming system, became their most favourable crop because of its suitable

dietary fitting to traditional eating habits. These assertions therefore corroborate R.W.G. Briggs' remarks in the colonial time that:

Yam is the staple food crop and a family's well being depends entirely on the success or otherwise of this crop. Grain is also used for food but as a rule only when yams are not available.²²

As earlier stated, the inception of yam into Tiv traditional farming system altered the hitherto cropping rotational cycle of the Tiv people. Therefore, yam tookover the leading role and was farmed first on a virgin plot of land in a cropping season. The traditional system of the people over time evolved a stage by stage pattern of yam production with a labour divide schedule between women and men in their pre-colonial society. First of all, a fertile plot of land was selected by the '*orya*' or compound head and all the bushes and shrub were weeded. This first stage of land clearing was called '*ihyande i huran*' in Tiv and was carried out jointly by women and men. The second stage was the hoeing of mounds on the cleared plot, known in Tiv as '*sule*' *u kahan*'. This second stage was considered the most tasking and tedious stage to be carried out by only men. The third stage was the planting of yam seeds on the yam mounds also called in Tiv, '*sule u lôôn*' and was done exclusively by women, Then, there was the fourth stage of weeding the farm, also known in Tiv as '*sule huran*' which was exclusively done by the women. '*Akôr agberen*' was the fifth stage of yam harvest and was also scheduled exclusively for women. The last stage was '*akôr a kuran*', implying the transporting home of yam proceeds harvested at the end of the season. This was also carried out by women, usually in a group.

The Tiv traditionally mode of their crops production was close to communalism, whereby any economic organisation, including land, was owned by the family, land was a crucial factor in the pre-colonial Tiv society till date. As already argued, first, it was on land that the people settled and secondly, all economic activities were carried out on land. The family was the basic unit of production and land the principal means of production. Being a near communal society, ownership of land among the Tiv was based on kinship which also

formed the bases for social organisations. That is to say, no individuals owned land, rather, it was the family that owned land and was appropriated by the eldest living male, ‘*orya*’ of each family.

Tseror summed this when he stated thus:

Pre-colonial Tiv society was based on the communal ownership of the land and labour which were the main forces of production. The social formation was communal with lineage and class ties. Land belongs to the entire community in such a way that every member of the community had access to it for the purpose of cultivation.

23

Livestock keeping as earlier mentioned was one of the critical aspects of the pre-colonial economy of the Tiv people, at household levels. Pre-colonial Tiv people domesticated animals such as cows, goats, sheep, pigs, doves, fowls, and others for consumption, ritual performances, gifts, exchange by barter and others to meet up with their utility needs and services. The domestication of animals especially cows by certain people in the pre-colonial Tiv society also served as a demonstration or display of wealth, affluence and prestigious status. One in possession of plenty cows was respected as a rich and wealthy person over and above his age-grades. This was because cows were so much valued and were the only livestock worthy of exchange for wife. Traditionally, a man with plenty of cows, and wives as well as children was recognised as ‘*shagbaor*’ and accorded the respect of the most prestigious and influential persons in their own communities in Tiv land. As a mark of class recognition, during the colonial era which marks the beginning of the present study period, these were the type of people commended to the colonial administrators to be crowned as the drum chiefs ‘*Tor Agbande*’ during the colonial Tiv land.

There were also other economic activities worthy of mention under this preliminary chapter. They included cloths and basket weaving, beer brewing ‘*tashi*’ blacksmith and others. Clothes weaving for instance, was making use of the cotton wool harvested on the farms, purposely for use and exchange by barter for other goods. The traditional woven

clothes of importance in those days were the ‘*tugudu*’ ‘*gbagir*’ and ‘*godo*’ which served the purposes of burial and exchange in the markets for ‘*bashi*’ iron rods, ‘*sokpo*’ and wives apart from wearing them on special ceremonial occasions.

Apart from brewing the local beer ‘*tashi*’ on special occasions, during the wedding ceremony or burial, ‘*tashi*’ was also sold in the market for refreshment and entertainment as past-time activities. The pre-colonial Tiv society was self-contented, producing almost all their needs for survival. This agrees with D.C. Dorwords’ assertion that the pre-colonial Tiv society was almost an economically closed society. Tiv pre-colonial society was closely living in a world of her own, self-contented and so satisfied with her over dependence on the farms as the only means of livelihood. P.Bohannan writing in the colonial period on Tiv land, asserted that:

But Tiv are vitally interested in their farms... I found that a dozen or so of the key words I heard most often were words which had to do with land in one way or another... I was getting a great deal of “land tunure material”²⁴

3.4 Trade In The Pre-Colonial Tiv land

Trade was another economic activity of high importance to the Tiv in the pre-colonial era, it was conducted both on short and long distances. This implied that the pre-colonial Tiv traded among their immediate family members and nearby communities and with families and communities that were remotely located both in terms of geographical proximity and socio- cultural diversity. Trade in the pre-colonial time originated for the exchange system of the barter process. Surplus goods and services were exchanged for other needed goods and services.

3.4.1 The Origin of Indigenous Trade in The Pre-Colonial Tiv Society

According to Bohannan²⁵, the lineages in the traditional set up of the pre-colonial Tiv society, maintained neighbourhood markets where activities of trade and market were confined. He went further to describe this type of trade or marketing system as a situation in which “a society’s exchangeable goods fall into two or more mutually exclusive spheres,

each marked by different institutionalization and different values” ie the multi-centric system of the economy.

The multi-centric system of the pre-colonial Tiv trade was said to possess three spheres namely the ‘*yiagh*’ phase, the ‘*shagba*’ phase and rights in human beings or the women category:

The ‘*yiagh*’ sphere was characterised mainly by subsistence items of trade consisting mostly of food and various household objects which were exchanged commonly with each other; but less easily converted into other forms of wealth. All goods under this category exchange hands by barter and women monopolised this sphere exclusively exchanging yams for salt and other condiments. Apart from this, goods were distributed by way of gift making or through marketing.

The ‘*shagba*’ sphere was closely associated with prestige. The prestigious goods included the likes of brass rods or ‘*bashi*’ in Tiv, cattle, ritual offices and slaves. The third sphere which was the right in human beings or women category, basically constituted the exchange system of its own before the knowledge of money came into the Tiv land.

The purchase of goods under the ‘*shagba*’ sphere was by means of ‘*tugudu*’, a large white cloth or ‘*bashi*’ and cows. These items were in those days considered as medicines or magical rites. On the other hand, the women category was characterised by markets and marriage institutions ‘*Bashi*’ and steel rods, or ‘*sokpo*’ in Tiv were the means of payment in use.

According to the market arrangements of this type, food crops were exchanged for food and could also be exchanged for brass rods; the brass rods could also be exchanged for the highest valued goods: women and slaves. Based on the Tiv traditions, the reverse or downward order of exchange items was irresponsible and considered illogical and most unfortunate in the pre-colonial Tiv society.²⁶

Another interesting aspect of this exchange system was closely knitted to the Tiv traditional kinship and lineage institutions. These institutions provided power and security for the individual persons, the people therefore held in check any desire by anybody to engage in the entrepreneurial activities in the market. According to Bohannan²⁷, the Tiv pre-colonial system of exchange simply encouraged the development of conversions and conveyances at the expense of the spread of markets. Conveyance were morally neutral while Tiv people had a very strong moral quality to conversions.

Conversions were not mere exchange of equivalent goods, but had a definite moral dimension therefore they formed a strong source of motivation to individual actions. For example, in the pre-colonial Tiv society, it was the highest level of irresponsibility for one to exchange slaves for food. Up to date, Tiv are scornful of any one of them who is merely rich in subsistence goods (or sheer money) because if you have money and don't convert it into material wealth, the reason must be personal inadequacy.²⁸ One was therefore in the pre-colonial Tiv society expected to invest wealth by converting upwards into a morally superior category. In this case, the traditional society valued it more to convert subsistence wealth into prestigious wealth and both into women and children which was social maximization and was their ultimate economic objective of the pre-colonial economy to them and their society at that time.

3.4.2 Emergence of Indigenous Yam Trade in the Pre-colonial Tiv land (1900-1915)

As stated in the opening part of this chapter, yam was one of the items of trade in Tiv land, specifically under the first phase of Tiv trade dominated by women during the pre-colonial period. Trade in general goods started as far back as when different African societies began to trade among themselves or between different neighbouring communities in Tiv land. By then, it was difficult to distinguish between specific kinds of trade at that local level, because the basic need for exchange was to serve people's immediate needs. It was under such circumstances that yam was identified among other local items of trade like salt,

benniseed, beans, millet, chickens, guinea-corn and other items. All the items were exchanged at the designated compound markets, during the pre-colonial period in Tiv land under the local trade. This background suggests, that yam trade in Tiv land began during the pre-colonial period.

In addition, Tiv pre-colonial yam trade was dominated at the first level of *yiagh* which consisted mainly of food and household items, freely exchanged for others but were not really converted into other forms of wealth. The utility needs and services of the yam crop enlarged its production and marketing in the pre-colonial Tiv land significantly. It also brought about closer interactions among Tiv people in their domain. Indeed, when yam emerged as a common item of barter for salt exchange, the most valuable household item for food, its production became the centre of attraction. According to Bohannan, yam also began to revolve other significant socio-political and economic activities, which the Tiv people were also deeply involved, across their land. In fact, yams at this level were also distributed either as gifts or through marketing among relations in the market compounds of prominent people (*ashagbair*) in the pre-colonial Tiv land. These compound markets later became prominent features in the Tiv economy during the colonial epoch, for example, Zaki-Biam and Ugba yam markets. Market days for these centres were most often fixed at between five and seven days interval. Beside the function of buying and selling, trading on market days were designated to serve as days of rest and other socio-cultural and political events.

Traditionally, yam is the most important food crop among the Tiv people despite the fact that its production process is labour intensive. As the most important item of food consumption, every family unit in the pre-colonial Tiv land required it for consumption, ritual performance, gifts to the most loved ones, marriage and traditional ceremonies. All these put together elevated the position of yam above other food crops in the pre-colonial Tiv land, such that trade in yam became a major activity. Alexander Boyd once stated that benniseed

and yams were highly valued items of trade by the Tiv people “before the opening up of Tiv land.” thus:

The supply of benniseed which is an important product in the trade of the Niger company, is entirely dependent on the Munchi (Tiv) who bring it in or not as they choose; the same is the case with yams in the markets along the river (Benue).²⁹

This evidently justifies the fact that yam crop was one of the valuable exchange items for other goods between Tiv people and foreign firms, like the Niger Company at the international level, before the colonization of Tiv land, at trading stations of Abinsi, Ibi and Donga on the river banks of Benue and Katsina-Ala.

3.4.3 Development of Pre-colonial External Trade in Yam, 1900-1915

As the transfer of ownership of goods and services from one person or entity to another, by way of getting something in exchange from the buyer, external trade has been a long time activity among the Tiv. It formed an important aspect of Tiv economy right from the pre-colonial, through the colonial to the post colonial periods in Tiv land. It's initial barter system was discarded with the introduction of the colonial monetary system as the medium of exchange. The measure of value of goods and services were unified with the British pound sterling to ease its transaction during the colonial era. Trade actually developed and expanded to imperatively become an important source of meeting the required utility needs and services. As clearly enshrined in the “vent for surplus model (theory)” trade was one of the factors that led to the colonization of Tiv land and also served as a source of wealth creation and capital accumulation, especially during and after the post colonial era.

History has it that, the Tiv people were also engaged in both the domestic and long distance trade at the designated trading stations of Loko, Ibi, Donga, Abinsi and others in different kinds of agricultural produce and services like benniseed, sheabutter, yams and others from the pre-colonial period to the post colonial era across the Tiv land. Evidently, D.C. Dorward once stated that:

Tiv land was traversed and bounded by a number of indigenous trade routes which linked the Hausa states and the North with the rainforests and Sonkwalla hills of the South.³⁰

Dorward further posites that these pre-colonial indigenous trade routes across the Tiv land were real and functional in the 19th century. Certain scholars, however, asserted that the pre-colonial Tiv people were not fully involved in external trade to sufficiently benefit from it or were not participating enough in the trade because of their farm work to benefit from it, like other traders, namely Hausa, Bafum and others.

According to oral traditions of the field survey, the present study views it differently. Going by the Tiv history, it will be recalled that Tiv land was sparsely inhabited by unorganised hamlets or compounds in the pre-colonial era. This traditional settlement system coupled with the nature of their agricultural trading goods which were very heavy to carry about on heads, in large quantities at a given time constituted a lot of hindrance to Tiv traders to travel so frequently and regularly on these routes across their land. This could not permit them to trade regulary in large groups and organised manner like the other professional trading people like Hausa and Bafum who were diligently trading along these routes. Tiv people were trading in family or compound groups of very small in number using short-cuts of the available bush paths while resting and sleeping with their relations along the paths to the trading stations on the river banks. This was to feel less the weights of their loads and reduce the stress and fatigue of long distances through short-cuts on every journey. This revelation suggests with all sense of probability that contrary to the said assertion, Tiv people were active participants in the external trade in their land and even beyond.

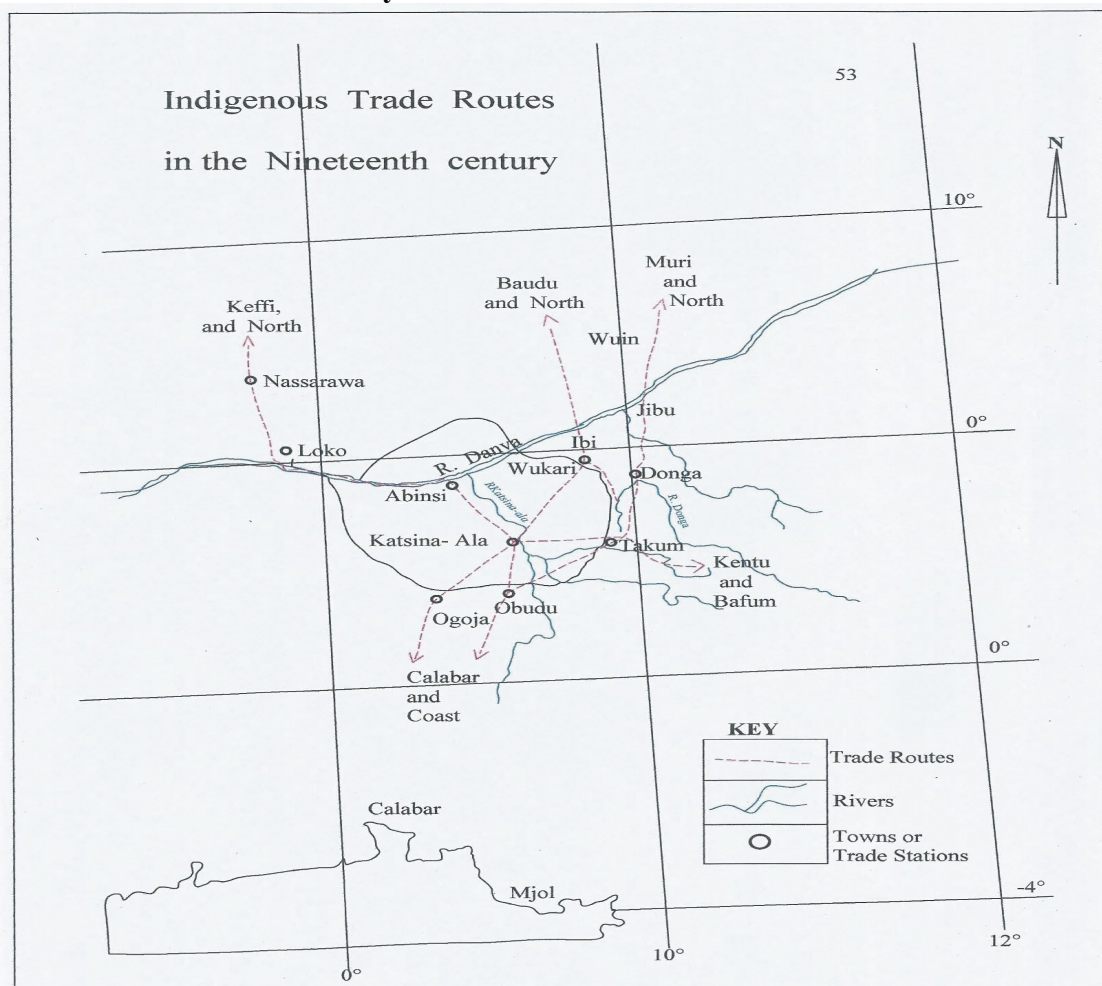
However, Dorward argues further and posited that “though the Tiv do not appear to have played a very important role in this long distance trade,” they were indirectly benefiting from it by way of selling food stuff to the traders on these routes, escorting and guiding the traders to safety zones along the routes despite the fact that some of the armed robbers were also Tiv people. In the same vein, Alexander Boyd who wrote before “the opening up” of the

Tiv land, buttressed that Tiv people were in control of the external trade especially at the river banks stations. His words:

The supply of benniseed which is an important product in the trade of the Niger Company is entirely dependent on the Munchi (Tiv) who bring it in or not as they choose; the same is the case with yams in the Markets along the river (Benue).³¹

To illustrate that it was more convenient and easier for the Tiv traders to by-pass the 19th century indigenous trading routes across their land using the short-cuts of treckable bush paths to the trading stations on the river banks; the Map of the pre-colonial trading routes which traversed Tiv land is evidently presented in figures VI: Extracted from page 53 of D.C. Dorward's, "A Political and Social History of the Tiv people of Northern Nigeria, 1900-1939".

MAP V: The Map Showing Indigenous Trade Routes across Tiv land in the Nineteenth Century



Source: D.C. Dorward, "A Political and Social History of the Tiv people of Northern Nigeria 1900-1939" Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1971. p.53

It is remarkable to imply at this point that our research findings indicate that there are unique attributes that are naturally and traditionally endowed to the Tiv race. These attributes or core values of their society contribute to making them excel among other “agricultural ethnic groups” in yam production and trade in Nigeria. These values include, hardwork, fairness, democracy, rotation, innovations and freedom as manifest in cultivating and sharing of their farm land, innovation and ingenuity in the display of their crafts, tools and others. This agrees with the concept of historical materialism which upholds that the economy of any society sufficiently accounts for all other structures in that society.

Bohannan argues that, Tiv people all over Nigeria are well known for tough and hard labour capacity to perform very tough works like farming, mining, soldiering, drilling, and cultivation. He further remarks that:

Tiv say that work is a good thing. They spur one another to work with a chant. “Is work a bad thing? No! Work won’t kill a man”. Tiv work hard and they agree that hoeing fields is the most important work of the Tiv.³²

Apart from the core value of hardwork, Tiv also believe in fairness. All traditional issues or properties were shared or divided among segments on the basis of fairness down to the level of individual people who make up such groups or segments. Land for yam farming was shared among household members following this pattern. Furthermore, it is on the basis of the foregoing that political structure in Tiv society is so democratic in nature as earlier highlighted in the chapter. All traditional decisions affecting them were made openly with massive participation including issues of their moot courts. All adults were free to make their contributions in all their traditional meetings as already established in Bohannan’s study in the above.

Up to date, the ethics of Tiv policies are based on the principle of “ya na anigbian” eat and share to your brother to avoid tyranny of the heredity cultures of the other political systems. (Jibo, 1993:47). Mandately, the position of the compound Head who was always

responsible for land sharing naturally passed onto the next oldest member of the family upon the demise of the previous one. The successor could be an uncle, a brother or a half brother. Bohannan once again established that Tiv traditionally, disliked tyranny so much so that any indication of it by any compound Head was met by strong resistance of his subjects by deserting him and the compound. The increasing number of despotic compound Heads and increase in yam farming in the study area, probably suggest why there are so many scattered small compounds across Tiv land, thereby affecting large scale yam farming and migrations.

Traditionally, Tiv people valued their freedom more than wealth. This explains why Bohannan in discussing the Tiv pre-colonial trade once argued that pre-colonial Tiv traders would never exchange slaves for food. Tiv were very scornful of a man who was merely rich in subsistence goods or money. If he has not converted his goods, the reason must be personal inadequacy. One was expected to invest wealth by converting upwards into prestigious wealth and both into women and children, social maximization used to be the main economic aim of the pre-colonial Tiv people (Biam, 1977:6)

On the issue of traditional innovation among the Tiv people, Akiga (2013) once affirmed in his study that Tiv were traditionally innovative, very willing to copy and embrace new alien ideas as manifested in their high level of inventing their farming, war and hunting tools. All these core values put together present a formidable screen in understanding the dynamics and nature of Tiv society which excelled in yam production and trade from the pre-colonial through the colonial to the post colonial periods in their area.

On the whole, the pre-colonial economic structure of the Tiv society as discussed under this chapter is very typical of the early economic formation which began the Tiv economy from the scratch like other economies of the developing World. Tiv traditional economy was growing and responding accordingly to the dictates of the developing circumstances that were facing their micro-economy. Under the present chapter, apart from creating the backgorunnd for further analysis of yam 'production' and 'trade' which is the heart-beat of this study, the chapter also diffuses the traditional eurocentric myth and over

emphasis on the subsistence nature of the Tiv traditional economy, indolence and leisure preference which once argued that:

The subsistent farmer... grows enough to his family with perhaps a little left over for barter, when he becomes involved with a cash crop... again he grows enough to supply the family with a little left over for the state, but he maintains a personal balance between work and leisure and does not allow the type of crop to disturb his life style.³³

Essentially, Tiv pre-colonial society proved from the initial stage to be a resourceful society, responsive to the changing economic demands and opportunities opened to them. During the pre-colonial period of the commercial contact with Europeans, Tiv exchanged benniseed and shea-nuts for imports, a kind of trade which appears to have done just a little more than to simply absorb available surplus production in agreement with the principle of the vent for surplus model. At the same time, Tiv society was participating in the local trade of food stuff for the development of their micro-economy.

To justify importantly, that the pre-colonial Tiv were reacting independent mindedness according to their local economic developments, the resilient continuation of their local trade in food stuff which did not attract the colonial interests, later brought about and transformed yam trade to the economic main-stay of the Tiv people after the benniseed export.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt is made to prepare grounds for the analysis ahead. Briefly, a descriptive analysis of the pre-colonial Tiv society in Central Nigeria with economic features like agricultural production, crafts, domestic animal rearing, trade, blacksmith, hunting and others are presented as a foundation base for the analysis on the development of yam Economy of Tiv land 1960-2010. A.D. The discussion on the pre-colonial Tiv economy and its other economic features is an attempt to show the relevance of these economic features which later factored on yam production and trade in the study area. Yam production

and trade are an offshoot of a combination of most economic factors especially fertile land, and labour-force, Tiv migration and settlement system, as well as, their pre-colonial socio-economic systems in Central Nigeria, as articulated in this chapter. The chapter has so far identified some key values of the Tiv socio-economic and political life which anchored yam production and trade in their area for over a period of 40 years (1960-2000).

In summarily conclusion of this chapter, yam crop was incepted in the Tiv agricultural farming system during the ancient time of the pre-colonial Tiv land. The food quality of yams fitted most into the Tiv traditional dietary system than the grain crops which were already in existence on their land. In the course of fashioning out the appropriate mode for its cultivation on their soil, the lineage or unitary mode of its production was uncovered. This mode of production was purely a derivation of the Tiv cultural beliefs and norms.

In the process of producing yams to augment food production on their land, surpluses were also generated. The need to vent out these surpluses by way of exchanging them with other goods and services in order to meet up with other utility needs of their society then arose. With time, this exchange system developed into what was then known as trade by barter of the yam crop in Tiv land. One important development to note at this point is that, when trade came into this process and fused with production, there emerged an eventful historical phenomenon of producing yams purposely for trade thereby informing the present study. The fusion of “production” and “trade” of yam crop became an eventful historical phenomenon which originated during the pre-colonial Tiv land and continued since then on Tiv land and beyond till date and actually calls for the present study.

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CHAPTER FOUR:

YAM PRODUCTION STRATEGIES

4.1 Introduction

Yam crop was introduced into the Tiv agricultural farming system in the ancient time, during the pre-colonial era, later than grain crops, such as beans, millet, maize and others¹. Because of the increasing value attachment of the Tiv people, to the crop, its production techniques have progressively but gradually been transforming and developing in Tiv land for increased yields or output till date. Even though the study period begins in the colonial era of 1960 and ends in the post colonial period of 2000, for the purpose of creating a pillar, to anchor our analysis for elaborate clarity, the chapter will shift its discussions backward briefly and start the analysis of yam production techniques from the pre-colonial period when it started and will continue to intensify the analysis with such developments that necessitated the changing patterns of the techniques during the colonial and post colonial periods of the study.

As a carry over from the pre-colonial period, yam production is said to have continued to increase its output based on its traditional methods of production relying mainly on increase labour force of the people enlarging their yam farms or field on one hand and using their traditional method of the shifting cultivation to sustain soil fertility. Increased labour force for yam production was part of the Tiv traditional hard-working spirit as well as the shifting cultivation which was part of their traditional ingenuity. These were the pre-colonial strategies to increase the output of their most favoured food crop before the encroachment of the colonial administration on their land. In the course of fashioning out the appropriate ways of yam cultivation after its introduction into the Tiv agricultural farming system, there evolved the lineage mode of its production which was purely based on the traditional beliefs and systems.

The lineage mode of yam production was in nature close to communism. It was based on family units using the family's labour force and communal land for production. The produce were shared and jointly consumed by all the family members². Since this mode of production was subsistently created, very little surpluses were produced for exchange by

barter system to meet up with the utility needs of their traditional society at that time. The lineage mode of yam production was sustained all through the pre-colonial period. After the capture of Tiv land, the colonial administration took over the government of the Tiv society, then, the lineage mode of yam production was gradually replaced by the capitalist mode of yam production which was put in place to transform yam economy on their land. Evidently this was made possible with the enforcement of the economic transformational policies of the colonial administration as later examined detailedly in this chapter. Labour wage, taxation, monetization, commercialization, commoditization of the yam crops, provision of infrastructural facilities, imposition of cash crops production and many others were established. Despite the fact that all these economic policies were strange and new to the culture of the Tiv people, their resistance against these policies was short lived. Tiv people later became very compliant, more especially when they started benefiting from the dividends of the capitalist system at the tail end of colonialism on their land. The capitalist mode of yam production was progressively sustained throughout the colonial period in Tiv land.

Under the post colonial period of yam production in Tiv society (1960-2000), production of yam was initially impeded by the political upheavals in Tiv land at that time especially the '*Nande Nande*' of 1962 and '*atemyough*' of 1964 respectively. These two episodes later combined with other political exigencies and culminated into the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 as later discussed in details under the chapter. This impediment was made possible at the material time basically for three main reasons among others. First of all, the political crisis situation in Tiv land was not permissive for yam farmers to go about freely farming yams. Secondly, many yam farmers were neck-deep in the political crisis. Some were killed and others wounded. Thirdly, a very high number of Tiv yam farmers were later recruited into the Nigerian Military service to fight the Nigerian Civil War. These and many other factors impeded increased yam production at the initial period of the post colonial era. But immediately after the civil war in 1970, increased yam production was back to its feet in Tivland. The reasons for this are many but not far fetched.

After the Nigerian Civil War, in 1970, Tiv farmers who became soldiers and executed the civil war were immediately demobilized back to Tiv land using the down sizing policy of

the Nigerian Army³. When they returned to Tiv land, they also contributed to increased yam production. It will be also recalled that immediately, when the Nigerian civil war ended in 1970, the general food security situation in the country was not palatable. Both the Federal and the Benue state Governments brought up certain agricultural and economic policies like fertilizer subsidy and loans to farmers to boost yam production. All these and many others related issues will be discussed under this chapter to support the argument that yam production continued to increase from the colonial to post colonial Tiv land. All these, jointly suggest that, after the Nigerian civil war, the capitalist mode of yam production had progressively been developing and expanding in Tiv land and beyond.

4.2 Tiv Pre-colonial Mode of Agricultural Production: Lineage or Unitary Mode of Production

The Tiv traditional lineage mode of yam production under the present chapter is re-stated to emphasize the foundation it created during the pre-colonial period in this study. All subsequent changes in yam production strategies are chronologically anchored on this foundation pillar from colonial to post colonial Tivland.

Tiv people are traditionally famous and hardworking farmers who for long depended on food crop production, especially yams as their favourite food crop. Njoku once affirmed that:

If these travellers (Williams Allen and T.R.H. Thomson) had visited Tiv land, they would have made equally favourable, if not even more favourable, comments on Tiv farmers easily among the leading yam farmers in Nigeria. Their pre-colonial history shows that they have been a land-hungry and expansionist people. Thanks to their prodigy as farmers.⁴

According to Ijoho, Tiv traditional education bequeathed the young ones with the techniques of agricultural production, especially yam since the pre-colonial time⁵. Tiv youngsters were not only brought up with the spirit of hardwork, they were also taught to be morally conscious of the food security situation of their families and love for farming. Tiv traditional agricultural techniques evolved over time as part of their traditions, customs, environment, and beliefs culminating into the lineage mode of production during the pre-colonial era. The

changing patterns of the Tiv traditional mode of their agricultural production, especially yam production, are the main issues of historical analysis under this segment.

In the course of time, African scholars like Mohmoud Mamdani ⁶ and Samir Amir ⁷ argued that there was not necessarily a rigid order of mode of economic production in pre-colonial African communities. Therefore, certain modes of production could be by passed, when analysing pre-colonial African economies. This notwithstanding, a few modes of production, such as primitive/communal mode; slave mode of production; petty commodity mode, lineage mode, capitalist mode, tributary mode, and others, were identified and associated with the analysis of the traditional African economies. Based on the result of the field survey of this study, the lineage mode of production was found to be the most practised in the pre-colonial Tiv land, especially in relation to yam production, among modes in Africa.

The essential elements of the lineage mode of production include human labour, land and technology. Its social relations involve the system of property ownership and transfer as well as the relations between the producers and those who organise production. In the case of Tiv land, kinship relations became the relations of production, thus making the main feature of production a corporate group. Lineage kinship remained the only ideology which justified the appropriation of surpluses by elders in the pre-colonial Tiv land.

Ugba, Kume, during our oral interview argued that Tiv traditional elders were also responsible for appropriating produce directly to members of their lineages, such as wives, children, young adults, dependents, servants and others. These elders or household heads (*orya*) held the community land in trust for their respective lineage groups. In addition, they were the ones to determine and decide the distribution of the community land among their subjects for effective production of crops, especially yam. In fact, Tiv traditional elders were directly responsible for the organisation, control and direction of all economic activities of all members in their respective lineages as corporate units. There was so much land in abundance during the pre-colonial Tiv territory for farming. The need for the custodians of the community land to equitably distribute, oversee and administer over the physical and

spiritual activities of their subjects, gave the traditional elders enormous authority and power over their respective lineage groups.

Suggestively, this agricultural system emphasised yam production during the pre-colonial period because it suited their dietary system of feeding among other reasons. The system is as old as the origin of yam production in Tiv land itself. To properly administer over yam production, Tiv elders overtime evolved the traditional labour divide between women and men based on their traditional ethos, norms and beliefs. Tiv believed that as women were created from part of the man's body (*limb*), this makes the man stronger and superior to women in all facets of life. It is on the basis of this that Tiv women were given less taskable responsibilities, like cooking food, bearing and caring for babies, while men were responsible for tougher responsibilities like war, hunting, tilling or making yam heaps and wrestling. Tiv justifies this with their common adage that "*Kwase hemen ityav ga*" implying that women do not lead in war fronts. This adage constituted the basis for the sharing formula of the labour needs between women and men in the pre-colonial period.

However, certain scholars, like P. Bohannan,⁹ criticised the Tiv traditional sharing formula of land distribution and labour divide between women and men for yam production. The system was said to be exploitative in favour of elders and men against younger household members and women in the pre-colonial Tiv land. The present study, shares the opinion that since there was no clear cut separation between labour and productive means, social ties were personal as major links in the pre-colonial Tiv land. Therefore, the power of traditional elders was not only limited to the control over the means of production but also their performance of socio-political and religious functions. These elders were accepted in their respective lineages as the rightful custodians of their cultures to perform these laid down traditional functions. Actually, these responsibilities were mandatory obligations and functional responsibilities of these elders in their respective lineages. Therefore, young adults and women in the pre-colonial Tiv land were not exploited. Though there were no class distinctions, informal classification was based on gender, seniority, genealogy and title-holding.

The complex template for Tiv yam production during the pre-colonial era as initially developed by Bohannan is adapted with modifications in five stages: The first stage involved land clearing (*i hyande i huran*), the second stage was the making of yam mounds, known as *sule kahan*, the third stage was planting of the yam seedlings in the mounds (*akôr a lôôn*), followed by weeding of the bushes and grasses on the yam farm (“*sule huran*”). The fifth and the last stage was yam harvesting and storage of the tubers and seedlings in designated small round houses called *atumbe*. Traditionally, the responsibilities of providing labour in each of these stages were shared between women and men as a derivative of their traditional beliefs and norms.

The beginning of yam cropping season in the pre-colonial Tiv land was between August and September annually. During this period, each compound head (*Orya*) would identify and earmark a portion of the community land in his custody for yam farms of his household members in that season. Every married and physically matured member of the household was allocated a specific portion of land out of the community land for cultivation of yam. In most cases, the size of one’s portion of land depended upon the discretion of the *orya* based on the amount of yam seeds expected of such a household unit and the strength of its labour force. Household units with hardworking and prudent housewives, who owned plenty of yam seeds, were usually allocated larger farm land. In the process of land allocation, the eldest household unit took his fair share first, followed by the second unit, in that order until every household unit within the same compound was allocated a portion of farm land. This sharing order signified adherence to the cultural gerontic principle that governed Tiv socio-political system in the pre-colonial time, already discussed in chapter three.

4.2.1 Stage one: land clearing, *i hyande i huran*

After the allocation of farm plots to each household unit, land clearing proper commenced. The land clearing stage was a joint effort by both female and male adults of the household. All adults in each household converged every morning to weed off the grasses, bushes and shrubs on their respective portions of land. During the land clearing stage for yam

production, bare hands and cutlasses were used in pulling down tall grasses, shrubs and small trees. Land clearing could last for about one or two months to provide sufficient time for men to start making mounds in a very skillful and orderly manner before the dry season sets in.

4.2.2 Stage two: making of yam mounds, *Sule kahan*

The process of making mounds to plant yam seeds was part of the Tiv pre-colonial agricultural method of yam production. This was simply done by scooping, lifting and lumping the fertile soil with a big hoe to form heaps. The whole essence was to provide high/elevated compact soil for easy assimilation of soil nutrients by the planted yam seedlings.

The stage of mound making appeared to be the most essential stage of yam cultivation during the pre-colonial era and was carried out by men only. Women were not allowed to participate in making of mounds. This aspect was considered very tough and skillful, requiring vigorous and tedious skills which women were presumably lacking. Only men with skilful and dogged strength could perform this aspect of yam production very well in a competitive style.

The process of making mounds usually started with the formation of a central straight row of yam heaps called *deche*. This row formed in the middle of the plot, had bigger mounds than the subsequent rows. Alongside with the *deche* row, the smaller mounds were spaced between each other in a straight line. Subsequent rows followed by each side of the *deche*, where mounds were spaciouly made in between. The *deche* needed expert skills in its formation to make big mounds in a straight line and with the right spacing in-between mounds. According to oral interview with Ugbem Dugwer, family units without such skillful hands to construct the *deche* line had to borrow from other family units which attracted commensurate benefits.

The process of making mounds was done by men with the use of big hoes. Using their hands to hold the hoe, the soil was scooped with the hoe and heaped into a clod in an already earmarked position on the ground to meet the straight row arrangement on the field. The clod

was systematically flipped up into a mound for an ordinary mound and for the ‘*deche*’ mounds.

When the required shape and height of the mounds were reached, dried grasses and leaves were sourced in small bundles and folded on top of each mound and weighted down with a hoe-full of soil like wearing a cap on top of each mound.¹⁷ It was necessary to wear a grass made cap on top of each mound in order to protect the mounds from being washed away by rain and equally against excessive sun heat that would affect the sprouting seedlings after planting. According to Gbem Dugwer, at the end of mounds making period, all mounds on the yam field were set apart, next to each other in a straight row to bring out the shape of a good farm with well laid out rows in both directions of the yam field. The ‘*deche*’ row was the architect of a beautiful farm field, and a beautiful farm field gave the owner a sound sleep, especially where other farmers admired its beauty as they passed by. Their admiration was always followed by verbal utterances of appreciations and praises. These praises, when circulated raised the prestigious and moral status of the farm owner in his community, thereby leading him to be elevated to a higher position among his age grade during the pre-colonial Tiv society. This information agrees with Bohannan’s recorded version that, the most joyful fulfilment of any good Tiv yam farmer in the pre-colonial period after the completion of making mounds, was when all rows were vertically, horizontally and diagonally straight. “nothing so gladdens the heart as a field in which all rows are straight”¹⁸ Analytically, all these suggest that Tiv traditional strategies of yam production as derivatives of their customs and beliefs were not only to provide yam for food sufficiency. They were also to raise the social status or prestige, which was a source of authority in their respective communities considered to be of the same status with money if not more. Tiv valued these aspects more than money before the introduction of the colonial system of money in their land.

4.2.3 Stage three: planting of yam seedlings, *Akôr a Lôôn*

After heap making, the planting of yam seedlings was next. Planting of yam seedlings was the responsibility of women. After selecting the yam seedlings according to sizes and

shapes of the mounds on the farm, a yam seedling was planted on top of each heap with the use of a short sharp pointed stick, called, *tôv*. Pushing off the grass that had covered the top of the mound, the sharp pointed part of the stick was forced into the heap from the top to create space for the yam seedling to be placed properly in the mound. As soon as the seedling inserted in the mound, the stick was quickly pulled out to cover up the space. After the seed yam was completely buried in the mound, a new grass cap with less thickness was placed on top of the mound to allow air to penetrate and protect the yam seedlings in the mound from direct sun heat. In some cases, vegetables and other species of yams like ‘ajie’ were also planted on the sides of the mounds. Planting of yam seedlings by women was done individually or in a group depending on the size of the farm.

4.2.4 Stage four: weeding of yam farms (*Sule Hulan*)

Four to six weeks after yam seedlings were planted, grass (weeds) grew on the farms. These weeds were weeded off either individually or in a group by women. Weeding was carried out two or three times depending on the intensity and nature of weeds. The main tool for weeding of yam fields was a small hoe, called *abya*. The process of weeding was on until the yam seedlings matured into tubers when harvest would then commence, normally before January of the following year.

4.2.5 Stage five: yam harvesting and storage, *Akôr agberen man akuran*

Pre-yam harvest, is an important stage and usually begins in September of every season before the actual end of the year’s harvest in Tiv land. At this stage, only one side of the mound is opened, as fresh tuber is cut off the stem and taken away for food, while the opening in the mound is covered back allowing the stem to reproduce new yam seeds. This process is called in Tiv, *akôr a esen*.

Yam food at this early stage is prepared mainly by way of boiling and meant for children and women to consume. The food is said to be unfit and not adequate to quench the hunger of male adults to perform hard jobs. Essentially, the pre-yam harvest stage is meant to reproduce yam seeds for the next planting season. On the other hand, the end of the year’s harvest is to make available yam tubers for sales, eating and other purposes.

Traditional end of the season's yam harvesting usually commenced in about January of every year. During this period women were seen breaking down the yam mounds to take out yam tubers and seeds, with the use of small hoe (*abya*) and stick (*tôv*). While the *abya* was used for breaking open the mounds to extract the yam tuber or seeds, the *tôv* tool was to dig deeply into the ground to specifically bring out long and big tubers that penetrated deep into the soil beyond the mounds level. With skillful hands and the use of *tôv* tool, the Tiv women carefully dug round the long tubers without damaging them until their limits were reached and carefully taken out of the ground for preservation at the end of the harvest.

During the field survey, Mbakurun Yawe, a house wife disclosed that in the course of the harvest, damaged or wounded yam tubers were separated from the clean tubers and tubers separated from the yam seeds and properly stored under the tree shades to be later taken home. While wounded tubers were cooked or exchanged for other goods without much delay to avoid decay; clean tubers and clean seeds on the other hand were temporarily gathered in one place under shades to be subsequently packed home into the yam huts (*atumbe a yoo*) at the end of the harvest season¹⁰.

Another aspect of the final stage of yam production process in the traditional Tiv land was transporting home of the yams harvested at the end of every harvesting season. The process is named *Akôr akuran*. At this stage, a group of women used their woven baskets or large clay pots and calabashes to pack all the harvested tubers of yam from the farm to the huts at home.

Madam Mbakaan Adamgbe also argued that the various reasons for packing the yam tubers and seeds after harvest, among other things, were to secure them from thieves, sun heat, and damage by rats and bush-burning. At home, and indeed inside the huts, yam tubers were classified into categories according to sizes, types (varieties), and kept separate from the yam seeds based on their use values¹¹.

Yam seeds were traditionally considered very important in the pre-colonial period, compared to yam tubers for two main reasons. First and foremost, it was the amount of yam seeds preserved for the next farming season that determined the continuity, survival and

largeness of the yam farm in the next season. Secondly, the amount of yam seeds available for the next cropping season from a woman's hut could prove how prudent and careful such a woman was and she was rated high in her community. This proven integrity of the household wives was another determining decision to invest all the yam proceeds of the family in the hands of certain trusted wives. Yam at that time was produced for the purpose of food supply to family members, gifts and ritual performances and used for mini barter trade which were under the control of the women.

4.3 The Colonial Economy and the Changing Patterns of Yam Production in the Colonial Tiv land, 1915-1960

Historically, it is argued that the strongest motives for colonization of Tiv area in 1915 by the British power was to create vent for their finished surpluses which were accumulated in their country waiting markets. This ensures the application of the vent-for-surplus model in the study. As soon as the colonization of the Tiv land was completed, the colonial administration began the transformation of the Tiv economy by way of enforcing certain economic transformational policies such as monetization, taxation, commoditization, provision of infrastructures, wage labour, cash crop imposition and many others. All these policies later impacted on both increase in yam production and its trade outputs. But before we discuss the influence of these policies on yam production and trade during the colonial and post colonial periods, attempt will first of all be made to briefly discuss the British conquest of Tiv land.¹²

Most historians of Tiv history are familiar with how Tiv land was conquered by the British Colonial agents. However, the need to start this section with Tiv conquest from the onset becomes very necessary. This is to create a pillar on which to anchor further discussions for better understanding of why and how the colonial economy had to change the Tiv traditional method of yam production, from 1915 to 1960 and its continued effects from 1960 to 2000 in Tiv.

The nature and character of the colonial conquest of Tiv land suggest that it was purposely to exploit and maximize the economic benefits from Tiv land by the British

government through trade or commercialization. According to Lenin, “capitalism is the highest stage of imperialism or exploitation.” To attain this cardinal goal, the Tiv traditional mode of economy, characterised by the communal mode of production, featuring the common ownership of land and labour as factors of production had to be disarticulated. This mode was owned by the underdeveloped productive forces, controlled by the household unit of production with minimum surplus and was capitalist disoriented. The colonial economy was, thereafter, to be enthroned as a goal catcher of the vested economic interests of the British government in Tiv land. The central argument under this segment is therefore to demonstrate the catalytic role of the external trade of the colonial economy in the colonization of Tiv land in about 1915 which eventually impacted enormously on yam production and trade of the Tiv people in central Nigeria involving changes of its production techniques.

4.4 The British Conquest of Tiv land

History has it that before the ‘opening up’ of Tiv land, many European companies were already trading along the river banks of Benue and Katsina-Ala in the Tiv territory, with trading stations across Tiv land like Donga, Katsina-Ala, Loko, Abinsi and Ibi. The European trading companies involved in trading in Africa at this time were the likes of the West African Company, the Central African Company, Alexander Miller Brothers, Campaign Francaise de I Afrique Equatorial (CFAE) and others. In the course of their commercial activities, these companies became deeply engaged in a stiff competition among themselves to monopolise trade in the Niger/Benue region, Tiv land inclusive. This stiff competition led to the involvement of certain African traditional chiefs like the ones of Jubu and Ibi by way of signing agreements and treaties. In the long run, the Royal Niger Trading Company got an upper hand over the other trading companies with the strong backing of the British government back home in London.

The attempts of the Royal Niger Trading Company to traverse the hinter land of the Tiv people led to the development of direct physical confrontations like wars, open assaults, and all other manners of trade related problems in Tiv land. Most of these conflicts and crisis

ended up with the killings of people, raiding on trade routes, bombardment of Tiv villages and others. For example, in 1885/6, Captain Hoyland was arrowed and killed at Agasha; Griffith was also killed at Tiga in Tombo. At the same time, there was bombardment of the Tiv compounds at Arufu led by MachIntosh. Tiv people reacted by killing Kinaham, Lennard and others at Arufu.¹⁹ It is believed that all these killings, conflicts and crisis led to the general 'uprising' of the Tiv people as an attempt to exterminate Europeans on Tiv land. This uprising also caused the closure of all the European trading stations in Tiv land, except Abinsi which was later rebuilt and remained until 1901.

In addition, D.C Dorward,¹⁴ once established that Tiv land in the pre-colonial times was traversed and bounded by many trading routes, criss-crossing Tiv land and linking to the Hausa states of the North and the rainforests and Sankwalla hills of the South. Some of these trading routes were first, the Katsina-Ala River, from Abinsi on the Benue to Katsina-Ala town and then overland to Obudu and Ogoja and the south. The second one was from Ibi on the Benue River to Wukari then to Takum, or via Donga to Takum. The third route was from Takum leading eastwards across the upper Katsina-Ala River to Kente and to Bafum, the great kola centre or from Takum westward across Tiv land to Obudu and Ogoja. These routes provided access roads to the hinterland of the Tiv area for military expeditions and peaceful agreements which finally led to the colonization of Tiv land in 1915¹⁵.

By 1886, the Royal Niger Company, under Sir George Goldie, and other companies were amalgamated to form the United Africa Company (UAC) and mandated by the British government to administer the whole of the Niger-Benue Valley Region, Tiv land inclusive. The history of colonial conquest of Tiv land shows that in the same year, after pushing France and Germany out of the Niger-Benue Valley territory, an administrative centre was established at Ibi station to oversee all activities in Tiv land, thereby guaranteeing the British commercial hegemony on both rivers, Niger and Benue. From this point onwards, the British mandated powers continued to extend and expand her commercial control and influence into the hinterland of the Tiv territory. It was these moves that led to more series of conflicts and direct confrontations between the commercial agents of the British government and the Tiv

people on their land which eventually led to the conquest and subjugating of Tiv land in 1915.

The first of these direct confrontations was recorded in 1900. On that day, a team of British staff and members of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) were constructing a telegraph line to link the colonial office at Lokoja on the bank of the River Niger with Ibi on the bank of River Benue. The telegraph line was to cross over the Tiv territory with an informed mind, that the British government had taken over the control of the whole of the Northern Protectorate, including Tiv land. This development was, however, not disclosed officially to the Tiv people. While the construction team was doing their work, Tiv land was destroyed with certain economic trees at Akpanaja, a border village situated in between Tiv and their Bassa neighbours. The Tiv quickly responded by attacking the construction team in a very fatal manner. This incidence was reported by the London Times thus:

Captain Canal of the Northfolk Regiment and 150 men of the WAFF, while escorting the telegraph construction Staff North-east of Lokoja, were attacked on January 7th, by 2000 Mitshi, Munshi or Tiv and Bassa tribesmen. Captain Eaton, of the East Kent Regiment was severely wounded... one man was killed and 12 wounded.¹⁶

As a result of the 1900 direct confrontation between the British staff and the Tiv people, Sir Lord Lugard, the Governor General of the Northern Protectorate, instantly reaffirmed his already made up opinion, that the Tiv people were “lawless treacherous, intractable and unresponsive people, who must be pacified by whichever means”.

According to Makar, in 1901 Lord Lugard sent a contingent of 500 men of the 2nd Battalion with three maxim- guns and two seven pounders against the Tiv people at Abinsi. A conflict involving the Jukun and Hausa people broke up at Abinsi centre. The Jukun people, who were non Muslims, invited the Tiv people, who were also non Muslims like them, to assist them in the fight against the Hausa Muslims. In the course of the fight, Hausa Muslims were defeated, colonial properties were also destroyed and there was an incessant incineration recorded as a result of the Jukun-Tiv and Hausa fight at Abinsi in 1901. It was on hearing this information that, Lord Lugard sent another contingent, well armed, against the

Tiv people to pacify them. As usual, Tiv presented a stiff resistance, employing their guerrilla tactics. According to Agber, even though there were a lot of properties destroyed and many people killed, no victory was recorded on either side.

After the Abinsi incidence, Lord Lugard is said to have been withdrawn back to Britain and Sir Percy Girouard took over from him. Lugard's policy of "burn and follow" was dropped for another policy of "peaceful penetration" or persuasion and negotiation rather than force or arms by Sir Percy Girouard. Sir Girouard's policy recorded a lot of success by occasionally combining it with force when and where necessary. By 1907, Captain Gordon who took off with his team from the Wukari axis was able to secure Katsina-Ala area on the Eastern and Western banks of river Katsina-Ala under the British firm control without having fired a single shot. The Southern and Western districts of Tiv land were also brought under the British control in the same year. Through the added policy of "patrols and explaining our coming and intentions" the Iharev, Nongov, Masev, and all the neighbouring areas fell to the British by 1914. Thus, with the establishment of an administrative headquarters at Abinsi, the formal colonial conquest and subjugation of the Tiv land was finally achieved in 1915¹⁷.

4.5 The Colonial Economic Transformational Policies and Yam Production in Tiv land, 1915-1960.

As earlier stated, the arrival of colonial rule in Tiv land, Tiv people were operating their traditional mode of yam production, classified as near communal type, with joint ownership of land and traditional system of labour in each community. Relations of productive forces were underdeveloped, generating only small surplus, as well as redistribution, and generally controlled by their respective household units.

It will be recalled that one of the cardinal goals of the colonial occupation of Tiv land was the entrenchment of imperialism. For imperialism to, therefore, flourish in Tiv land, Tiv traditional economic establishments needed to be dismantled and replaced with colonial economy. The colonial attempts to disarticulate the already established Tiv traditional economy led to the introduction and enforcement of the colonial economic transformations on Tiv land during the colonial era to transform Tiv traditional economic system. These were

taxation, monetization, wage labour, commoditization, conscription of farm labour hands for viable economic purposes and other policies.

The likes of African scholars, such as Frank Fanon; Adu Boahen, Ali Mazrui and others have all asserted that the establishment of colonialism on the African continent was largely informed by the development of imperialism in Europe. On this premise, when the colonial administration tookover the firm control of the pre-colonial economy in Tiv land, (1915-1960) it quickly discovered that the Tiv lineage mode of yam production was not generating sufficient surpluses to meet up with the desired articulations of imperialism.

Against this background, the Tiv traditional lineage mode of yam production was disarticulated and transformed to the capitalist mode of production. It is no wonder that Lenin, once argued that, “capitalism is the highest stage of imperialism”. Colonial economic transformational policies such as monetization, taxation, commoditization, provision of infrastructures and many others were used to achieve this process of transformation. The transformation also elevated the position of yam crop to that of a commodity product (a double value commodity) which became the pillar of yam economic transformation, thus ensuring the strategic application of the commodity production theory as the framework of the present study. As a commodity product, it began to frame-work and anchor, the basic strategies of wealth augmentation of the yam production \and trade. Such strategies include as follows:-

- (a) Yam crop began to play the dual roles of food and cash crop in Tiv land.
- (b) Yam trade began to overwhelm yam consumption, the fattest yams harvested were no longer meant for local consumption but for sales.
- (c) Increased yam production became synonymous with increased yam trade. Increased yam output could determine, the increased volume of yam trade in a season.
- (d) Yam trade began to assert a veritable source of wealth creation on Tiv land, thereby enriching certain yam farmers more than others. The richer yam farmers began to own land and even buying the labour force of the poor ones, thereby creating a situation of exploitation and the entrenchment of capitalism in Tiv land.

- (e) Yam trade also began to assume the position of the economic main-stay in preparation to takeover from the Tiv benniseed export after colonialism on Tiv land.

All these basic functions of yam production and trade were deeply rooted and anchored in Tiv land during the colonial era. Thereafter, were all fast-tracked and trajected to the post colonial era in Tiv land, marking the beginning of the last phase of the study from 1960-2000 as examined in the subsequent chapters.

Taxation:

The aftermaths of Taxation policy indicated that it had double effects to change the patterns of the Tiv traditional mode of yam production. First, the acceptance of the taxation system in itself with all its brutal processes of payment and collection in Tiv land was an indication of absolute submission of Tiv people to the supremacy of colonial rule on their land. The resultant effect was the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the colonial Tiv land for colonial economy to take its course. Second, taxation policy promoted yam production in Tiv land by way of raising money for all male adults to pay taxes through cultivating cash crops to generate money for payment of taxes. Increase in cash crop production led to increase in food crop production, especially yam, the most important food crop of the Tiv people. More production of crops under peaceful atmosphere of improved commercial activities implied generating surpluses for wealth creation and redistribution in Tiv land, which hitherto was done on a small scale under the pre-colonial period. Varvar clearly acknowledges that “the production of yam in Tiv land witnessed significant increase during the colonial period.” Thus, taxation policy’s double edge effects also brought about increase in yam production and also facilitated or promoted yam trade in Tiv land during the colonial era.

In the course of our field survey, Azer Abya¹⁸ disclosed that it was discovered that in order to secure more production of yams, the hitherto labour force divide between women and men of the traditional mode of production was no longer strictly adhered. Many yam farmers especially single families began to engage in doing women’s roles together with

them and sometimes women assisting in clearing, *paase* land for heaps-making by men to lessen the cumbersome load of the enlarged yam farms for more yields.

According to Demekaan Mfo¹⁹, another change was the abandonment of shifting cultivation method of yam farming. The individual expansion of yam farms led to farm land's exhaustion and shortages. Farmers in Tiv land had to change to double cropping by the renewal of yam mounds from which yams were already harvested to plant yam seedlings again in the next cropping season, known in Tiv as *akuul a kenden*. While harvesting yams, one section of the mound was dug open to extract yam seeds or tubers from it. As soon as the tuber or seeds were taken out, the opening was covered back to form a complete mound ready for the next planting season. Another set of yam seeds were planted on those mounds to renew the second season's cropping cycle of yam cultivation. Yet another change brought about as a result of farm land shortage was the migration of yam farmers to other areas where they could secure fertile land for yam cultivation within the Tiv territory and later to locations outside the traditional borders of the Tiv territory. Regina H.Y. Fu, et al say it all that:

Increase in yam production of Africa (during the colonial era) has been achieved dominantly through expansion in cultivated area but little improvement in productivity. The traditional production systems of the region are under growing pressure to adapt short fallow periods owing to limited availability of the new lands to support shifting cultivation... low soil fertility, increased pest problems and backward farming technology... Majority of yam farmers in Africa are small holder farmers with limited resources to struggle further with their traditional methods. To meet the ever enlarging demand for food (and wealth creation) of the fast growing population and to tackle the threats that further harm yam production, new technology that target African small holder farmers are of urgent need.²⁰

Monetization:

According to Agber, monetization simply implied the introduction of a modern economic system and wage labour to replace trade by barter and similar trade practices. The monetization process impacted on the Tiv traditional mode of production by redirecting the production process to the output of commodities or commoditising products that could easily be exchanged in the market. Yam production was affected because, while a Tiv farmer under

the colonial time was compelled to produce cash crops demanded, he also necessarily had to step up yam production as a means of his sustenance. Thus, the production of cash crops had to go alongside the production of yam

Wage labour:

Agber once argued, that like other colonial economic policies discussed, wage labour system also impacted on Tiv traditional strategies of yam production through the process of farm labour hiring. During the colonial period in Tiv land, there emerged a system, where professional yam farmers, after finishing the cultivation of their own yam farms, went about providing labourforce in any form for other yam farmers to earn money. The money acquired through the sale of their labourforce was reinvested into other endeavours to develop the Tiv economy during the colonial epoch.

Conscription of farm labour hands:

In a similar vein, the colonial history of Tiv speculates that conscription of Tiv labourforce for public works of the colonial administration, like railway construction (*adogon*), military service for 1st and 2nd World Wars, tin mining at the Jos Plateau (*Kwaza*), building of government houses, bridges and roads, was the only policy that impacted negatively on increased crop production in Tiv land during the colonial era. The conscription of able bodied men into colonial administrative and construction projects deprived the needed labourforce for production, yam inclusive. A lot of oral records revealed that there was a make shift mechanism, where women, old men and children were replaced with able bodied men conscripted in order to sustain crops production.

In as much as this study accepts that the conscription policy of the colonial administration was not favourable to increased crop production generally in Tiv land, the study differs from the view point shared by certain scholars such as Varvar in apportioning failure to food crop production, especially yam. He argues that:

...the colonial government introduced very negative policies like levying of taxes on production and transportation of food crops and livestock and forceful movement of labour from agricultural activities to

portage, mining and construction of infrastructural facilities. These policies went a long way in negatively affecting food crop production in Nigeria generally.²¹

The study argues differently on this view point. Firstly, that the conscription policy negatively or positively impacted on both food and cash crop production during the colonial period in Tiv land. Reducing the negative impact of the policy to food crops alone especially yam, amounts to historical inexactness. Secondly, if the colonial economic policies were designed to deliberately undermine increased yam production, why did the colonial administration react promptly with the prohibition “stop orders” banning the exportation of food stuffs, especially yam, outside Tiv land and even providing relief materials to cushion the effect of famine.²² The timely reaction of the colonial government to the Tiv famine situation of the 1930s²³ suggests that at no time had it ever contemplated enforcing an economic policy that would deter increased food crops especially yam, production in Tiv land. Thirdly, the process of commoditization of the yam food crop in itself was to increase or boost yam production and trade in Tiv land. If the colonial administration had intended to starve the Tiv people of their most favourite food crop, why did the same administration commoditize the yam crop to boost its production and trade?

The present study shares the opinion that the colonial administration in Tiv land at no time intended to dethrone food crop production, especially yam. Increased yam production implied increased cash crops and raw material production, which the colonial government needed most to fulfil the cardinal goals of the Tiv conquest and subjugation. It is finally argued that the long run positive impact of the colonial conscription policy also led to the expansion of yam trade outside Tiv land to places like Jos, Enugu and PortHarcourt and invariably an increase in yam production and it's trade²⁵. This was a positive development which forms another topic for discussion on yam economy in this study.

4.6 Further Changes in Yam Production Strategies During The Post Independent Tiv land, 1960-2000.

As earlier stated in the introductory segment of the chapter, the capitalist mode of yam production carried over from the colonial period into the post Independent Tiv land was initially impeded by the political upheavals in Tiv land especially the ‘Nande Nande’ of 1962

and 'atemityo' of 1964. These two episodes later combined with other political exigencies across the country and culminated into the Nigerian Civil war of 1967-1970. These factors among others impeded the capitalist mode of yam production in Tiv land during the early part of post colonial era.

Firstly, the political crisis situation at that time in Tiv land was not conducive to freely go about yam farming to increase its output. Secondly, yam farmers in Tiv land were also deeply involved in the political crises. Very many of them were killed and others seriously wounded and deformed. Thirdly, T. Agena argued that about 15000 yam farmers were recruited into the Nigerian Military service to execute the civil war^{25(b)}. These and many other factors put together deterred yam production in Tiv land during the Nigerian Civil War.

During the field survey of the present research study, three elders and yam farmers, namely Avuu Gyaase Ubi from Logo Local Government Area (11/12/2012)²⁶, Atondo Gongor, an ex-serviceman from Dan-Anacha yam market (10/8/2011)²⁷ and Dyako Atser, an elderly person from Vandeikya Local Government Area (15/07/2012)²⁸ were differently interviewed on the situation of yam production during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970. Separately, they all agreed that the situation would have deteriorated to a famine condition if women, children and old men had not intervened with a make-shift arrangement of taking over the hoeing of mounds, from the male young adults who were recruited in the Nigeria Military Service.

However, immediately after the Nigerian Civil War in 1970, Tiv yam farmers who fought in the Nigerian Civil War were demobilized back to Tiv land using the down-sizing policy of the Nigerian army and other reasons. As soon as these returnees came back to Tiv land, they went straight into yam farming, doing what they knew best before joining the Nigerian Army. They wanted to generate wealth and live flamboyant lives as comparable to what they saw in Igbo land during the war. Some of our oral interviewees such as Ugber Akpa from Ayati in Ukum LGA (7/1/2013)²⁹ Ugba Ayem at Ahmadu town in Taraba state (10/1/2012)³⁰ Orir Torkon at Ayua in Katsina-Ala LGA (29/11/2013)³¹ and many others, all agreed separately that the return of the ex-military men to Tivland actually brought about land crisis among different families which further degenerated into external migration of the Tiv people to other areas outside the Tiv land in search for fertile land to farm yams. Another

reasons for increase in yam production in Tiv land after the Nigerian civil war was the formulation of new policies by both the Federal and State governments on fertilizers and other agricultural policies as well as loans to increase yam production in Tiv land to resolve the unpalatable general food security situation in the entire country after the war.³²

Table I: An Incremental Output of Yam Production in Benue Province of Central Nigeria, 1920-1959

| S/N | YEAR | QUANTITY IN TONNES |
|-----|------|--------------------|
| 1 | 1920 | 987 |
| 2 | 1921 | 1028 |
| 3 | 1922 | 1333 |
| 4 | 1923 | 1478 |
| 5 | 1924 | 1691 |
| 6 | 1925 | 1720 |
| 7 | 1926 | 1894 |
| 8 | 1927 | 1987 |
| 9 | 1928 | 1994 |
| 10 | 1929 | 2109 |
| 11 | 1930 | 2157 |
| 12 | 1931 | 2254 |
| 13 | 1932 | 2311 |
| 14 | 1933 | 2423 |
| 15 | 1934 | 2513 |
| 16 | 1935 | 2617 |
| 17 | 1936 | 2778 |
| 18 | 1937 | 2817 |
| 19 | 1938 | 2882 |
| 20 | 1939 | 2967 |
| 21 | 1940 | 3019 |
| 22 | 1941 | 3198 |
| 23 | 1942 | 3367 |
| 24 | 1943 | 3512 |
| 25 | 1944 | 3743 |
| 26 | 1945 | 3890 |
| 27 | 1946 | 3910 |
| 28 | 1947 | 4003 |
| 29 | 1948 | 4211 |
| 30 | 1949 | 4360 |
| 31 | 1950 | 4576 |
| 32 | 1951 | 4798 |
| 33 | 1952 | 4992 |
| 34 | 1953 | 5012 |
| 35 | 1954 | 5126 |
| 36 | 1955 | 5700 |
| 37 | 1956 | 6076 |
| 38 | 1957 | 6276 |
| 39 | 1958 | 6010 |
| 40 | 1959 | 7619 |

Source: Benue State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources Makurdi (1995)
Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority, Implementation Report
March, 1995

The statistical figures in the above data table indicates clearly that the output production of yam crop on Tiv land increased so significantly during the colonial period as earlier affirmed by Varvar that “...the production of yam in Tiv land witnessed significant increase during the colonial period...”³³ The incremental rates were suggestively responding according to the intensification of the colonial economic activities of the colonial Tiv area. From the years between 1920-1929, there was an increase of only 2.109 tonnes, then from 1930-1939, as the economic activities of the colonial era intensified, so also the output of yam production increased to 2,967 tonnes and continued in that order to the prime period of colonialism in Tiv area, from 1950-1959. Production increase of 4,360 in the years between 1940-1949 moved straight to 7,619 tonnes from 1950-1959.

The situation of lack of statistical data to justify yearly increment of yam production during the colonial era dramatically improved during the post colonial Tiv land. Evidently, a table of incremental output of yam production in Nigeria, Benue Province and Tiv land (Tiv N.A) from 1960-1970 is presented below to further buttress the argument that yam production has been on intermitant increase in Tiv land from the colonial to the post colonial period.

Table II: An Incremental Output of Yam Production in Nigeria, Benue Province and Tiv Land (Tiv N.A) 1960-1970

| S/NO | YEAR | NIGERIA QUANTITY IN 000 M. TONNES | BENUE PROVINCE | TIV LAND (TIV N.A) |
|------|------|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 1960 | 8,767 | 6,137 | 4,910 |
| 2 | 1961 | 11,915 | 8,340 | 6,672 |
| 3 | 1962 | 13,258 | 9,281 | 5,197 |
| 4 | 1963 | 12,892 | 9,024 | 5,054 |
| 5 | 1964 | 15,630 | 10,941 | 4,288 |
| 6 | 1965 | 14,330 | 10,031 | 5,617 |
| 7 | 1966 | 14,500 | 10,150 | 5,684 |
| 8 | 1967 | 11,771 | 8,240 | 3,230 |
| 9 | 1968 | 10,499 | 7,349 | 2,881 |
| 10 | 1969 | 12,194 | 8,536 | 4,780 |
| 11 | 1970 | 14,913 | 10,439 | 8,351 |

Source: Kayode, M.O. & Usman, Y.B. (eds) Nigeria Since Independence. The First 25 years, Vol. 11, Ibadan, Heineman, 1989 p. 52

As illustrated in the table, clear statistical figures denoting specific yearly increment of yam production in Nigeria, Benue Province and Tiv land from 1960-1970 in ‘000 metric

tonnes, are presented. These data statistics suggest that there was intermittent increment in yam production in the first ten years (1960-1970) of the Nigerian Independence. In 1960, 4,910 metric tonnes were produced in Tiv land. In the following year (1961), yam production increased with the output 6,672 metric tonnes in Tiv land and from 8,767 metric tonnes to 11,915 metric tonnes in the whole country. There were fluctuations from 1962 with 5,179 metric tonnes, 5,054 metric tonnes in 1963, and 4,288, metric tonnes in 1964. On the other hand, there was increment in the output production in Nigeria from 13,258 metric tonnes in 1962 to 15,630 metric tonnes in 1964.

In view of the fact that there was increment in the output production of yam in the country from 1961 to 1964 but fluctuations within this period in Tiv land, suggest that the two episodes of political upheavals in Tiv land, namely the “Nande-Nande” of 1962 and “atemityo” of 1964 contributed to the fluctuations in yam production during this period. There was a gradual increase in yam production output between 1965 and 1966, followed by a sharp fall of 3,230 metric tonnes in 1967, and 2,881 metric tonnes in 1968 in Tiv land. This same fall in the output of yam production was recorded in Nigeria from 1967 with as low as 11,771 metric tonnes down to 10,499 metric tonnes in 1968. Since the decline of yam production between 1967 to 1969 affected Tiv land and entire country, suggest that the decline in production was partly caused by the activities of the Nigerian civil war, (1967-1970). At the end of the Nigerian civil war, in January 1970, an incremental rate of yam production output was recorded in Tiv land, with 8,351 increment in 1970 and 14,913 metric tonnes in Nigeria. Conclusively, the above data table supports imperically that yam production output in Tiv land continued to increase from the colonial period to the post colonial era inspite of certain intermittent deterrants occasioned by political upheavels in Tiv land and indeed the whole nation.

Further imperical illustrations under table III overleaf is presented to back up with statistical data, the argument that yam production output has been on increase from the

colonial period till date in the Benue Region and Tiv land in particular. The table presents an estimated output production in '000,000 metric tonnes of 1985 with 208,400 metric tonnes and continued to increase gradually over all the years from 1985-1999. There was production output of 208,400 metric tonnes in 1985 and continued to gradually increase with certain fluctuations to 1,784,096 metric in 1999 and 274,360 metric tonnes in 2000 which began the 2001 yam recession. The same case applies to Ukum LGA, the leading yam producer in Tiv land. There are noticeable fluctuations as shown in Table III. These fluctuations suggest poor harvest occasioned by droughts, excessive rainfall, poor fertilizer distribution, lack of motivation of farmers, among others. Most importantly, however, there was an average increase in yam production in the Benue Region, Tiv land inclusive, during the post colonial period.

Table III: An estimated output of yam in Benue Region and Tiv LGAs from 1985-1999

| | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Benue State | 208,400 | 637,411 | 183,355 | 478,160 | 662,062 | 675,303 | 695,574 | 402,285 | 300,000 | 290,264 | 229,864 | 856,320 | 1,324,024 | 1,600,741 | 1,784,096 |
| LGA | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ukum | 187560 | 573669.9 | 165019.5 | 430344 | 595855.8 | 607772.7 | 626016.6 | 362056.5 | 270000 | 261237.6 | 206877.6 | 770688 | 1191621.6 | 1440666.9 | 1605686.4 |
| Katsina Ala | 166720 | 509928.8 | 146684 | 382528 | 529649.6 | 540242.4 | 556459.2 | 321828 | 240000 | 232211.2 | 183891.2 | 693619.2 | 1072459.4 | 1296600.21 | 1445117.8 |
| Logo | 156300 | 478058.25 | 137516.25 | 358620 | 496546.5 | 506477.3 | 521680.5 | 301713.8 | 225000 | 217698 | 172398 | 624257.3 | 965213.5 | 1166940.19 | 1300606 |
| Konshisha | 125040 | 382446.6 | 110013 | 286896 | 397237.2 | 405181.8 | 417344.4 | 241371 | 180000 | 174158.4 | 137918.4 | 561831.6 | 868692.15 | 1050246.17 | 1170545.4 |
| Kwande | 125040 | 382446.6 | 110013 | 286896 | 397237.2 | 405181.8 | 417344.4 | 241371 | 180000 | 174158.4 | 137918.4 | 505648.4 | 781822.93 | 945221.553 | 1053490.8 |
| Vandeikya | 62520 | 191223.3 | 55006.5 | 143448 | 198618.6 | 202590.9 | 208672.2 | 120685.5 | 90000 | 87079.2 | 68959.2 | 455083.6 | 703640.64 | 850699.398 | 948141.76 |
| Ushongo | 83360 | 254964.4 | 73342 | 191264 | 264824.8 | 270121.2 | 278229.6 | 160914 | 120000 | 116105.6 | 91945.6 | 409575.2 | 633276.57 | 765629.458 | 853327.59 |
| Gboko | 62520 | 191223.3 | 55006.5 | 143448 | 198618.6 | 202590.9 | 208672.2 | 120685.5 | 90000 | 87079.2 | 68959.2 | 368617.7 | 569948.92 | 689066.512 | 767994.83 |
| Buruku | 104200 | 318705.5 | 91677.5 | 239080 | 331031 | 337651.5 | 347787 | 201142.5 | 150000 | 145132 | 114932 | 331755.9 | 512954.03 | 620159.861 | 691195.34 |
| Tarka | 83360 | 254964.4 | 73342 | 191264 | 264824.8 | 270121.2 | 278229.6 | 160914 | 120000 | 116105.6 | 91945.6 | 298580.3 | 461658.62 | 558143.875 | 622075.81 |
| Guma | 41680 | 127482.2 | 36671 | 95632 | 132412.4 | 135060.6 | 139114.8 | 80457 | 60000 | 58052.8 | 45972.8 | 268722.3 | 415492.76 | 502329.487 | 559868.23 |
| Makurdi | 62520 | 191223.3 | 55006.5 | 143448 | 198618.6 | 202590.9 | 208672.2 | 120685.5 | 90000 | 87079.2 | 68959.2 | 241850.1 | 373943.48 | 452096.539 | 503881.41 |
| Gwer-West | 72940 | 223093.85 | 64174.25 | 167356 | 231721.7 | 236356.1 | 243450.9 | 140799.8 | 105000 | 101592.4 | 80452.4 | 217665.1 | 336549.14 | 406886.885 | 453493.27 |
| Gwer-East | 83360 | 254964.4 | 73342 | 191264 | 264824.8 | 270121.2 | 278229.6 | 160914 | 120000 | 116105.6 | 91945.6 | 195899 | 302894.2 | 366198.2 | 408143.9 |
| Total | 1,625520 | 4971806 | 1430169 | 3729648 | 5164084 | 5267363 | 5425477 | 3137823 | 2340000 | 2264059 | 1792939 | 6800114 | 10514192 | 12711626 | 14167665 |

Source: Nigeria Since Independence, Vol. II p. 63 (with additional projections): edited by Kayode, M.O. & Usman, Y.B. Heineman, Ibadan 1989.

Table III, clearly shows that there was increased yam production in the Benue Region from 1985-2000 in support of the on-going argument. At this point, the study is directed towards the explanation of causal factors responsible for the progressive changes in yam production techniques and the role of both the Nigerian and Benue State governments in changing yam production methods during the post colonial era in Tiv land.

According to J.N. Ninga, three factors, namely the desire for monetary gains of the yam farmers, improved transport system and the ever increasing demands for trade in yam outside the Tiv land actually combined to increase the rate of Tiv yam production and trade during the post colonial era. In addition, seasonal migration and the sale or hire of labour force, increased availability of fertilizers and insecticides and most of all, government interventions (assistance/aids) jointly repositioned (revamped) and increased yam production from 1970-2000 as visibly presented on Table III:

Another important role played by both the Federal and State governments to change productive patterns of the techniques of yam production, was the introduction and encouragement of fertilizer and insecticide usage and training programmes, to increase production of yam across Tiv land during the post colonial era.

The predominant tropical soil in Tiv land is the kaolin type. It was once asserted that:

the soil type in Tiv land, apart from being low in major nutrients has low buffering capacity, as well as low organic matter due to high temperatures and rainfalls with the tendency to be acidic and is easily eroded, thus, making the tropical soil low in fertility.³³

The nature of tropical soil in Tiv land has the tendency to be acidic and is easily eroded, creating a situation of low fertility in the area. The fertility of any soil, depletes after each year's cultivation, unless residues of crops are ploughed back into it as organic manure or inorganic fertilization. In the pre-colonial and colonial eras, shifting cultivation was used to restore soil fertility after production. However, rapid population growth, large scale farming, and soil exhaustion made land grossly inadequate to the extent that shifting cultivation was

no longer embarked upon to restore soil fertility. It was for this reason that artificial means to restore soil fertility for continuous production of yam and other crops were introduced, such as organic manure. Compost organic manure was simply derived from decomposed plants or animal dungs which releases nutrients to replenish the already used up soil nutrients.

According to Bohannan in his study on “Tiv Farm and Settlement” the introduction of organic manure in Tiv yam farming system was in the 1930s by the colonial government at Yandev Farm Training Centre, established in 1927. The use of organic manure to increase soil fertility was cumbersome and therefore was not generally accepted by the farmers. Apart from the difficulty of processing it, there were also problems of transporting the product in large quantities to the farms and proficiency in its application on the crops. There was minimal application of organic manure and low acceptability until after the Nigerian independence in 1960. As earlier stated, the political history of Tiv land shows that after independence, Tiv land was confronted with series of political wars like *Nande-Nande* of 1962 and *Atemtyo* of 1964 ranging from 1960-1964.²⁴ The attention of Tiv farmers drifted to political wars on their land and there was not much concentration on yam farm activities. These Tiv revolts continued until the era of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970.²⁵ In fact, from 1960 to 1970, fertilizers and herbicides were not given the deserved attention as valuable alternatives for improved soil fertility for high yield of crops in Tiv land until after the 1970s.

Fertilizer uptake later came up again at a very slow pace in Tiv land. It was then speculated that, only 13,080.25 MT of fertilizers were sold to the Tiv farmers out of 43,214MT made available by the State Government. There was slight increase in the supply of fertilizer from 1978-1987 as tabulated overleaf.

Table IV: Fertilizer Distribution by Type in Benue State in Metric Tonnes from 1978-1987

| S/N | TYPE | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 |
|-----|-----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 | NPK 15:15:15 | 1174 | 2517 | 4153 | 6393.2 | 5122 | 2785 | 26338.25 | 2057.3 | 5843.45 | 11230.15 |
| 2 | 27:13:13 | 9200 | 1503 | 1883 | 6393.2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3 | S.A | 90 | 5696 | 3658 | 1487.85 | - | - | - | - | 1985.50 | 6930.2 |
| 4 | SSP | 380 | 835 | 2839 | 5820.05 | 210 | 270 | 202.75 | 0.55 | 1703.40 | 4800.15 |
| 5 | UREA | 14846 | 3613 | 2896 | 3390.63 | - | - | 1047.5 | 76.15 | 911.35 | 120 |
| 6. | CAN | 2667 | - | 2154 | 3286.35 | 3161 | 767 | 515.1 | 604 | 1568.50 | 7320 |
| 7. | DAP | - | - | - | - | - | - | 22.2 | 177.6 | 1086.49 | 2220 |
| 8. | MPO | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.80 | - |
| 9. | BSP | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 34.80 | - |
| 10. | 20:20:20 | - | - | - | - | 40 | - | - | - | - | 4431.65 |
| 11. | Others | - | - | - | - | - | 432 | - | - | - | - |
| | Total | 7079 | 14164 | 17588 | 2423.43 | 8493 | 4254 | 4125.8 | 2915.6 | 13134.3 | 37052.85 |

Source: Fertilizer Unit, Ministry of Agriculture and BNARDA, Makurdi (1987). Extracted from M. Odey, Food Crop Production...2011 p202.

Table V: Fertilizer Distributions to each LGA in Benue State (MTS) 1986-1987
Types of fertilizer

| S/N | LGAS | Totals | NPK 15:15:15 | UREA | CAN | DAP | S/A | MOP | BSP | SSP |
|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------------|---------|---------|---------|----------|--------|--------|---------|
| 1 | 1986 | 40,964.25 | 8079 | 5860 | 4500.15 | 5490 | 12,060 | - | 1440.1 | 3635 |
| 2. | 1987 | 38,663.4 | 11,225 | 7212.95 | 4594.5 | 4594.5 | 6,012.15 | 68.2 | 562.4 | 3,366.2 |
| 3 | Ankpa | 1927.66 | 746.4 | 514.96 | 640.35 | 22.45 | - | - | 3.45 | 0.05 |
| 4. | Bassa | 258.45 | 73.15 | 185.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5. | Dekina | 823.5 | 674.55 | 120.05 | 28.2 | 0.55 | - | - | - | - |
| 6. | Gboko | 8641.1 | 2016.25 | 1020.95 | 617.95 | 780.80 | 1068.75 | 0.55 | 466.30 | 269.55 |
| 7. | Gwer | 2408 | 396.20 | 838.90 | 403.75 | 425.65 | 230.40 | - | 3.15 | 49.95 |
| 8. | Idah | 542.9 | 264.75 | 80.60 | 188.40 | 9.15 | - | - | - | - |
| 9. | K/Ala | 9499.4 | 2349.64 | 1364.35 | 1356.35 | 2558.70 | 2677.25 | - | 28.50 | 161.90 |
| 10. | Kwande | 2217.25 | 907.30 | 159.20 | 442.50 | 686.65 | 928.95 | 42.50 | - | 160.75 |
| 11. | Makurdi | 4704.3 | 4704.3 | 787.85 | 2279.10 | 723.60 | 306.40 | 315.40 | 25.00 | 32.95 |
| 12. | Oju | 322.2 | 322.2 | 130.50 | - | 94.05 | 8.50 | 89.15 | - | - |
| 13. | Okpokwu | 593.65 | 593.65 | 417.20 | 38.50 | 84.60 | - | 50.00 | - | - |
| 14. | Otukpo | 2093.35 | 2093.35 | 761.70 | 347.35 | 512.45 | 173.70 | 296.50 | 0.5 | - |
| 15. | Vandeikya | 3531.55 | 3531.55 | 1699.50 | 265.70 | 477.00 | 619.55 | 355.75 | - | 28.05 |

Source: Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (BNARDA) and Statistical Year Book, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Makurdi, Benue State, 1989. Extracted from M. Odey, Food Crop Production... 2011 p. 203

The most important things about Table IV & Table V are the indications that there was increment in the amount of different types of fertilizers distributed to the Tiv farmers in

Tiv land as from 1970s upward. Secondly, Katsina-Ala Local Governemnt Area which was then made up of Katsina-Ala, Ukum, and Logo, now called Sankera, the core centre of yam production collected the highest amount of fertilizers, (9499.4) in table V as an indication of the leading yam production zone in the post colonial Tiv land.

In addition to fertilizer procurement, Benue State Government, through Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (BNARDA) and the Ministry of Agriculture (MOA), provided agro-chemicals, such as herbicides, insecticides, sprayers, milling machines, irrigation pumps, and other equipment for retail to Benue farmers at subsidized rates. For instance, in 1999, the State Ministry of Agriculture allocated about 8,386 litres of herbicides worth N7, 350,000.99; 900 units of sprayers and 70 rice milling machines to farmers. Money was paid back instalmentally by the farmers into the account of the Ministry for another round of consignment. Table V, presents agro-chemicals and other farm implements procured and sold to Benue farmers in June, 1996 for increased crop production, yam crop inclusive.

Table VI : Herbicides, Insecticides, and Seed Procured and Sold to Farmers

| S/N | Inputs | Stock Sales | Value (N) | Stock Balance (N) | Total Value (N) |
|-----|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | Herbicides | Sundry | 1,459,225.00 | 4,101,045.00 | 5,469,270.00 |
| 2 | Insecticides | Sundry | 358,244.00 | 8,774,961.00 | 9,133,205.00 |
| 3 | Improved Seeds | Sundry | 53,914.00 | 1,709,240.00 | 1,763,154.00 |
| 4 | Total Value | - | 1,871,383.00 | 14,494,246.00 | 16,365,269.00 |

Source: BNARDA Stock Balance, 30th June, 1996

In addition to fertilizer and insecticide distribution to Tiv farmers, government policies were also put in place to effect the changing pattern of yam production in the post colonial Tiv land. Available information from BNARDA office also indicate that in December, 1985, the Federal Government directed that, all Agricultural Development Projects in all the States of the Federation should become the implementing arm of their respective State Ministries of Agriculture to facilitate and enforce input distribution to farmers. This policy, therefore, empowered the Benue State Government to move the

responsibilities of agricultural extension services to the already established Benue State Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (BNARDA).

The goals of BNARDA included: to revitalize extension system, multiply improved seeds for distribution, recognise and commercialize input distribution and to provide feeder roads, rural water and deliver extension services to the local farmers among others. A mechanism for transfer of improved farming technologies by training and visit system was properly put in place too. With this system in place, regular training of extension staff who regularly visited contact farmers at scheduled times and specific points were adapted. In addition, the extension staff instructed and supervised the application of fertilizers and insecticides on yam farms and other crops. They also assisted yam farmers to purchase other varieties of yam seeds from far places, like ‘Ogoja’ and ‘Agatu’ yam seeds, which are now common in Tiv land. This was mainly to assist small scale farmers improve production of yam output and increase their incomes.

One of such appropriate technologies employed in the training of local farmers for acquisition of requisite skills to improve their farm yields was the Small Plot Adoption Technique (SPAT). Table VI presents results of successful SPAT scheme from its inception in 1986-1993 to buttress further how the State government impacted on increased food crop production with yam inclusive in Benue State from 1986 to date.

Table VII: Small Plot Adoption Techniques (SPAT) Trails by BNARDA from 1986-1993.

| S/N | Type of Soil | No. of Trails | % of No. of Trails |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Crop Variety | 29,053 | 37.98 |
| 2 | Fertilizer | 31,820 | 41.49 |
| 3 | Crop Spacing | 6,626 | 8.66 |
| 4 | Crop Protection | 920 | 1.20 |
| 5 | Crop Mixtures | 4,080 | 5.33 |
| 6 | Yam Minisett | 4,005 | 5.24 |
| | Total=6 | 76,504 | - |

Source: BNARDA, Makurdi, (1996)

As indicated in table VII the yam miniset achieved a lot for yam farmers, especially in Ukum, Katsina-Ala and Logo Local Government Areas of Tiv land in Benue State. Tiv traditional

yam farmers acquired useful knowledge and experience in terms of how and when to apply fertilizers/insecticides; which type of fertilizer was good for which type of food crop, when to start planting yam in a year and other aspects of yam production. The implementation of this knowledge actually transformed yam production techniques in the post colonial Tiv land.

Table VIII: Output of SPAT Trails by BNARDA, 1999-2008

| S/N | Year | Extension Agents In Position | | | Actual Contact With Farmers | | | | | |
|-----|------|------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------------|------|------------|--------|--------|------|
| | | Targets | Achievements | % Present | Contact Farmers | % | E.A Visits | % Spat | % | |
| 1 | 1999 | 368 | 283 | 97.0 | 31,974 | 90.5 | 51,451 | 67.0 | 13,161 | 76.1 |
| 2 | 2000 | 368 | 244 | 66.3 | 31,974 | 90.5 | 40,849 | 53.0 | 15,399 | 89.0 |
| 3 | 2006 | 368 | 208 | 56.5 | 31,974 | 90.5 | 24,631 | - | 3,756 | Na |
| 4 | 2007 | 368 | 201 | 55.0 | 16,080 | 54.4 | 17,173 | 89.0 | 2,228 | 55.4 |
| 5 | 2008 | 368 | 156 | 42.4 | 29,940 | 85.0 | 16,342 | 84.7 | 1,742 | 86.2 |

Source: BNARDA'S Annual Report From 1999-2008

The Benue State Government also embarked on deliberate programmes to generate money to assist farmers financially to increase food crop production, especially yam which serves as both food and cash crop in the State. Through BNARDA, one of the steps taken to promote food crop production and trade, especially yam, the most preferred crop of the Tiv, was the establishment of agro-service centres across Tiv land.

Each of these centres was provided with four units of two bedroom quarters, one block of five offices, fertilizer store, one agro-chemical store, mechanical workshop, generator for power supply, feeder roads equipment, among others. Fertilizers and agro-chemicals were sold at subsidised rate to farmers at the centres nearest to them, thus, saving their transportation costs and other risks. In addition, rural roads were regularly graded and new ones opened up across Tiv land to these agro-service centres. This was to facilitate movement of farm produce from the farms to markets and homes. Through BNARDA, Tiv farmers were variously aided to promote yam production and trade as from its establishment up to date. Table: IX presents Agro-service centres in Tiv land for confirmation.

Table IX: Agro-Service Centres inTiv land

| S/No | Local Government Area | Agro-Service Centres |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | Gboko | Akpagher |
| 2 | Buruku | Tyowanye |
| 3 | Guma | Daudu; Udei; Agasha |
| 4 | Gwer West | Ikpayongo; Tarku |
| 5 | Gwer East | Naka |
| 6 | Katsina-Ala | Tor-Donga |
| 7 | Konshisha | Korinya; Gungul |
| 8 | Kwande | Jato-Aka |
| 9 | Logo | Abeda |
| 10 | Makurdi | Makurdi |
| 11 | Tarkaa | Wannune |
| 12 | Ukum | Zaki-Biam |
| 13 | Ushongo | Sati-Ikyov; Lessel |
| 14 | Vandeikya | Mede; Ihugh |

Source: BNARDA, 1996

There are other available records which suggest that the State Government also assisted farmers with credit facilities/loans in order to aid them sustain increased production and sales of food crops, especially yam. This was done by providing direct access to loan and credit facilities to farmers across the country as suggested by Regina, H.Y. Fu, etal (2011) earlier quoted in the study. For example, the Federal Government in 1977 established Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund (ACGSF), a fund that had the ownership and shareholding of 60% by the Federal Ministry of Finance and 40% by the Central Bank of Nigeria. The intention was to accomplish its role of promoting increased agricultural production and trade in Nigeria. About 13,910, farmers including the Tiv yam farmers, in Benue State were reported to have benefited from the scheme to the tune of N93, 441,000.00. (BNARDA, 1996)

Before the SPAT Scheme, there were agricultural training institutions for prospective farmers in Benue State since the colonial period. These skills acquisition institutions were designed to prepare farmers with requisite knowledge and qualifications in the agricultural industry for the development of cash and food crops in the area. The first established

agricultural based training institution in Tiv land was the Farm Training Centre at Yandev-Gboko, during the colonial period. In 1973, the training centre was upgraded to the status of a College of Agriculture at Yandev.

A new agricultural training centre was therefore established in its place at Mbatie in 1973. One of the main goals of professional training in these institutions was to improve production strategies to increase yam production and other food crops. Furthermore, the University of Agriculture in Makurdi was established and other tertiary institutions with the mandate to train agricultural workers. Our field survey also indicate that there are some graduates from these institutions who are already into farming schemes contributing to increased food crop production, with yam inclusive, across Tiv land and beyond. It is not surprising that Benue State is today known as the “Food Basket of the Nation”

Labour and Land

Besides the introduction of modern techniques of yam production which impacted positively on the changing methods of yam production in post colonial Tiv land, the labour force and land system as key elements of the mode of production of yam were further improved upon. These steps equally impacted positively to enhance increase in yam production from the colonial to the post colonial periods in Tiv land. The introduction of wage labour system really contributed to large scale yam farming, thereby increasing the rate of yam production in Tiv land during and after the colonial era. Family units with less labour hands were able to hire or engage additional labour hands and pay wages to them to farm yams apart from the increased expertise of the black smiths improving on making farm tools like hoes and other.. On the other hand, those who collected wages for their labour used the monies acquired to invest in other sectors of the Tiv economy like transportation to fast-track yam production. Some of these paid labourers engaged in other yam related businesses like cookeries which in turn enhanced increased yam production on Tiv land during the post colonial era.

The wage labour system of the colonial regime also brought about seasonal labour migration especially from the southern and parts of central Tiv land to the Northern parts of Tiv land where yam production had just started infiltrating during the colonial era. In fact, new ways of yam cultivation were adopted by the Northern yam farmers from labour immigrants from southern parts of Tiv land. The field survey of the present study reveals, that these labour immigrants who introduced the age group farming system known as “Ihumbe” in the northern Tiv land, still increase in their numbers and skills especially from the returnees of the civil war up to date in Tiv land. As earlier stated, “ihumbe” is a farming process, whereby a group of youthful farmers, farm together in turn at the same time on the same farm in a competitive manner which produces a lot of farm work done in a short time with less stress and fatigue than the individual farming system. Till today, large scale farmers in the North Eastern Tiv land always embark on seasonal tours to recruit more farm labour hands in the southern and parts of central Tiv land like Vandeikya, Konshisha and Gboko to Ukum, Katsina-Ala and Logo to increase their yam fields or farms yearly.

LAND TENURE: PRE-COLONIAL, COLONIAL, AND POST COLONIAL PERIODS

Pre-Colonial Era

During the pre-colonial era, land in Tiv area was a scared property only to be inherited from the great grand fathers and not owned by an individual or sold out.³⁴ It was the property of the entire community, kept under the custody of the traditional elders. The responsibility of the elder was to allocate the community land to all the compound units within their communities. At the beginning of every annual cropping season, the compound Head would in turn share out the farm land to each family unit within his compound for yam cultivation which was the leading crop for annual cultivation. Each family unit would organise family members and cultivate yams on the plot of land shared to her for the season. As a matter of tradition, women were not entitled to land inheritance in Tiv land.

Colonial Era

According to Zaki, Amakaa Agye³⁵, Tiv society began to experience land shortage during the colonial period especially in the southern Tiv land where population was higher.³⁶

The traditional shifting cultivation was dropped for the fallow system of yam cultivation. Yam farmers began to lay claims for the first and second fallow land. Individual families therefore began to own fallow lands. At the beginning of new cropping season, individual families would no longer wait for land sharing but go straight to farm yams on their fallow land. This marked the beginning of land hiring, or and lease of farm lands to strangers or visitors in the Tiv society.

Post Colonial Era

Under the post colonial period, according to Dzahan³⁶, the Ter Ukum young men who inherited land from their fathers as family heads were no longer respecting the traditional authorities in their respective communities. Apart from renting or hiring out the fallow land, they began to sale out these lands to strangers including Igbo yam traders to cultivate yams. This was the beginning of the formal sale of traditional land in Tiv society especially in towns and settlement areas where land is sold for housing and other purposes.

4.7 Conclusion

Yam production was practiced by the Tiv as far back as the pre-colonial era. The process of yam production started with selecting a site, which were selected close to the beginning of annual cultivation of the crop. However, actual process of yam cultivation always started around August with the clearing of weeds from a portion of land to be farmed. Other processes which followed in sequence were yam heap making, planting of yam seedlings, clearing of weeds, harvesting and storage. All of these methods were guided by the communal mode of production and were executed through communal labour and the use of crude implements/tools especially hoe and cutlass. Production of yam in the pre-colonial era was essentially for subsistence.

The colonial era, however, initiated certain changes in yam production in Tiv land, as a result of the introduction of the colonial economic structures, which transformed the economy through wage labour policy, among other colonial policies. All the colonial economic features influenced yam production positively in one way or the other during the colonial era. However, increasing demand for yam production continued to bring about

changes in the Tiv traditional methods of its production from the pre-colonial era to date in Tiv land which also added value to increment in its production.

The post colonial era also witnessed remarkable changes in the trend of yam production and trade. During this period, modern facilities, including roads, fertilizers and aid in various forms from the two tiers of government, among others, were introduced as against traditional means used in the pre-colonial era. The introduction of modern techniques in yam production also impacted positively on increment in yam production output. Finally, as much as yam production, from the colonial time to the post colonial era, 1915-2000 was impeded it gradually continued to increase till date in Tiv land and beyond. Conclusively, increase in yam production in Tiv land has been so far achieved dominantly through expansion in land cultivated and the use of fertilizers and herbicides with little improvement in technology. Recommendations for focusful technological improvement for increased yams production will be attempted at the end of this study.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF TIV-YAM TRADE FROM THE COLONIAL TO THE POST COLONIAL ERA 1915-1960-2000

5.1 Introduction

As earlier stated in chapter three under the pre-colonial structure of the Tiv traditional economy, yam trade was distinguished from the general purpose trade by barter of the pre-colonial period in Tiv land. This chapter, therefore continues with the analysis on the development and expansion of yam trade of the Tiv land specifically from the colonial epoch (1915-1960) progressively to the post Independence Tiv land of 1960-2000.

Historically, the colonial rule in Tiv land, which began in about 1915, led to the economic transformation of the Tiv society through Colonial economic policies, such as taxation, commoditization of yam crop, monetization, wage labour, provision of infrastructural facilities like roads, railway, cash crop imposition and labour conscription as well as many other policies. These policies were put in place as part of the economic agenda in Tiv land, to transform the subsistence nature of economy to the capitalist mode of economy¹.

According to oral interviews and Varvar's argument in his study on "The Impact of the Colonial Economy on Yam Production in Tiv land, 1900-1960 p.19"², certain colonial economic policies, such as taxation, monetization, commoditization, infrastructures and wage labour greatly influenced the development of yam production and trade more than the other ones during the colonial era. The necessity to pay tax, compelled Tiv male adults to boost yam production and trade to increase the income of their labour force and to generate more money to pay taxes through farm work. The increased labour force of the Tiv farmers resulted into increased production of crops generally in the area. The introduction of the new monetary system and wage labour policies of the colonial rule brought about surplus of crop production for sale, thereby promoting yam trade since yam was already a major crop in Tiv

land. Furthermore, the payment of taxes by the Tiv people was an indication of the acceptance of the colonial supremacy in their land. The acceptance of colonial supremacy over the Tiv people guaranteed freedom of movement and freedom of individual pursuit for money. Thus, an atmosphere of commercial activities was created, thereby encouraging the development of trade generally, yam inclusive, in Tiv area. Therefore, it suggests that the colonial taxation policy, led to increased production of yam for generating more surplus for trade and other services. It also increased revenue, and effectively guaranteed protection and conducive atmosphere for yam trade to flourish during the colonial period.

The introduction of the new monetary system into Tiv land during the colonial period also impacted variously on the development of yam trade. Payment of colonial taxes was cumbersome to the Tiv adults. Truly, the consequences of the inability to pay taxes were painful, generally, because all male adults were compelled to pay tax. It will be recalled that all male adults during the colonial period were assessed and registered for tax payment in every calendar year. Those who could not pay taxes as at when due were openly beaten naked and thrown into the hot sun in the full view of their wives and children. This was to be repeated at intervals until all taxes were paid by defaulters. To avoid the embarrassing penalties, most adults in Tiv land did their best by cultivating cash crops and yam to secure food for energy to cultivate more cash crops for money to pay taxes e.g beniseed was nicknamed '*Kpandegh*', tax in Tiv.

With the introduction of the new monetary system, purchase of yam was made easier than the hitherto process of exchange of goods for other goods or payment made with traditional pieces of clothes, *tugudu*, iron rods, bashi, and other forms of traditional money. In agreement with Varvar's assertion, the absence of statistical data and figures, facts and evidence available suggest that the monetization policy of colonial rule also enhanced the development of yam trade across Tiv land and beyond. To a large extent, monetization meant the introduction of a modern economic system in the colonial Tiv land. Direct payment of

money for labour replaced trade by barter, and other such practices, in colonial Tiv land. Monetization policy, therefore, redirected the production of goods and services towards the production of such commodities that could easily be exchanged. In other words, monetization enforced more of the commoditization process of yam and other cash crops production in Tiv land during the colonial era. This move actually facilitated the development of yam trade in the Tiv territory and even beyond.

According to S. Chia³ yam trade expansion during the colonial Tiv land was not so much achieved, until when the trade became open to other areas outside Tiv land. However, the development and expansion of yam trade as a result of the construction of railway line, and the opening up of Tiv land to the outside world, as will be discussed in the subsequent section, was highly achieved in the colonial period. This partly explains why Ninga argued that:

However yam marketing proper started during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970. With the expanding war demands and money incentives plus the availability of transport, yam production doubled its pre-war volume by 1970.⁴

In addition to the colonial economic policies, colonial administration in itself encouraged yam production and trade in the Tiv territory during the colonial period. The administration persuaded and supported Tiv traditional chiefs, who were part of its creation, to open up rural roads, and markets in their respective domains. This support gave birth to the opening up of rural roads linking up the pre-colonial compound markets, which had grown into rural market centres during the colonial period. Agber once argued that these rural roads and market centres opened during the colonial era included, Ugba-Zaki-Biam road; Zaki-Biam-Kyado-Wukari road; Kastsina-Ala-Abaji-Tor-Donga road; Adikpo-Vandeikya road; Ihugh-Gboko-Aliade road; Makurdi-Abinsi-Anune-Gboko road and others. During our field survey a retired Pastor, Kyukyunder⁵ confirmed to us that many market centres in those days, like Sai, Zaki-Biam, Harga, Sev-av, Mkar, Jato-Aka, Adikpo and a host of others, had their establishments encouraged and promoted by the colonial missionaries in Tiv land⁶.

To crown it all, the colonial administration transformed Gboko into both administrative and commercial headquarters of Tiv land in 1924⁷. The resultant effects of all these on increased yam production and trade was two fold. A large population of people travelled from different areas on these roads across Tiv land with ease to engage in yam trade at Gboko. Secondly, these market centres also served as information disseminating units for further yam production and trade. The exchange of current prices of yam and other potentialities of the development of yam trade equally encouraged the expansion of yam trade. Table IX:, showing the prices of yam, cassava and rice across Tiv land, is presented below to illustrate the growing strength of yam trade over and above cassava and rice across Tiv markets from the colonial period up to the post colonial era.

Table X : Prices of Three Food Stuff in Tiv Markets from the Colonial to the Post Colonial Periods.

| S/N | Place & Date | Stuff | Measure-cash/Bow | 1b.wt | Price | Present conversion |
|-----|---|---------|------------------|-------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Makurdi November, 1949 | Yam | - | - | - | - |
| | | Cassava | Heap | 2 | 1½ d | N100.00 |
| | | Rice | 1 | 2½ | 8d | N200.00 |
| 2. | Makurdi 1950 | Yam | Heap | 14 | £1.1 ^s . 92d | N1,200 |
| | | Cassava | - | - | - | N300.00 |
| | | Rice | 1 | 1 | 4.25d | - |
| 3. | Adikpo and Gboko 1956 | Yam | Heap | 14 | 3.8d | N1000.00 |
| | | Cassava | Heap | 14 | 9d | N150,000 |
| | | Rice | 1 | 2½ | 9.8d | N300.00 |
| 4 | Gboko Environs 1966-June, 1986 forth Nightly. | Yam | Heap | 14 | 13.6d | N1,000.00 |
| | | Cassava | Heap | 1 | 13.6d | N150.00 |
| | | Rice | 1 | 2.5 | 1 ^s | N300.00 |

Source: NAK/ADM IN AGRIC. 6005, 1925/27
M-NAT/I-Retail Price of Local Food Stuff.

The above table indicates that yams were available in higher quantities than all other food stuff and costed more, denoting its increased market value from the colonial period to 2000⁸.

5.2 The Development of Yam Trade Between Tiv land and Other Areas During the Colonial Period (1915-1960)

Colonial administration (1915-1960), contributed to the development and expansion of yam across Tiv land and beyond. This was done in various ways, including the provision of infrastructural facilities, such as opening up of the rural roads, railway, bridges and water

ways. These links connected the local markets to various places outside Tiv land, like Enugu, Port-Harcourt, Obudu, Otukpo, Jos and others⁹. The forceful movement of labourforce from the agricultural sector to portorage, mining, levying of taxes on production and transportation of food crops¹⁰, the establishment and expansion of urban centres and others all facilitated the expansion of yam trade during the colonial era in Tiv land¹¹.

Let it be once again, noted that statistical figures and data for increased yam production and trade during the colonial period in Tiv land are scanty because the colonial government was more interested in the export trade than the local interests of the Tiv people. However, factual evidences suggest that the colonial period in Tiv land witnessed significant increase in yam production and trade. Varvar argues that “Although statistics on the actual quantities of yam production and trade are lacking, there is enough evidence to justify such a conclusion.”¹² Dorward also asserted that, “unfortunately, owing to the nature of this trade (yam trade) quantitative data is unavailable. However, it must be born in mind as a future competitive source of income in any analysis of the Tiv economy”¹³. To further buttress this point of argument, Boyd Alexander, writing before the “opening up” of Tiv land stated that:

The supply of benniseed, which is an important product in the trade of the Niger Company, is entirely dependent on the Munchi (Tiv) who bring it in or not as they choose; the same is the case with yam in the markets along the rivers Benue and Katsina-Ala¹⁴

These facts and other evidences suggest that ever before the advent of colonialism in Tiv land, trade in yam had started developing beyond the shores of Tiv land with recorded expansion and continued to consolidate during the colonial era.

As stated earlier, the first step taken to effect the expansion of yam trade across Tiv land and beyond was the appointment of traditional chiefs (Tor Agbande). As the heads of the local institutions, these traditional chiefs were to encourage and facilitate the opening up of rural roads and the location of markets in strategic central areas within their respective domains for the expansion of commercial activities. This was a remarkable effort to expand not only yam trade, but the entire commercial activities in Tiv land and beyond. Most of the

markets established in Tiv land at that time, which were named after these autocratic chiefs, included Zaki-Biam and Kyado in Ukum LGC, Ugba in Logo LGC, Tor-Donga in Katsina-Ala LGC, Tsar in Vandeikya LGC, Taraku in Gwer LGC, and many others. This development was important because many of the traders in these markets were coming from outside the Tiv land like Bafum people from Cameroun. This implicit assertion is complemented with Biam's records that:

It appointed autocratic chiefs in a cephalous and egalitarian Tiv community. It encouraged these chiefs to construct roads and to open up markets near their compounds. These markets later attracted non-Tiv like Hausa, Bamenda, Udam people and later Igbo.¹⁵

Under colonial government, Tiv traditional chiefs (tor agbande) mobilized their subjects whose wages were paid with monies already collected from them as taxes to gradually open and link up these markets with the already existing ones, like Wukari, Takum, Otukpo, Ogoja and Makurdi, within and outside Tiv land. As earlier stated, the Abinsi-Katsina-Ala road was opened in 1912. Between 1923 and 1929, Wukari-Takum; Donga Garba-TorDonga-Abaji-Katsina-Ala roads were constructed. The Rafin Kada-Donga Garba road and the Wukari-Zaki-Biam-Katsina-Ala were all opened up within the same period during the colonial era¹⁶. Many more rural roads linking the Tiv land with other markets outside it were also constructed within the colonial period.¹⁷ With this development, Tiv yams were sold outside Tiv land in such markets like Wukari and Donga Garba of the Jukun area, Takum of the Chamba/Kuteb area, Obudu and Ogoja in Udam areas of the present Cross River State and others.

To add to the expansion of trade in Tiv land, a ferrying point on a steel pontoon was provided in 1929 across river Katsina-Ala to Gboko. Later on, Abinsi native authority also provided a steel barge across Buruku (Sevav) to Zaki-Biam and Wukari. By 1950 road network in Tiv land were linked with other parts outside the area and were classified as grade A,B and C, according to their usage. Waterways markets, like Katsina-Ala at the bank of river Katsina-Ala, Donga Garba at the bank of river Donga; Ibi, Abinsi, Makurdi, Gbajimba and many others, all located at the banks of River Benue were opened as already stated by

Boyd Alexander. Yam sold at the river side markets were bought mostly by the African staff of the foreign firms, like the Niger Company, and other non Tiv people coming from outside the Tiv land during the colonial period.

The construction of a railway in Tiv land in 1923 and a bridge across river Benue in Makurdi in 1932 provided an impetus for the growth of yam trade in Tiv area and beyond. The railway linked many Tiv settlements such Taraku, Moigbo, Adeke, Makurdi, Udei, Daudu and others. By extension, it boosted yam, marketing in the nearby settlement areas like Abinshi, Aliade, Annune and others in the Tiv territory¹⁸.

Dorward (1975) captured it all that:

The railway opened Tiv land to the Igbo traders who established Canteens at the railway labour camps at Taraku, Kungeru, Makurdi, etc, helping to transform them into pertinent settlements, supplemented the Hausa traders and helped to fuel the Tiv demands for consumer goods... In addition, Igbo traders brought a new dimension to the long established internal trade in yams and other food stuff by exporting by rail. The trade in yams became perhaps too popular.¹⁹

Truly, the railway and other means of transport, including lorries, canoes, among others, facilitated the movement of yams from one place to another as an item of trade within and outside Tiv land. This confirmed Dorward's assertion during the colonial period that yam would in the future become a comparative source of income in any analysis of the Tiv economy. Evidently, it was reported that "there was marked influx of traders from Igbo land and elsewhere in the Southern provinces, who began to buy yams and other food stuff for resale in the Southern parts of Nigeria"²⁰

During the field survey, Ichenge Ikyaaagba²¹ commented that yam trade started getting more prominence beyond Tiv land through the border towns of Tiv territory, like Obudu, Ogoja, Wukari, Takum, Otukpo and others, during the colonial period. Apart from the Igbo yam traders crossing over from Obudu market to buy yams at Tsar market in Tiv land, the railway really facilitated and encouraged Igbo participation in yam trade during the colonial days in Tiv land. In fact, yam trade increased when more and more non-Tiv people became interested in the consumption of Tiv yam. Shifting of European commercial interests away

from commodity trade to the import sector, leaving commodity trade to the Igbo, Bafums, Hausas and other yam traders also contributed to development of yam trade outside Tiv land. Conclusively, as rightly stated by Dorward, that “unfortunately, owing to the nature of yam trade, quantitative data is unavailable to justify the incremental level of yam trade development outside Tiv land during the colonial period.”²²

It will be recalled that, colonialism in Tiv land in itself witnessed increased yam production and trade during the colonial period. For instance, the workings of the colonial system had allowed for increased rate of yam consumption and, consequently, its trade in Tiv land and beyond during the colonial period. The system created new urban centres like Gboko in 1924 and expanded the old ones like Makurdi in the 1950s. This was accomplished by higher population increase of people who were brought into Tiv land for work and trade outside the agricultural sector, in “non-food” producing activities. This calibre of a large population increase depended on the rural areas in Tiv land for their food requirements, especially yam. Through this means, food crop production for consumption and trade during the colonial period in Tiv land was encouraged and promoted. This study shares the view of Varvar, who argued that the population increase as result of migrants into Tiv land during the colonial era had the effect of transforming the yam crop from an ordinary staple food to a commodity of immense commercial value at the level of the micro economy of the Tiv.²³ Dorward, also affirmed that the construction of the railway route from Enugu to Makurdi in Tiv land during the colonial Tiv land “boosted” the trade in yam.²⁴ Despite the lack of statistical data and figures, the statements of facts available suggest evidently that there was increased yam production and trade outside the Tiv territory during the colonial period.

There was higher demand for cash crop production, of benniseed, cotton, groundnuts and others in Tiv land during the colonial period for export than food crop production. This phenomenon turned to be a blessing in disguise for increased yam production and trade in Tiv land. While the colonial rule was hell-bent on compelling Tiv farmers to produce much of these cash crops for export, the Tiv Farmers had to also produce their main food crop, yam, to sustain them for other jobs, including public construction works and mining. Therefore, increased cash crop production during the colonial Tiv land was commensurate with

increased yam production and trade. The two went on side by side. Available evidence indicates that there was high rate of increased benniseed, groundnut, cotton and tin production for export. At the same time, yam was not in short supply in Tiv land during the colonial era, except during the famine periods created by natural disasters. For example, between 31st May and mid July, 1942, the Provincial Resident of Benue had railed to the Jos mines 246 tonnes of yams which were specially required for the 4,000 Tiv labourers recruited and sent to the Plateau for tin mining.²⁵ This served as an indication that yam consumption and trade were taken to locations outside the colonial Tiv land. More so, yam sales were introduced to the Mining camps at that time in the Jos Plateau area.

The wage labour system of the colonial regime also impacted on the development of yam trade outside the Tiv territory. Table XI:, presents the high number of Tiv population taken out of Tiv land for public works.

Table XI: Labour Force Recruitment During the Colonial Period in Tiv land

| S/N | Year | No of Workers |
|----------------------|------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 1923 | 15,585 |
| 2 | 1924 | 17610 |
| 3 | 1925 | 14,050 |
| 4 | 1926 | 12,900 |
| Total 4 Years | | 60,145 workers |

Source:1848-Railway Labour Camps, Benue Province, 1932-1951 in Magvat(ed) History of Labour in Nigeria, 1998 p47 C.C. Jacobs (1998)
:410-Railway Labour tax 1933-1954

In addition to the 60,145 workers presented in Table XI:, there was initial 28,500 workers, making a total of 88,645 recruited Tiv workers engaged as paid labourers for railway construction during the colonial era in Tiv land. Also, it was estimated that in a period of one year, between July, 1942 and August, 1943 alone, about 13,500 Tiv labourers were sent to the Plateau for tin mining.²⁶ The point of emphasis here is that money was paid to these Tiv labourers for rail construction, tin mining and other public works outside their territory. This was the first of its kind in Tiv land. Though much of the money was said by Makar to have been spent on reckless living, like alcoholism, smoking and prostitution, at least part of it was remitted back home to Tiv land for expenditure in other sectors of the Tiv economy, apart from marrying many wives to increase farm labour hands for yam production

and its trade. An improvement in the economy of the Tiv people during the colonial era and the creation of petty yam markets for Tiv labourers in those areas outside Tiv land, suggest an increased volume of yam trade in Tiv land and beyond at that time.

The analysis under this section attempt to provide narrative evidence, which clearly proved that throughout the colonial period, there was no period when for lack of yam production and its trade were not on the increase. This impirical evidence only suggests that there was always high demand for yam which kept its production and trade on the increase throughout the colonial period especially outside Tiv land.

5.3 Development and Expansion of Tiv-Yam Trade During the Post Colonial Period, 1960-2000

Analytically, the colonial economic policies that led to the development of yam trade during the colonial epoch in Tiv land also set the ball rolling for the development of yam trade across board in the post colonial period. The effects of such colonial policies, like the provision of infrastructural facilities, taxation system, security, law and order, which gave impetus to individual pursuit of wealth, among others, combined with the political exigencies occasioned by the Nigerian Independence in 1960, boosted yam trade within and outside Tiv land, especially from 1970 upwards.

The early years after Independence, 1962 and 1964, were years of turmoil in Tiv land arising from political conflicts, Such as “Nande-Nande” and “Atem Ityough” violent episodes, respectively. This caused insecurity in the area and as such affected yam production and trade. The volume of yam produced reduced and so trade in yam was not boisterous. Similarly, from 1967 to 1970, when the entire country was engulfed in a civil war, yam production and marketing were affected in Tiv land, although this time in a positive way. It led to the emergence of rural cooperatives and business groups in Tiv land as Tiv people forged alliances to embark on corporate enterprises.

Our survey reports, further suggest that after the civil war, yam production and trade fully resumed in Tiv land. Many factors, which facilitated the development of yam trade within Tiv territory after the civil war, included the zeal of the individual Tiv traders to

accumulate personal wealth, improved infrastructural development of both the Federal and State governments, like the establishment of the Universal Primary Education (UPE), post primary institutions and the construction of a bridge across river Katsina-Ala, the tarred road from Gboko across the bridge in Katsina-Ala to Zaki-Biam and Wukari, among others.

Ichenge Ikyaagba²⁷ further disclosed that before the end of the civil war in 1970, the terminology of yam market, *kasua u yough* was not common in Tiv land, especially in the Sankera axis of Tiv land. Evidently, it became so common as a result of the growing activities of yam production and trade during the post colonial Tiv land. Yam market, *kasua u yough* (in Tiv) connotes two issues; firstly, a particular designated and strategic location where yam is dominantly sold. Secondly, yam trade or business in itself is also called *kasua u yough* (yam marketing).

Table X:, on page 131 clearly shows that just before and immediately after the Nigerian independence (1957-1967) yam was sold in larger quantities than other food crops in the existing markets across Tiv land. This was an indication of the rising marketing activities of yam in Tiv land at the time of Independence.

Accordingly, after the Nigerian civil war, the growth of yam production and trade across Tiv land, especially in the newly opened up area of Sankera, became much more involving than any other crop sold in the general purpose market. Yam marketing was, therefore, separated from other common goods in the already existing towns in Tiv land, such as Gboko, Katsina-Ala, Adikpo, Ugba and Zaki-Biam. For example, Zaki-Biam yam market was carved out of the general purpose market square of Zaki-Biam town in 1973. The market was separately relocated, three kilometres away from its former location, along Zaki-Biam-Kasar road, where it is limitlessly expanding and booming on a wide land space.

Evidently, the sporadic emergence of yam markets, *kasua mba yough*, during the post colonial period in Tiv land also suggests the growth of yam production and trade after the Nigerian Independence. This was encouraged by inflow of migrants from other areas to the Sankera area of Tiv land, especially as from the post-colonial period up to date. Table XII, shows the sporadic rise of yam markets in different LGAs of Tiv land.

Table XII: Yam Markets in Tiv land

| S/N | LGA | Market | Year |
|-----|--------------|------------|-------|
| 1 | Gboko | Akpagher | 1960s |
| | | Wannune | 1950s |
| | | Tse Kucha | 1960s |
| 2. | Makurdi | Wadata | 1950s |
| | | Abinsi | 1950s |
| 3. | Gwer | Aliade | 1950s |
| | | Igbor | 1950s |
| | | Taraku | 1950s |
| 4. | Buruku | Ashamena | 1960s |
| | | Adi | 1960s |
| | | Ugah | 1990s |
| 5. | Katsina-Ala | Tom-Anyiin | 1950s |
| | | Abaji | 1960s |
| | | Tor-Donga | 1950s |
| | | Gbor | 1990s |
| | | Amaafu | 1960s |
| 6. | Kwande | Adikpo | 1950s |
| | | Jato-Aka | 1950s |
| | | Lessel | 1990s |
| 7. | Vandedikya | Ago | 1960s |
| | | Ihugh | 1960s |
| | | Tsar | 1960s |
| 8. | Ukum | Zaki-Biam | 1950s |
| | | Gbagir | 1960s |
| | | Ayati | 1970s |
| | | Kyado | 1950s |
| | | Chito | 1970s |
| | | Vaase | 1980s |
| | | Abako | 1980s |
| | | Jootar | 1980s |
| 9. | Logo | Ugba | 1960s |
| | | Anyiin | 1960s |
| | | Abeda | 1960s |
| | | Mchia | 1990s |
| | | Iorza | 1990s |
| 10 | Taraba State | Dan-Anacha | |
| | | Wukari | |
| | | Tella | |

Source: Benue in the News (Bureau of Information & Culture (1996)
: T.A. Varvar, The Commoditization of Yam and its Role...2005 p1-24.

As clearly demonstrated in Table XI:, the number of yam markets that rose up from the 1970s upwards were clear manifestations of the increased volume of yam trade in Tiv land and were higher in the Sankera Zone (Katsina-Ala, Ukum and Logo LGAs), which denotes the higher growing rate of yam trading activities within this Zone. This was as a

result of massive inflow of yam farmers, traders and consumers to partake in the development of yam activities in the new Zone.

The zeal to accumulate wealth through yam trade was encouraged by the opportunities provided by the post war demands for yam at that time. As the Igbo yam traders, who dominated the trade, had gone back for their safety to Igbo land to execute the civil war, a vacuum was created for Tiv yam traders to cash in and expand trade in yams in Tiv land. Yam farmers, primary school teachers, both military and civil service retirees, rose up to the occasion to fill this gap. This was the beginning of yam trade associations in Tiv land, such as the Ngenev Yam Dealers Association, inaugurated in 1971, Yam Owners Association, Yam Farmers/Traders Association, and many others. Members of these associations became catalysts for the extension of yam trading tentacles to various locations across Tiv land and beyond. Their activities led to the growth of yam markets, like Chito, Ayati and others. The Tiv indigenous yam traders under the ambitious desire to raise quick money from yam business, began buying and selling of yams on a small scale in the local markets, like Tyowanye, Ayati, Abaji, Igbor, and many others. As yam trade began to generate more wealth more people from different axis of Tiv land, including the Ihyarev, Masev and Nongov, all embraced the trade and it became well expanded across the whole of Tiv land in the 1970s, thereby relocating certain yam traders to the Sankera axis where it was happening and intensifying the activities of yam trade in the zone.

The gradual entrenchment of yam trade in Tiv land, from the 1960s up to 2000, was accordingly reflected in the rising cost of yam products in the markets across Tiv land. Table XIII (a):, presents average yearly prices of cassava and yam flour from 1976-1989; Table XIII (b):, is a reflection of the average farm gate prices of yam in Nigeria, Tiv inclusive, from 1981-1990. Table XIII (c):, shows the average whole sale prices of yam from 1990-1994.

Table XIII (a): Average Yearly Prices of Cassava and Yam in Tiv land of Benue State from 1976-1989 (1 kobo per heap)

| S/NO | FOOD STUFF | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 |
|------|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 | Cassava | 19 | 20 | 26 | 25 | 23 | 33 | 44 | 43 | 78 | 85 | 49 | 56 | 168 | 218 |
| 2. | Yam | 20 | 23 | 31 | 23 | 27 | 49 | 46 | 44 | 78 | 70 | 49 | 70 | 188 | 230 |

Source: Statistical year book, Statistics Department: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Benue State (1978).

Table XIII (b): Average Farm Gate Prices of Cassava and Yam in Nigeria, 1981-1990 (N1/Ton)

| S/NO | FOOD STUFF | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 |
|------|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 | Yam | 471 | 662 | 578 | 619 | 1030 | 630 | 616 | 1680 | 1660 | 1687 |
| 2. | Cassava | 362 | 386 | 399 | 634 | 680 | 308 | 372 | 836 | 1283 | 1202 |

Source: AGRO SEARCH, 1(2) (1995):

Table XIII (c): Average Whole Sale Prices for Cassava and Yam in Tiv land of Benue State, 1990-1994 (N100/KG)

| S/O | FOOD STUFF | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 |
|-----|------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 | Cassava | 87 | 45 | 141 | 334 | 255 |
| 2. | Yam | 372 | 262 | 666 | 1228 | 1290 |

Source: Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority, Makurdi, (1995)

The three Tables (XIII A, B & C) clearly indicate more sequential rise in the prices of yam than cassava in Tiv land, from 1976 to 1990. This evidenced the growing intensity and scope of the value of yam trade more than any other root crop in Tiv land.

Empirically, rebuilding the country after the civil war, both the Federal and State governments introduced rehabilitation and renovation programmes to rebuild war ravaged institutions and infrastructures in Nigeria, especially, the education sector which needed to be reinvigorated first and foremost. To impact on the teaching aspect of education, Universal Primary Education Scheme (UPE) was put in place with the establishment of post primary teachers training institutions across the country, including Tiv land. This was to prepare adequate number of primary school teachers to implement the programme. In Tiv land, such post primary institutions, like Government Teachers Colleges (GTC) and secondary schools, namely: GTC Zaki-Biam (1973), GTC Makurdi (1973), GTC Vandeikya and many others, were established across Tiv land. These institutions offered boarding facilities and the high concentration of students accommodated in the hostels were fed on yam.

History also has it, that some of the yam traders, like T.T. Mbapuun, Iorpande Chaha, Orkuma Yaaya, and others, were awarded contracts to supply yams to such institutions. For example, Iorpande Chaha supplied yams to Government Comprehensive Secondary School, Amaafu, from 1976 to 1979, as indicated on Table XIV overleaf²⁸. The table also shows that large quantities of yam were involved in the trade at the local level in Tiv land. Indeed, these same contractors were also exporting yams on a large scale outside Tiv land for more money. Evidently, some of these contractors later built their own private post primary institutions in Tiv land, like, Mbapuun Grammar Secondary School, Zaki-Biam, built by T.T. Mbapuun, Yaav Memorial Secondary School, Abaji, built by Orkuma Yaaya, and others.¹⁸ All this suggests that the reinvigoration of western education in Nigeria after the civil war largely intensified and expanded yam trade for more money which was used for further development and expansion of the education sector in Tiv land.

Table XIV: Yam Consumption in the Newly Government Established Institutions in Tiv land, 1979-1985 ('000 tons)

| Year | GTC, Biam | Zaki- Amaafu | Govt. Comp. Sec. Sch., | GTC, Makurdi | G.S.S., Afia | GTC, Vandeikya |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1979 | 58.57 | 59.60 | | 98.32 | 6.71 | 97.32 |
| 1980 | 44.79 | 57.31 | | 99.32 | 10.99 | 99.31 |
| 1981 | 50.89 | 58.23 | | 99.32 | 11.68 | 98.32 |
| 1982 | 53.33 | 62.23 | | 111.32 | 12.65 | 110.21 |
| 1983 | 55.12 | 65.40 | | 116.50 | 14.13 | 109.31 |
| 1984 | 58.77 | 67.17 | | 121.11 | 17.14 | 120.09 |
| 1985 | 63.04 | 71.19 | | 127.10 | 10.05 | 123.11 |
| Total | 384.51 | 441.13 | | 772.99 | 93.39 | 634.56 |

Source: The Boarding Masters Annual Food Stuff Records of the five institutions (1979-1985).

Similar to the development of yam production, earlier discussed in the study, improved road network and transport system equally facilitated the development and expansion of yam trade within and outside the Tiv territory, after the Nigerian Civil War in the 1970s. During this period, Katsina-Ala bridge was constructed. The major road linking the Southern part of Nigeria with Tiv land and North-Eastern Nigeria, from Makurdi-Gboko-Katsina-Ala-Zaki-Biam-Wukari, was nylon tarred. Yam traders from the major parts of Tiv land and beyond were linked up by the improved road network and the bridge across river Katsina-Ala. At the same time, few yam farmers/traders, like Fave Uchichi, Iorpande Chaha and others, developed their entrepreneurships in yam related transport enterprises. For example, by early 1970s, Fave Uchichi floated "Uchichi Transport" business, while Iorpande

Chaha had “Kar Nyor-Transport Empire” and Ityover Ninga owned “Ihom Nderen Yongo” transport, at Zaki-Biam. These company vehicles were mainly scheduled to transport yams and other food stuff from Tiv land to the Southern parts of Nigeria. With all these infrastructural improvements in place, yam trading became more established and more profitable than before the post independent Tiv land.

Suggestively at the end of the civil war also provided Igbo yam traders with an enterprising enthusiasm in yam trade. These traders saw it as a quick means to recoup their lost wealth, privileges, and prestige during the civil war. As old time yam traders in Tiv land during the colonial period, Igbo yam traders began to re-establish and renew their trade links from Tiv territory to various destinations outside Tiv land. Special attention was on the war torn Igbo cities, like Enugu, Aba, Calabar, Onitsha, Port-Harcourt and others. Though Enugu and Port-Harcourt had Tiv yam marketing stations before the civil war, these yam markets were deserted during the civil war.²⁹ After the civil war, normalcy was restored and oil economy brought the influx of yam consumers into Port-Harcourt, thereby raising the high rate of yam demand in the Niger Delta area. A lot of yam tubers were largely exported to the Southern part of Nigeria immediately after the Nigerian Civil War from Tiv land through Zaki-Biam yam market. Zaki-Biam grew and became a viable collection and distribution centre of yams in the post colonial Tiv land after Gboko.

Table XV overleaf is a classical illustration of the large quantity of yams exported from Tiv land to the Southern parts of Nigeria after the civil war from 1971-1976. As clearly indicated on the table, during the first five years (5) immediately after the civil war, (1971-1976) yams from Tiv land were mainly traded out to Igbo towns to feed the civil war victims. As a major commercial centre and mostly affected town in Igbo land, Onitsha was all along receiving the highest number of yam tubers from 1971 with 1,171,440 tubers to 42,171,840 tubers in 1976. Onitsha was followed by Awka which was closer to Tiv land with 232,359 tubers in 1971 to 8,618,724 in 1976. In summary, therefore, table XV supports the on-going argument in the study with statistical data, that yam trade boosted more than ever before after the Nigerian civil war, as a result of the after war demands. This further suggested that most of the yams from Tiv land were exported to the Igbo land to feed war victims, generate wealth for traders and others.

Table XV: Yam Traded out of Tiv land from Zaki-Biam to Igbo land in Nigeria, 1971-1976

| S/NO | Towns | 1971 | | 1972 | | 1973 | | 1974 | | 1975 | | 1976 | | Transport in Naira/100 Tubers |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--|
| | | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | |
| 1 | Onitsha | 869,689 | 3999.1 | 1,171,440 | 5,386.50 | 2,342,880.00 | 10,773.00 | 7,028,640.00 | 32,319.00 | 14,057,280.00 | 64,638.00 | 42,171,840.00 | 193,914.00 | 70.00 |
| 2 | Awka | 232,359 | 1100.9 | 239,409 | 1,068.40 | 478,818.00 | 2,136.80 | 1,436,454.00 | 6,410.40 | 2,872,908.00 | 12,820.80 | 8,618,724.00 | 38,462.40 | 70.00 |
| 3 | Igboukwu | 118,269 | 543.8 | 317,722 | 14,610 | 635,444.00 | 29,220.00 | 1,906,332.00 | 87,660.00 | 3,812,664.00 | 175,320.00 | 11,437,992.00 | 525,960.00 | 65.00 |
| 4 | Nnewi | 56,022 | 257.6 | 142,551 | 855.5 | 285,102.00 | 1,711.00 | 855,306.00 | 5,133.00 | 1,710,612.00 | 10,266.00 | 5,131,836.00 | 30,798.00 | 75.00 |
| 5 | Enugu | 28,598 | 131.5 | 9,876 | 45.4 | 19,752.00 | 90.80 | 59,256.00 | 272.40 | 118,512.00 | 544.80 | 355,536.00 | 1,634.40 | 55.00 |
| 6 | Abagena | 15,350 | 70.6 | 22,386 | 102.9 | 44,772.00 | 205.80 | 134,316.00 | 617.40 | 268,632.00 | 1,234.80 | 805,896.00 | 3,704.40 | 60.00 |
| 7 | Aba | 37,451 | 172.6 | 11,050 | 50.8 | 22,100.00 | 101.60 | 66,300.00 | 304.80 | 132,600.00 | 609.60 | 397,800.00 | 1,828.80 | 80.00 |
| 8 | Orlu | 14,614 | 67.2 | 13,700 | 63 | 27,400.00 | 126.00 | 82,200.00 | 378.00 | 164,400.00 | 756.00 | 493,200.00 | 2,268.00 | 75.00 |
| 9 | Okwuka | 19,600 | 90.1 | 124,784 | 114 | 249,568.00 | 228.00 | 748,704.00 | 684.00 | 1,497,408.00 | 1,368.00 | 4,492,224.00 | 4,104.00 | 60.00 |
| 10 | Umuahia | 2,800 | 17 | - | - | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | - |
| 11 | Mbano | 6,700 | 30.9 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 12 | Udi | 3,100 | 14.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 13 | Port- Harcourt | 47,442 | 218.1 | 21,906 | 100.7 | 43,812.00 | 201.40 | 131,436.00 | 604.20 | 262,872.00 | 1,208.40 | 788,616.00 | 3,625.20 | 90.00 |
| 14 | Ikot-Epene | 2,700 | 12.5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total | | 1454694 | 6726.2 | 2,074,824 | 22,397.20 | 4,149,648.00 | 44,794.40 | 12,448,944.00 | 134,383.20 | 24,897,888.00 | 268,766.40 | 74,693,664.00 | 806,299.20 | 700.00 |

Source: J.I. Biam, 1977 p. 51 (with slight modifications)

Furthermore, during the civil war, the Nigerian army was fed mainly on yam bought from Tiv land. As a tradition, Tiv soldiers and labourers, while performing hard jobs like wars, mining and constructions, were always fed on yam to boost their morale and high spirits in order to perform maximally. This was also replicated during the civil war period. During the war, many other yam consumers from other ethnic groups were part of the Nigerian army that fought the civil war, thereby increasing the amount of yam consumption. Serving military soldiers, like Captain Azor Adenger, were always on a mission from the war zone to buy yams directly from Tiv land to feed soldiers in the war fronts.³⁰ Tiv yam trade and yam tubers became a great source of upholding national and international security. It was a basic military ordinance to supply the Nigerian soldiers, who were fed on yam at various points of their efforts at keeping peace or defending the national integrity and existence of the Nigerian State.

The issue of serving military officers going to buy yams themselves from the Tiv yam markets was replicated. The ECOMOG peace keeping soldiers of the Nigerian Army came from their peace keeping mission in Liberia to Zaki-Biam to buy yams at the time when General Sam Victor Malu, a Tiv man, was the Commander of ECOMOG in Liberia. According to Malu,²¹ the decision to buy yams from Tiv land to feed ECOMOG soldiers in Liberia was taken, because most of his soldiers were yam consumers and yams were relatively cheaper in Tiv land than in any other part of the world at that time.²² The dire need to feed Nigerian soldiers serving in and outside the shores of this Nation expanded yam business beyond just mere neighbourhood markets to well organised and structured market systems within and outside Tiv land and indeed outside Nigeria³¹.

When the Nigerian civil war ended, Nigerian soldiers were regrouped into battalions and relocated to different towns/cities in Nigeria for security reasons. Most of these soldiers were already used to yam food before and during the civil war, so their relocation to different cities across the country required the expansion of yam marketing outlets to such places to

make yam accessible to them. The majority of the wives of the soldiers became involved in yam marketing thereby leading to the opening up of “Mummy” Markets for the sale of yams and other goods in the Military barracks across the country outside the Tiv land. This trend gradually led to the establishment of yam markets for Tiv yam outside Tiv territory, like Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, and others.³² Essentially, this was how trade in Tiv yam expanded across Nigeria and beyond during the post colonial period in Tiv land. This presents a clear indication of how high, the expansion rate of yam trade was exhibited across the country during the post colonial period.

To elaborate more on the development of yam trade as a factor for emergence of many yam markets within and outside the study area, three yam markets, namely, Zaki-Biam yam market in Ukum Local Government Area of Benue State. Dan-Anacha Yam market in Gashaka Local Government Area of Taraba State and Ugba Yam market in Logo Local Government Area of Benue State, are analysed in this study as case studies illustrating the historical phenomenon of the development and expansion of yam-market centres in Tiv territory and beyond. This is a clear demonstration of how the development and expansion of yam trade after the Nigerian Civil War (a political action) became controlled by the forces of demand and supply across Nigeria and no longer restricted to the shore of the Tiv land. This is also an application of the theory of the Vent-for-Surplus, denoting that more vents for yam trade were opened after a political decision to end the Nigerian Civil War in 1970. The overall economic impact of the development of yam trade is also analysed in the next chapter.

5.4 The Origin and Development of Zaki-Biam Yam Market in Tiv land

Biam Allah hailed from Mbagar of Mbamena/Mbagar family ruling house of Uyam council ward of Ngenev District in Ukum Local Government Area of Tiv land, and was appointed the District Head of Ngenev (Tor-Agbande) in about 1905. The befitting title of “Zaki” was added to his name as ‘Zaki-Biam Allah’ (Tor Biam Allah), and was addressed as such until date.

Zaki-Biam town, where Zaki-Biam yam market is located, was named after Tor Biam, in Uyam ward and is situated at the centre of Ngenev District in Ukum Local Government Area of Tiv land in Benue State. The town is located at a middle point on the road between Katsina-Ala (43km) in Benue State and Wukari (37 km) in Taraba State. The centrality of the location made it very strategic, popular and influential to his kinsmen in Ngenev District of Tiv land, Hausa and Jukun people from Katsina-Ala and Wukari. Traders from these places started occasional sojourn in Zaki-Biam for trading purposes. Zaki-Biam compound began to expand because of the inflow of wives, children, concubines, visitors and traders to the compound.

As it was the tradition of the colonial administration in Tiv land, Tor Biam was also encouraged to name or own a compound market, as well as, to construct rural roads to link his compound with his kinsmen. His compound became very big and populated with many people who attended his compound market from beyond Ngenev District and outside Tiv land. He became one of the most popular Chiefs in Tiv land at that time, as has been attested to date.

In about 1911, the first Christian Missionaries to step foot on Tiv land were already settled at Sai compound in the nearby Shitile District of Tiv land. The missionaries proceeded to Zaki-Biam compound from Sai and requested for a portion of land for settlement. The present area where N.K.S.T church is sited was given to them for their Christian missionary activities. They settled and established a primary school, health dispensary and an orange farm for their activities.

The establishment of missionary groups in Zaki-Biam town added much to the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam. Tyoor Stephen Dugwer Biam, a grandson of Zaki-Biam, affirmed that, apart from the establishment of a primary school and medical dispensary, it was the missionaries that declared/designated every Saturday of the week as a fixed market day for Zaki-Biam market. The white missionaries were fond of physically

attending the market to interact with the locals. Their interactions brought the locals closer and enabled them to learn the Tiv language. They in turn preached Christianity to the locals. In fact, there was a school arranged by the missionaries to learn Tiv language, and one Mohammed Gwa was one of their teachers. It was a thing of pride to shake hands and talk with the white missionaries about their new religion (Christianity). With the establishment of a primary school, dispensary and their social interactions on Zaki-Biam market days, many people in the entire Ukum community were attracted to Zaki-Biam compound market, with increasing marketing and trading activities.

According to Stephen Dugwer Biam,³³ when the market activities were intensified with congestion and human traffic, these same missionaries advised that, the Zaki-Biam compound market should be relocated to a more centralised place, away from the traditional compound square. Heeding to this advice, Zaki-Biam compound market was relocated in the 1960s, to its present location (the general purpose market square), near Kafe Stream.

The new location of Zaki-Biam market made it more popular, as women from within and far away from Zaki-Biam travelled with their goods, especially yams, overnight on the rural roads to Zaki-Biam market on Saturdays to sell. The increasing number of people with goods and services kept increasing, such that it became clear that the market would be expanded in the near future. This was more so that yam production had dramatically increased in Ukum area of Tiv land, to the extent that Zaki-Biam market was always over flooded with yams. Accordingly to Biam, it was at this point that it was decided by the traditional market elders that a separate market be created for the sell of yams away from the general goods market. Based on this decision, in the early 1970s, a separate location was created for yam market for the Ukum people of Tiv land at a point on Mbamena land, 3 kilometers away from the main Zaki-Biam market, along Zaki-Biam-Kasar road. (where the Zaki-Biam national market was situated in the early 1970s).

Tiv oral history has it that Mbamena and Mbagar constitute one ruling family house (AKA) in Uyam Ward, locating the Zaki-Biam yam market on Mbamena land was an indication of oneness, clearly implying that, the two kindreds were the future custodians and beneficiaries of the yam market. In the final analysis, the decision of the elders in this case suggests that, elders in the post colonial era had already become much more conscious and desirous about the socio-economic benefits of yam trade in their land, an indication of yam trade expansion and intensity.

At this point of discussion, attention is directed to factors or reasons that caused the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam yam market to its present status. According to S.T. Yandev, Zaki-Biam is the largest yam market in Nigeria and, indeed, in the whole of West Africa. But before the analysis, there has to be a review and consideration of the natural location of Zaki-Biam in Ukum area of Sankera region of Tiv land in Benue State visa-vis, the growing yam production trend and trade in the area.

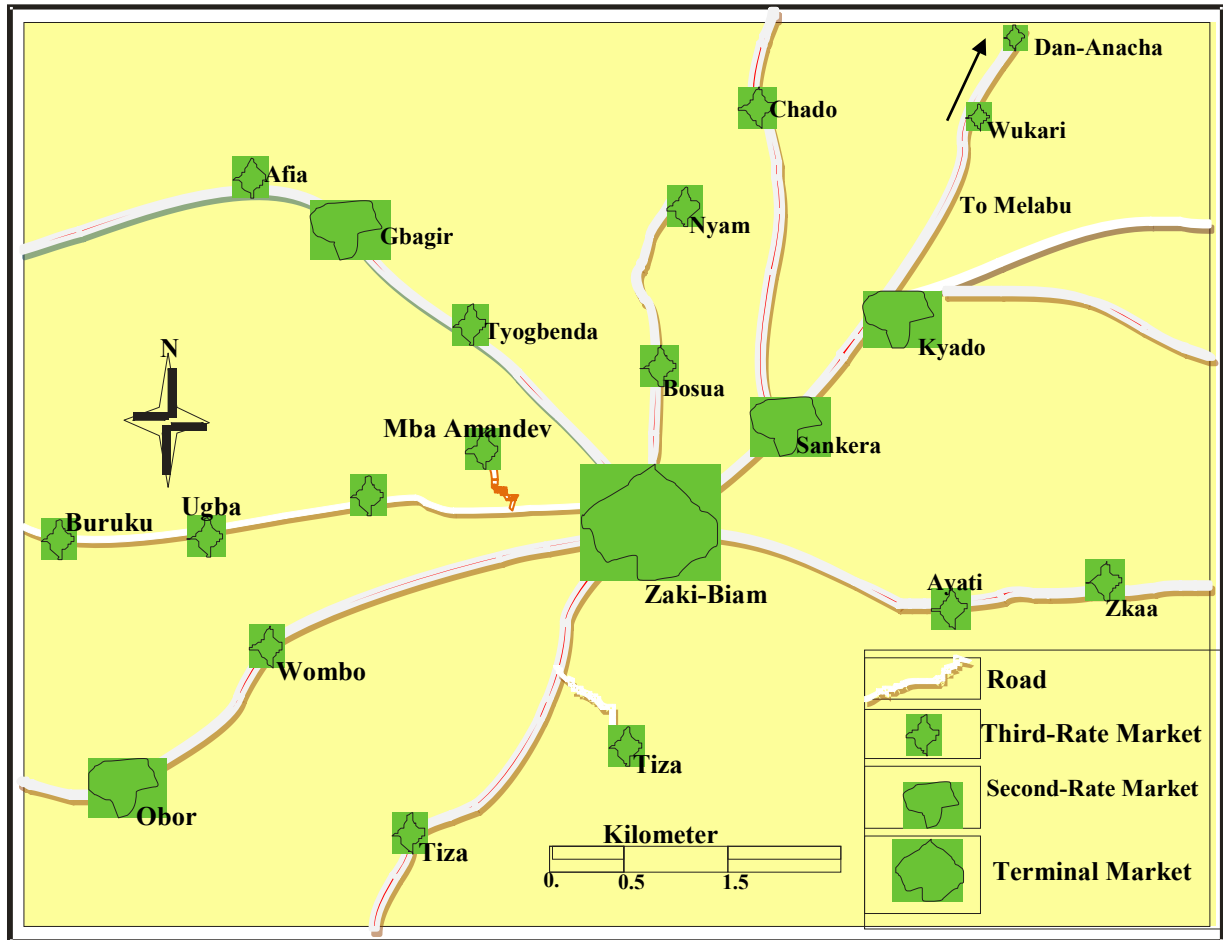
Ukum Local Government Area is located between longitudes $09^{\circ}37^1$ and $09^{\circ}45^1$ East and latitudes $07^{\circ}33^1$ and $07^{\circ}04^1$ North and has an estimated total population of about 216,030 people. The people are mostly farmers. Though they produce other crops, such as sweet potatoes, rice, soya-bean and groundnut, their major crop is yam.³⁴

Politically, Ukum people are grouped into two districts of Afia and Ngenev. The two groups are further subdivided into four, namely; Ucha, Torov, Mbaterem and Ngenev. These four clans are made up of thirteen council wards. Afia has seven council wards, namely: Tsaav, Lumbur, Tyulugh, Azendeshi, Ater-Ayange, Mbayenge and Mbazun council wards, while Ngenev has six, namely; Borikyoy, Kundav, Ugbaam, Kendev, Mbatyan and Uyam.

Zaki-Biam yam market is situated in the middle of Uyam council ward within Ngenev district of Ukum Local Government Area of the Sankera Region within Tiv land of Benue State. Based on the output of yam from Zaki-Biam, Lawal et' al (2011) in their study declared that, in Benue State, Ukum is only followed by Katsina-Ala and Logo Local Government Areas in yam production and the three make up Sankera Region of Tiv land in

Benue State.³⁵ The map showing the location of Zaki-Biam, Dan-Anacha and Ugba yam markets in the study area is presented in figure VI: below for more pictorial explanations.

MAP VI: Map of Zaki-Biam Yam Market showing its Feeder Markets, Ugba and Dan-Anacha areas.



Source: J.I. Ninga, 1973:48 (with modifications) “Yam Marketing in Tiv Land” A.B.U Zaria, 1973 p48

The development and expansion of Zaki-Biam, Ugba and Dan-Anacha yam markets, as the biggest yam markets in Nigeria is presented here as a demonstration of the growth of yam economy in Tiv land and beyond. By implication, the development of these markets is a practical demonstration of the growing process of yam economy in central Nigeria and indeed the whole country.

The relocation of the major yam market of high status in the whole of Tiv land from Gboko to Zaki-Biam also served as the main contributory factor to the development of Zaki-Biam from 1970s-2000A.D. “After 1970, Zaki-Biam took over from Gboko as the major yam market”.³⁶ The new strategic location of the town within the core centre for yam production

enormously contributed to the promotion of Zaki-Biam yam market to the position of being the largest in Nigeria and indeed in West Africa.³⁷

The hitherto inconveniences of carrying yams across river Katsina-Ala at Buruku by ferry from Ukum, accommodation and feeding at Gboko when it was majorly traded at Gboko were all eliminated. Also, Igbo yam traders became more enthusiastic buying yams at its source, where it was freshly harvested on the farms; because such tubers could withstand any severe form of mal-handling and longer travelling periods with exposure to sun heat without decay. Buying at the source of production could also expose traders to wider range of yam varieties at lower prices than what was obtainable in the Gboko market. The comparative marketing advantages of the relocation of the yam marketing centre from Gboko to Zaki-Biam town, for both yam producers and traders, favoured and attracted more yam related business people to Zaki-Biam yam market.

At the local level of Zaki-Biam yam marketing, there were improved rural roads and transport system to link up yam traders. Many yam farmers used their incomes to purchase pick-up trucks, lorries, motorcycles and other means of transportation to ease the free flow of yam, people and other goods at every time. Market information from the rural yam markets, like Chito, Vaase, Gbeji, Ayati and so many others, to Zaki-Biam yam market were readily exchanged at all times. The resultant effects were that reduced transport costs, the proximity of nearby markets to sell yams, the presence of yam buyers at all times, combined to fast-track the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam yam market between 1970s and 1980s.

Available records at the office of Ngenev Yam Marketing Association (NYMA) of the Zaki-Biam yam market was established on the 8th February, 1971. It's establishment was under the auspices of Katsina-Ala Local Government Authority to largely encourage, promote yam trade and the development and expansion of the market in so many aspects. NYMA was registered with the Federal Government of Nigeria under the Nigerian Business Name Act of 1961, with Certificate Number: 232573. The utmost operational guidelines of

the association were directed towards the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam yam market and the entire community situated in the heart of Ngenev district in Ukum Local Government Area.³⁸

The composition of membership of NYMA was based on the cultural beliefs of the Tiv tradition as bestowed on members. Members were drawn from all the indigenous kindreds on whose land the market was situated. The cultural implication of this action was to commit all elders within Ngenev district to become automatic traditional custodians of the Zaki-Biam yam market. As traditional custodians, their main responsibility was to ensure and guarantee both physical and spiritual security of the yam market located on their land. Ugbem Dugwer disclosed that they were also the traditional beneficiaries of the market dividends which they had unanimously established and blessed to develop, flourish and limitlessly expand to the highest heights. By implication, the traditional custodians of Zaki-Biam yam market, by the power of *Ityô*, vowed, (*ta ichin or gber ifan*) and mandated NYMA to ensure that the Zaki-Biam yam market has to grow above any other yam market in the world with the use of their (*akomboaityô*) the magico-religious protection of '*ityô i Ngenev*'.³⁹

The basic mandates of NYMA also included safeguarding all yam dealers in the market and creating peaceful atmosphere for the growth and the general wellbeing of the marketers. On the basis of this, NYMA had the mandate to recruit workers, like security guards, cleaners, and others, who were paid from the market dues. It was also to broker peace between all conflicting partners and groups in the market. Available records in the books of NYMA have shown that, apart from handling deaths issues of traders, which were settled or resolved by the association in the interest of the market to flourish, lucrative job opportunities were created for all manner of workers in the yam market to increase their incomes. For example, records have shown that in 1985, out of 107 security guards, each was paid N3,000.00 (Three Thousand Naira) monthly at the Zaki-Biam yam market. By implication, Zaki-Biam yam market by 1985³⁰ had provided well over 107 security jobs for the locals,

apart from other entrepreneurial engagements, like truck pushers, yam loaders, yam markers, chatters, lorry drivers, transport workers and others.

Available records have also shown that registration for membership of these entrepreneurial associations were relatively high in 1995. This creates an impression that apart from increasing the sporadic emergence of entrepreneurs in Tiv land, Zaki-Biam market was turning into a major source of wealth creation for its workers. For instance, the registration fees for membership of yam-markers association was N600; yam loaders association was N500; N1000 for chatters association; N371 for truck pushers and many other associations operating at Zaki-Biam yam market in 1995.⁴⁰

It is worthy to note that, security is an important element for the development of socio-economic world. To confirm this assertion, Lawson, once affirmed that, the static economy gives way to a growing economy, the overriding need is for security. Relating this assertion to the issues at stake, it is reasoned that the development and expansion of the Zaki-Biam yam market was an outcome of the socio-economic growth of yams under the surveillance of the NYMA security apparatus in the market. It was, therefore, natural and real that security attributes part-played the role of economic development and expansion of yam trade at Zaki-Biam in the 1970s. According to Pila Tsutsu⁴¹, the formal Chairman of NYMA the Igbo yam traders, who resumed yam trading at Zaki-Biam, were still harbouring the fear of unknown as victims of the civil war. This fear was completely taken away by the gallant exhibition of the security cover for the Igbo traders in the yam market, courtesy of the NYMA yam marketing activities at Zaki-Biam. The rapid growing and expansion rate of Zaki-Biam yam market was a clear demonstration of intensity of the volume of yam trade in Tiv land and beyond.

Apart from providing adequate security at Zaki-Biam yam market, NYMA also had in place an organised and solid systematic structural arrangement in the market for the free flow of marketing activities. Petty yam sellers, including those selling less than 100 tubers of yam

at a time, (aseka ayou) were kept outside the market, apart from separating the market square into two sections. Traders and vehicles meant for transportation of yams purchased in large quantities to be transported outside the Tiv land were separated from traders and vehicles loading and off loading yams brought in from the feeder markets and to be loaded and transported to local markets within Tiv land. The NYMA also had market recorders, as well as market tax collectors. They were responsible for recording all the names and vehicles of traders who came to buy from the market and transport yams outside the market on daily basis, except on Sundays, which were non marketing days for easy collection of revenues or taxes. In the course of our oral discussion, James Akpor the former Secretary of NYMA recalled that market taxes were levied and collected from different groups, marketing according to their involvement in the market activities. Such market taxes were also collected at lower rates from the local traders and vehicles bringing yams from the feeder markets and loading yams out of the market to the nearby markets within the Tiv territory⁴².

This development actually provided job opportunities with corresponding increases in the incomes of workers at Zaki-Biam yam market. For example, available records indicate that between 1989-1999 there were about 700 yam shades in Zaki-Biam yam market. Each of the shades employed one guard and one cleaner (sweeper), that is, two employees per shade. Shade owners were doing the job of go-between yam farmers and traders, and collecting N100 per hundred yams sold from their respective shades. The implication is that, at least 1,400 jobs were made available and personal profits of the shade owners were guaranteed from Zaki-Biam yam market between 1989 and 1999 A.D.³² All these lucratively combined to expand and intensify yam trade in Zaki-Biam town, thereby renewing jobs and the entrepreneurship creation nature of yam trade in Tiv land.

Another important function of NYMA in Zaki-Biam yam market was the grading of yam tubers with price tags. NYMA had classified yam tubers into three grades and the prices were always determined by the forces of demand and supply depending on the prevailing

market situation of every yam season. Grade one was the biggest size and best quality weighing about 7 kilograms per tuber. Grade two was the medium size and better quality grade weighing about 5 kg per tuber, while grade three was of the small size and lesser quality weighing about 3.5 kg per tuber. The amount of money paid per 100 yam tubers for any one of the three grades of yam at Zaki-Biam yam market was dependent upon the forces of demand and supply operating in a marketing season, at a particular point in time. The market trend compelled NYMA to abide by the demand and supply mechanism to set the ceiling and floor prices of yam at Zaki-Biam yam market.³³ Tables XVI(a) and XVI(b) showing the weight of yam tubers in three grades yearly-price fluctuation-metric (in Naira per 100 yam tubers) at Zaki-Biam yam market in 1973, for a better understanding of this analysis.

Table XVI: Classification of Yam Traded in 3 Grades at Zaki-Biam Yam Market in 1973

| S/N | Yam grade | Weight of 25 out of 100 tubers | Average weight per one tuber | Mean average of the three grades |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | G.1 | About 170kg or 351lbs | About 7kg or 14.04 lbs | About 5kg or 10.35lbs |
| 2. | G.2 | About 125kg or 255lbs | About 5kg or 10.35 lbs | |
| 3. | G.3 | About 85kg or 170lbs | About 3.5kg or 6.8 lbs | |

Source: J.I. Biam, Yam Marketing in Tiv land...1977 A.B.U. Zaria, p55 with slight modifications from field survey of 2013.

Devoting much time and space on analysis of the internal forces which encouraged the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam yam market does not imply the absence of external forces, which also impacted positively on the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam yam market in the post colonial Tiv land. Before the centre for yam trade was shifted from Gboko to Zaki-Biam in the 1970s, there was already an on-going process of yam production increase occasioned by the internal migration of yam farmers, traders, artisans, hired labourers, consumers and many others from the Southern and parts of Central Tiv land to the North Eastern area around Zaki-Biam.

As earlier observed, certain socio-economic programmes put in place by both the Federal and State governments to rebuild the Nigerian State after the civil war, also impacted positively on the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam yam market in the 1970s. For example, in a similar way that the construction of the railway route from Enugu to Makurdi

during the colonial period boosted yam trade in the colonial Tiv land, so did the construction of Katsina-Ala bridge (1976) and tarring of Gboko-Zaki-Biam-Wukari-Dan-Anacha road also boosted yam trade, leading to fast development and expansion of the Zaki-Biam and Dan-Anacha yam markets. Tiv farmers who were located around Zaki-Biam and Dan-Anacha consciously became increasingly aware of the benefits of yam production and trade in their domain, as many immigrants came to join them for the sake of participating in the development of yam economic activities. The awareness, inspired them to continuously step up yam production and trading activities to develop and expand Zaki-Biam yam market.

Another important support of the Katsina-Ala bridge was realised after its completion. Lorries loaded with yams transporting to the South and East of the country from Zaki-Biam immediately stopped plying Gboko-Buruku-Zaki-Biam road and began to freely cross over on the new bridge to their destinations south east wards of Nigeria. The hitherto queuing up of lorries from Zaki-Biam to be ferried across Buruku to the southern towns of Igbo land, a journey which could take days was reduced to a matter of hours to reach Onitsha and many other towns from Zaki-Biam yam market. Details on the number of yam traders and lorries involved in exporting Zaki-Biam yams to different cities in the southern part of the country could not be traced in the official records of NYMA during our field survey of 2013, because of the 2001 Zaki-Biam yam market incineration. However, Table XV on page 145 presents a picture of millions of yam tubers exported from Zaki-Biam yam market to various towns in the southern part of Nigeria between 1971-1976.

In separate oral interviews with Ugba Kume, Tyozoho Akem and Tyozenda, they all agreed that another external factor which facilitated the development and expansion of Zaki-Biam yam market was the establishment of cordial and mutual business relationship between the Igbo yam traders and Tiv yam farmers/sellers⁴⁴. Apart from the increase in their individual incomes to further increase the labour force on their yam farms, other essential farm inputs, like fertilizers and insecticides, were brought to their door steps for purchase by

their Igbo customers. In a similar way, Iorpande Igbur the former Information Officer of NYMA also affirmed that it was generally asserted that yam farmers who could not make payment instantly for these items, had their monies paid on their behalf by NYMA to be refunded at their convenient times back into the treasury of NYMA⁴⁵.

In addition, the lost cordial and mutual trading relationship between the Igbo and Tiv traders as a result of the just concluded civil war was gradually revived and strengthened. An atmosphere of peace and mutual confidence returned into Tiv/Igbo yam marketing union, thereby flourishing the development of yam trade in the post colonial Tiv land up to date.

5.5 The Origin and Development of Dan-Anacha Yam Market in Gasol Local Government Area of Taraba State.

At the end of the Nigerian Civil War and between the late 1970s and early 1980s, many Tiv soldiers were demobilized back to Tiv land on the basis of ill health, unfitness for soldiering and downsizing the Nigerian Army generally. According to Akena,⁴⁶ 5377 Tiv soldiers were demobilized back to Tiv land by 1989; 3875 to Igala land; 2680 to Idoma and 95 to Bassa in the old Benue State. As earlier stated in the study, most of the demobilized ex-soldiers were yam farmers, before their recruitment into the Nigerian army to fight the civil war. Our field survey reveals that apart from the severely wounded or deformed ones, many of them returned to engage in yam farming in Tiv land. Unfortunately, on getting back home, their traditional allocation of farm lands were already completely taken over by their relations, who remained at home at the time of the civil war, and overused, exhausted and deteriorated the land. This development became the major cause for land disputes among members of many families in Tiv land in the 1980s. The only way out for the military returnees was to join up the queue of the teeming Tiv migrants who were already migrating to Taraba State and others where there was still massive fertile land for crop production.

During the field survey, it was gathered that ex-soldiers constituted about 65% of immigrant yam farmers and traders from Tiv land to Dan-Anacha area in Taraba State. About

81% of yam associated workers in Dan-Anacha yam market in 1985 were ex-soldiers from Tivland.³⁵ All this suggests that Ex-military service returnees of the civil war were instrumental to the emergence of Dan-Anacha yam market. In addition, Zaki-Biam yam market had a terrible leadership tussle among the associations, especially between the National Union of Road Transport Workers, then headed by Torkuma Veade, and Vehicle Owners Association headed by Teryima Mbapuun. The problem lingered for so long that the Zaki-Biam yam market was temporarily closed down for over a year. According to Kucha Utebe and Ula Lisa, all ex-servicemen most of the yam market workers, especially the guards, who were also members of ex-soldiers association needed an alternative exit for greener pastures⁴⁷. This evidences put together suggest that Tiv ex-soldiers participated in the initial take off as core developers of Dan-Anacha yam market in the 1980s.

The choice of Dan-Anacha as the most suitable and attractive settlement site was made possible by the Tiv ex-service migrants and many others for various reasons. Firstly, the land was fertile for crop production, especially yam. Secondly, the land was not cultivated and not already occupied by farmers since Fulani people, who were met there, were cattle rearers. Thirdly, the location was accessible by Tiv migrants, who could leave Zaki-Biam town and reach Dan-Anacha settlement within two hour (see map on page 151). Fourthly, the land exhaustion and shortages had began to catch up with the nearby North Eastern Tiv land, where yam farmers had earlier migrated to from the Southern and other parts of Central Tiv land. Many of them, like Fave Uchichi, Vaachia Iorbo. Terkura Fave, Iorliam Bagu and many others, were already having contacts with Dan-Anacha farmers/people for possible relocation to Dan-Anacha. Lastly, the soil fertility around Dan-Anacha was good for high yield of a variety of yam called “Dan-Anacha”. This variety of yam became an easy saleable commodity as yam traders, mainly the Igbo from Onitsha town in the Eastern part of the country, valued it more than other types of yams. This partly explains why the yam market was named Dan-Anacha. Because of the easy accessibility of the Dan-Anacha market to Igbo yam traders, the market started expanding fast and continued to boom and develop from the late 1990s up to 2001 when the catastrophic Tiv massacre in the area took place.

In as much as Dan-Anacha yam market is located in Taraba State and Zaki-Biam yam market in Benue State, they shared many things in common which actually made the two to develop and expand quickly at the same time. First of all, the markets were purposely established for the sale of yams and easily accessible to each other. There was constant interactions between traders of yam from Zaki-Biam and Dan-Anacha as they engaged in yam buying and selling in both markets. Secondly, very many of the yam marketers, transporters, traders and even farmers left Zaki-Biam for Dan-Anacha yam market to develop and expand their yam businesses in the area. Thirdly, the dominant yam farmers, traders, transporters, yam shade owners, yam loaders and many other yam related businessmen, in both Zaki-Biam and Dan-Anacha markets were of Tiv origin. For example, in 1995 when Aerga Gum was the chairman of Yam Dealers Association at the Zaki-Biam yam market, his younger brother, Ugondo Gum, was at the same time the chairman of Yam Dealers Association at Dan-Anacha. Both markets were always on the same page in terms of yam developing marketing activities. Table XVII, presents similar yam related associations, for more clarifications, such as Yam Markers, Chatters, National Union of Road Transport Workers, Vehicle Owners Association and many others, which were found in both markets at the same time in 1999.

Table XVII: A Yearly Registration Fee of Yam Market Associations at Zaki-Biam and Dan-Anacha Yam Markets in 1999

| S/N | Association | Fee at Zaki-Biam | Fee at Dan-Anacha |
|-----|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Chatters Association | N1000 | N1000 |
| 2. | NURTW Association | N800 | N700 |
| 3. | Yam Marketers Ass. | N700 | N1000 |
| 4. | Vehicle Owners Ass. | N1,500 | N1000 |
| 5. | Truck Pushers Ass. | N700 | N500 |
| 6. | Packing & Loader Ass. | N500 | N500 |
| 7. | Shade owners Ass. | N500 | N500 |

Source: S.T. Yandev's (2007) "Yam Production and its impact on the Tiv Economy..." B.S.U, Makurdi, 2007 pp1-91

In fact, the management at Zaki-Biam yam market was replicated at Dan-Anacha, except for variations in terms of costs and prices over time. For example in 1999, at Dan-Anacha yam market, registration for membership of Markers Association was N1000; Yam

Loaders was N1500; for Chatters it was N1000; and N500 for Truck Pushers Association. In the same vein, each shade employed two workers and shade owners were paid N200 per 100 yams sold from their respective shades.

Dan-Anacha yam market developed and expanded at a faster rate than the Zaki-Biam yam market for various reasons. Firstly, the build up of Dan-Anacha market basically comprised people with a single minded mission of producing yam solely for consumption and trade. There was no diversionary attractions to the production of other crops as the case of Zaki-Biam yam market, where in the early 1970s, other crops were competitively produced and sold in the market. Secondly, some of the yam farmers and traders in Dan Anacha had their original homes back in Tiv land and were there for a specific mission to achieve within a targeted period and retire back home to Tiv land. They tended to over work themselves since they had a targeted time span and produced a lot of yam for trade. Thirdly, the issue of high/increased production of yam was coupled with the high tax policies of the Benue State government on yam which caused it to be sold at higher prices at Zaki-Biam market than at Dan-Anacha market, especially in the 1990s. For example, a heap of ten grade one yams sold at N500.00 at Dan-Anacha market, was sold for N1,000.00 at Zaki-Biam yam market. Igbo yam traders, therefore, became more attracted to Dan-Anacha yam market than the Zaki-Biam yam market. Fourthly, security and over taxation issues were better off at Dan-Anacha than Zaki-Biam yam market. All these factors and many others really made Dan-Anacha yam market to boom and expand faster than Zaki-Biam yam market, especially as from 1980 to 2000.

On the whole, Dan-Anacha yam market emerged and began to become more popular as one of the biggest yam markets in Nigeria as from the 1980s. This yam market developed, expanded and boomed very well up to the year 2000. However, the market began to decline from 1999 as a result of the long standing ethnic clashes between the Jukun and Tiv groups which was compounded by the involvement of the Fulani herdsmen in it. This set-back in the

development and expansion of the market, gradually degenerated into the 2001 destruction and killings of the Tiv yam producers, traders, marketers, and allied workers in the market. As Tiv people and Dan Anacha yam market were already key players of crucial roles of yam production and trade, the dwindling effects of the market brought about yam economic recession in Central Nigeria and indeed the whole country. In fact, during its prime or booming period, the yam market was trading out millions of yam tubers to various cities and towns across the country as presented in Table XVIII overleaf. All these developments became history after the 2001 massacre of the Dan-Anacha yam Market in Gasol Local Government area of Taraba state in Nigeria.

Table XVIII: Distribution of Yam From Dan-Anacha Market, 1981-1986

| S/NO | Towns | Yam Tubers | 1981 | | 1982 | | 1983 | | 1984 | | 1985 | | 1986 | Transport (N/000 yams) |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| | | | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | |
| 1 | Onitsha | 8,696.89 | 39,991 | 11,714,400 | 53,865.00 | 23,428,800 | 107,730 | 46,857,600 | 215,460 | 93,715,200 | 430,920 | 187,430,400 | 861,840 | 200.00 |
| 2 | Awuka | 2,323,590 | 11,009 | 2,394,090 | 10,684.00 | 4,788,180 | 21,368 | 9,576,360 | 42,736 | 19,152,720 | 85,472 | 38,305,440 | 170,944 | 200.00 |
| 3 | Enugu | 285,980 | 1,315 | 98,760 | 454 | 197,520 | 908 | 395,040 | 1,816 | 790,080 | 3,632 | 1,580,160 | 7,264 | 164.00 |
| 4 | Maiduguri | 67,000 | 16 | 84,000 | 20 | 168,000 | 40 | 336,000 | 80 | 672,000 | 160 | 1,344,000 | 320 | 200.00 |
| 5 | Calabar | 153,500 | 365.4 | 223,860 | 102.9 | 447,720 | 206 | 895,440 | 412 | 1,790,880 | 823 | 3,581,760 | 1,646 | 168.00 |
| 6 | Benin | 1,182,690 | 543.8 | 3,177,220 | 146,100 | 6,354,440 | 292,200 | 12,708,880 | 584,400 | 25,417,760 | 1,168,800 | 50,835,520 | 2,337,600 | 180.00 |
| 7 | Port-Harcourt | 474,420 | 2,181 | 219,060 | 1,007.0 | 438,120 | 2,014 | 876,240 | 4,028 | 1,752,480 | 8,056 | 3,504,960 | 16,112 | 240.00 |
| 8 | Ibadan | 196,000 | 467 | 1,247,840 | 230 | 2,495,680 | 460 | 4,991,360 | 920 | 9,982,720 | 1,840 | 19,965,440 | 3,680 | 240.00 |
| 9 | Ilorin | 374,510 | 1,726 | 110,500 | 508 | 221,000 | 1,016 | 442,000 | 2,032 | 884,000 | 4,064 | 1,768,000 | 8,128 | 240.00 |
| 10 | Nnewi | 560,220 | 2,576 | 1,425,510 | 8,555 | 2,851,020 | 17,110 | 5,702,040 | 34,220 | 11,404,080 | 68,440 | 22,808,160 | 136,880 | 204.00 |
| 11 | Orlu | 146,140 | 672 | 137,000 | 630 | 274,000 | 1,260 | 548,000 | 2,520 | 1,096,000 | 5,040 | 2,192,000 | 10,080 | 240.00 |
| 12 | Lagos | 2,100,000 | 650 | 24,360,000 | 754 | 48,720,000 | 1,508 | 97,440,000 | 3,016 | 194,880,000 | 6,032 | 389,760,000 | 12,064 | 240.00 |
| 13 | Jalingo | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 14 | Ife | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 15 | Umuahia | 28,000 | 170 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total | | 7,900,746.89 | 61,682 | 45,192,240 | 222,909.90 | 90,384,480 | 445,820 | 180,768,960 | 891,640 | 361,537,920 | 1,783,279 | 723,075,840 | 3,566,558 | 2516.0 |

Source: Payment receipts, booking registers, transporters payment invoices and other from the National Union of Road Transport office, at Dan-Anacha

The high amount of yam yearly traded out of the Dan-Anacha yam market is presented in Table: XVIII, as a tabular illustration of the continuous increase in the volume of yams involved in yam trade of the post colonial Tiv land. Maiduguri town located in the North-Eastern part of the country imported 67,000.00 tubers of yams in 1981 and increased to 1,344,000 tubers in 1986. About 2,000,000 tubers were transported to Lagos in 1981 and increased to 389,760,000 tubers in 1986. The point illustrated in the table is that yam trade continued to intensify and expand in Nigeria after the 1970's according to the dictates of demand and supply as well as other exigencies of the social security in the country.

5.6 Origin and Development of Ugba Yam Market in Logo LGA of Benue State.

Ugba Gwar, was said be a traditional chief, addressed as "*Tor Agbande*" in Tiv, who administered over the Ugondo people of Ichongo clan in Logo LGA of Tiv land. His compound is strategically located at Ugba, a village/town named after him, along kilometre sixteen, Zaki-Biam- Buruku-Gboko road (see map page 151).

As earlier stated in the study, during the colonial rule in Tiv land, it became the cardinal policy of the colonial government to urge and encourage traditional chiefs, of such calibre, to establish markets in strategic locations and open up rural roads linking them up for the development of commercial activities in Tiv land. Just like his counterpart, Biam Allah, who established a market in his compound and named it after himself, so was the Ugba Gwar market named. The location of Ugba compound, unfortunately was barricaded from the Tiv traditional headquarters in Gboko by river Katsina-Ala, both at Katsina-Ala and Buruku crossing points. Under normal circumstances, the journey which was supposed to take at most one hour from Ugba to Gboko used to take a whole day or two. The absence of strategic location and other economic and socio-political exigencies denied Ugba market of its early development to a large market like Zaki-Biam, until in 1996, when it became the headquarters of Logo Local Government Area. The creation of Ugba as the headquarters, made it possible for Ugba market to attain the status of one of the largest yam markets in Tiv land to reckon with in this country.

Oral sources have it that the general fertility and vast nature of farm land attracted early Tiv migrants from the central part of Tiv land, like Denen Toffi, Tsuam Abe, and others, to settle at Ugba for farming activities, and offer other community services. The

difficulty to trade out their farm produce and other services slowed down the fast development of Ugba market throughout the colonial era in Tiv land. Unlike Zaki-Biam, early Christian missionaries refused to settle at Ugba and preferred to settle at a nearby station, Agwabi, in Gboko Local Government Area. The inaccessibility of Ugba compound market further denied it of its rapid growth in terms of commercial and other activities during the colonial era.

Historically during the post colonial period, as earlier presented in the study, Katsina-Ala, Ukum and Logo clearly indicated that Ugba was never lagging behind in terms of revenue generated from yam production. Ugba yam market always came third behind Katsina-Ala and Ukum in terms of revenue generation before it became the headquarters of Logo LGA in 1996. When Ukum became a separate LGA in 1986, out of Katsina-Ala, Ugba became the leading yam revenue generation source of its own in the 1990s. This was one of the factors that led to its establishment as the headquarters of Logo LGA. Before then, Ugba market remained a feeder market under Zaki-Biam until Zaki-Biam became the central yam market in the whole of Tiv land as a result of the transfer of the main yam market from Gboko in the 1970s. Ugba yam market continued to serve as a feeder market to Zaki-Biam until when Zaki-Biam finally attained its present status as the commercial headquarters of Ukum Local Government Area and the core yam producing centre of Tiv land.

Records at our disposal at the Local Government Service Commission in Makurdi have shown that in 1996, Logo LGA was created with Ugba as the headquarters and various economic and socio-political transformations began to emerge in the town. A large local government secretariat complex was constructed immediately after the creation of the LGA. The Zaki-Biam-Ugba –Buruku road was tarred. Above all, Ugba yam market was relocated to a strategic point, beside Zaki-Biam-Ugba-Katsina-Ala cross-roads. At this time, Igbo yam traders could travel straight to Ugba yam market to buy yams directly from the farmers at cheaper prices than at Zaki-Biam or Katsina-Ala. There was a sporadic rise of feeder yam markets around Ugba town, like Anyiin, Gondoza, Iorza, Abeda, Kwatan Sule, among many others. These feeder markets continued to feed Ugba yam market with yam and other food stuffs which actually kept the market continuously booming and expanding up to date.

The structure, management and other yam activities in Zaki-Biam and Dan-Anacha yam markets were replicated in Ugba yam market, except for variations in prices, distance and others. The Ugba yam market has a lot of yam shades, stores and a very wide open space in the centre, which could accommodate more than over one hundred lorries loading and off loading yams at the same time. The market day for Ugba market was fixed at every wednesday of the week. Yam farmers and petty indigenous yam sellers who intended to sell yams on the market day at higher prices to non-indigenous yam marketers, would normally start shifting their yams to the market from Mondays to Tuesdays of every week to be sold on Wednesday, the market day. This is an indication of increased intensity of yam trade at Ugba yam market and indeed in the whole of Tiv land and beyond.

The role of the entrepreneurial associations and security outfits like Yam Dealers Association, Transport Owners Associations, Drivers Union, Motorcycle Hirers Association and Vigilant groups all combined to fast-track rapid development and expansion of Ugba yam market. In most cases, associations negotiated and determined the cost of transporting yams from various locations to Ugba yam market, and from Ugba to outside towns, like Lagos, Enugu, Port-Harcourt, and others. The cost of transport in turn affected the market prices of yam, whether low or high as the case may be, which kept yam trade growing in the market.

Security agents also played a big role in the development of the market. Market safety is always the paramount determinant of a good or bad market. Obviously, a yam market with a loose security apparatus would not freely be patronized by foreign customers, when the safety of their goods and money is not guaranteed. It is in this regard that many small hotel businesses began to spring up in various parts of Ugba town for traders to accommodate themselves with a guaranteed safety of their monies. With the guaranteed security system and friendly disposition of the locals in Ugba town, the yam market has grown to a large proportion with a lot of yams, transported out of the market to various locations across the country as presented in Table XIX, overleaf for illustration and easy understanding of the continuous increase in the volume of yam trade in Tiv land and across the Nigerian nation state.

Table XIX: Distribution of Yam Purchased from Ugba Yam Market to other Towns in Nigeria, 1996-1999

| S/O | Towns | 1996 | | 1997 | | 1998 | | 1999 | | Yam Tubers |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| | | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | Yam Tubers | Amount in Tons | |
| 1 | Onitsha | 252,000 | 780 | 504,000 | 1560 | 1008000 | 3120 | 2016000 | 6240 | 4032000 |
| 2 | Enugu | 3,024,000 | 9,360 | 3,628,800 | 11,232 | 7257600 | 22464 | 14515200 | 44928 | 29030400 |
| 3 | Calabar | 252,000 | 780 | 403,200 | 1,248 | 806400 | 2496 | 1612800 | 4992 | 3225600 |
| 4 | Benin | 604,800 | 1,872 | 756,000 | 2,340 | 1512000 | 4680 | 3024000 | 9360 | 6048000 |
| 5 | Port-Harcourt | 2,520,000 | 7,800 | 3,780,000 | 11,712 | 7560000 | 23424 | 15120000 | 46848 | 30240000 |
| 6 | Lagos | 1,008,000 | 3,120 | 1,612,800 | 4,992 | 3225600 | 9984 | 6451200 | 19968 | 12902400 |
| 7 | Kano | 403,200 | 1,248 | 907,200 | 2,808 | 1814400 | 5616 | 3628800 | 11232 | 7257600 |
| 8 | Ibadan | 100,800 | 338 | 151,200 | 468 | 302400 | 936 | 604800 | 1872 | 1209600 |
| 9 | Ilorin | 352,800 | 1,248 | 100,800 | 338 | 201600 | 676 | 403200 | 1352 | 806400 |
| 10 | Aba | 1,260,000 | 3,900 | 1,512,000 | 4,680 | 3024000 | 9360 | 6048000 | 18720 | 12096000 |
| Total | | 9,777,600 | 30446 | 13,356,000 | 41378 | 26712000 | 82756 | 53424000 | 165512 | 106848000 |

Source: Compiled from payments receipts, booking registers, loading fees of transporters obtained from Yam Market Association office at Ugba yam Market during the field survey 2013.

The overleaf table XIX presents that 1,008,000 yams tubers were purchased from Ugba yam market and transported to Lagos in 1996. This continued to increase up to year, 2000 with 12,902,400. Kano which is one of the commercial centres in the North Central part of the country and was less yam consuming town before the Nigerian civil war collected in 1996, 4,032,000 tubers of yams and gradually increased to 7,257,600 in 2000. This further suggests that with relocation of the Nigerian soldiers to different military barracks across the country after the Nigerian civil war, (1967-1970) as well as the growing rate of commercial activities in the country, increased the number of yam consumers in the Northern part of Nigeria. This development explained and boosted yam trade to the core North of the country which hitherto this time, had very small number of yam consumers. All this buttresses that yam trade boosted and expanded beyond Tiv land, across Nigeria during the post colonial period more than ever before and continued till date.

Similar to Zaki-Biam and Dan-Anacha yam markets, Ugba yam market has kept exporting yams in large quantities to various towns across the country, as presented in Table XVIII, with no variations in the transportation costs between 1996-1997. Table XIX, shows that more yams were transported to Port-Harcourt, Aba and Enugu, which could be due to various reasons, including road network, and the home base of the yam traders patronising Ugba yam market. In 1997, it was still the same, Port-Harcourt topped the list, followed by Enugu and Aba towns. The table is, therefore an indication that yam markets continued to develop and expand in Tiv land for over a long period of the post colonial yam trade.

5.7 Conclusion

Yam trade has been an old time activity in Tiv land dating as far back as in the pre-colonial period. The colonial era, however, created new impetus for yam trade in Tiv land. This was chiefly due to the policies introduced by the colonial regime, which included taxation and commercialization of the economy, as well as, the introduction of improved

transportation infrastructures. These boosted yam trade as it made the movement of yams easier and provided a simple and universally accepted unit of measure as means of exchange. The colonial economy was anchored on the capitalist mode of production which allows for capital accumulation. One major way out for capital accumulation was through trade. This, implied that yam production was stepped up, just as its marketing, in order that investors would reap maximum benefits from the enterprise. This means that capitalism introduced in Tiv land during the colonial era boosted yam trade.

The exit of colonialism in 1960 brought about a new phase in the expansion of yam trade in Tiv land. However, in the early years after colonialism, 1962 and 1964, yam trade suffered a decline due to political instability in Tiv land. Also, between 1967 and 1970 during the Nigerian Civil War, yam trade was stagnated. However, after the civil war, yam marketing in Tiv land and the rest of Nigeria resumed in full. This was due to some of the policies that the government initiated, like the creation and expansion of economic and social infrastructures, such as roads and schools. These boosted and expanded yam trade in Tiv land and beyond. The expansion of yam trade in Tiv land between 1915 and 2000 as reflected in the yearly increase amount of yams transported out of the three major yam markets as indicated in the tables on page 145, page 159 and page 163 led to increase in number and the expansion of yam markets, such as Dan-Anacha, Ugba and Zaki-Biam, among others, as well as, the socio-economic changes of these market centres in Tiv land and beyond.

Conclusively, yam trade was distinguished from the general purpose trade by barter of the pre-colonial time in the ancient time. The colonial administration transformed the traditional lineage mode of yam production to the capitalist mode of production thereby elevating yam to the position of a commodity product. This commoditization of the yam therefore continued to develop and expand its trade from the colonial to the post colonial period. In conclusion, the post colonial period, 1960-2000, yam trade was initially impeded by the political upheavels in Tiv land such as the ‘nande nande’ of 1962, the ‘atemityough’ of

1964 and the civil war of 1967-1970. However, after the civil war, the forces of demand and supply; improvement of road network and transport system as well as the desire to accumulate wealth and others, all combined to develop and expand yam trade till date in Tiv land and beyond.

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22. Ichenge Ikyagba, elder, 97 years at Tsar Mbaduku in vandeikya LGA on the 31/12/2011.
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CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF YAM ECONOMY ON TIV LAND, 1915-2000 AD.

6.1 Introduction

Yam production and trade have come to stay as the backbone of Tiv economy especially from 1915 to 2000. Yam Production and trade among the Tiv over time undoubtedly brought about several impact on Tiv society. This chapter, therefore examines, the implications of the development of yam economy on Tiv land in the socio-economic and political spheres.

6.2 The Impact of the Development of Yam Economy on Food and Social Security in Tiv land, 1915-2000.

According to G.W.G. Briggs,¹ throughout Tiv land the basic crop and the one most highly priced is yam. He further restated that yam is the staple food crop and a family's well-being depends entirely on the success or otherwise of this crop. This statement implies that, from its introduction into the Tiv agricultural system, yam crop gradually permeated and popularised itself as the most essential food crop and commodity in Tiv land, serving the dual purpose of providing food sufficiency and trade, generating money to take care of other needs of the Tiv people.

It is presumed that yam crop contains numerous nutrients such as water, energy, protein, fat, carbohydrate, fiber, sugar, calcium, potassium, sodium, zink, vitamins A&B and others. All these are functional in human body, making it to become the most preferred food in Tiv land since the ancient time. Tiv believed traditionally, that these nutrients usually provide viable functions in their body systems, such as extra strength, healing therapy and potency, among others. For example, the physical strength acquired was used by men, specifically, for performing tough tasks like tilling the land, fighting wars, hunting and others. Tiv people generally attribute the success story of every endeavour in the history of their life to yam food. In Tiv society, "yam is food and food is yam."

In the traditional Tiv society, yam provides three types of food per day. These are pounded yam (*luam kumen*) boiled yam (*iyough ki jiir*) or roasted yam (*gbagh iyough*) and

yam flour (*kpor yough*). All these foods were eaten at any time of the day in the pre-colonial Tiv land. The foods are said to be also delicious and tasteful, and meet the characteristic dietary requirements of the traditional eating habits of the Tiv people. Yam production therefore became a veritable source of food sufficiency which supported a healthy population growth. This was done by providing all the necessary nutrients in the human body for promotion of potency from the pre-colonial era to date in Tiv land.

It is suggestive, that the healthy and strong body building attributes of yam food prevented Tiv people from easily being sick. Sickesses such as, kwashiorkor, goitre, malnutrition, among others, always associated with lack of quality food, were said to be on decline in pre-colonial Tiv land. By implication, the quality of food available in sufficient quantities at affordable costs provided at least minimum healthy conditions in Tiv land. These were also supplemented with Tiv traditional healing medicines for healthy life. Yam had been the major source of carbohydrate and still accounts for over 300 calories of daily intake in the diet of many Nigerians, especially Tiv people.²

With the high level of food sufficiency of yams, it is assumed that the average healthy living conditions of the Tiv people contributed to an improved reproductive systems of both women and men in the pre-colonial Tiv society. In addition to the Tiv unchristian system of being married to many wives at a time coupled with an improved reproductive system, there has been recorded population expansion in Tiv area. In fact, it has long been generally agreed that Tiv ethnic group is one among groups with the fastest population expansion tendencies in Nigeria.³ The point of significance here is that, numerical strength in a multi-ethnic nation like Nigeria, with over 250 ethnic groups is a viable source of political power, and political power is an essential instrument of the national security.⁴

According to the field survey, in the traditional Tiv society, the quality food of yam was helpful to healthy living conditions of the people, thereby assisting to minimize the death toll of the pre-colonial period. Minimum death toll, could also lead to population growth as well as peace. According to Yogbo Gbagir⁵, a traditional healer, at Tse-Gbagir in Ukum Local Government Area, the reduced rate of deaths in the pre-colonial society of the Tiv was an answer to squabbles, noisy quarrels and acrimonies over the deaths of their loved ones.

The traditional belief of the Tiv people is that nobody dies naturally, but can only be killed by powerful witches. According to Gbagir all deaths resulting from sicknesses, wars, accidents, and others, are attributed to the handiwork of the wicked witchcraft within their society. This was how death incidences in the pre-colonial Tiv society could breed squabbles, broken marriages and wars between one clan and another in Tiv territory. By minimising the death toll, such quarrels, separations, broken marriages, and others, were also reduced. This used to bring peace and stability and thus increased yam production and trade, thereby promoting the National Security from the Tiv axis of the Nigerian nation even before the creation of our nation state.

As already stated by Vera Verter in the study, yam is naturally a source of valuable food nutrients, made up of various nutrients, such as carbohydrate, starch, minerals, and others. Biologically, these nutrients are essential for body building and the development of anti-bodies, which combine to protect and generate a lot of energy for the physical performance of tough/hard jobs, like farming, mining, construction work, wars, and others, which the Tiv people are known for. After the pre-colonial period, other diverse forms of yam food were admitted into the yam eating habits of the Tiv people. This was as a result of cultural contacts with other ethnic groups in the country, especially the Igbo and Yoruba people. Such forms of yam food include yam porridge and yam salad copied from the Igbo and Yoruba people. Naturally, sharing a common food and eating habits of two distinct ethnic groups draws such groups together to develop similar minds and ideas collectively to promote unity of purpose among them. According to Azuh and Oluwantoyin, unity among ethnic groups in one nation constitutes the integral part of the national unity of such nations⁶. In this regard, it becomes evidently clear that the food value attributes of the Tiv-yam became very essential for further development of the national security in this territory from 1915-2000.

It is generally accepted that health is wealth, and good health breeds sound minds in a peaceful and healthy atmosphere for the overall development of such places. The field survey of the study reveals that yam food up to date remains the preferred food crop of the Tiv people and was sufficiently affordable at most times, self-satisfying to Tiv people. Eugene

Rubing, once argues in his book “The sons of Tiv”⁷ that the pre-colonial Tiv people were not desperately going about recklessly in search of food for their survival. The implication suggests that the pre-colonial Tiv people were not vulnerably exposed to attacks from their enemies to be captured, killed or enslaved unlike other ethnic groups without sustainable source of food. Tiv were therefore able to settle down and concentrate on their yam production to live a sustainable life. This provides a clue that sufficient availability of the yam food within the reach of the Tiv protected them and acted as another source of afforded security to them since ancient time.

Historically, it is worthy to recall that yam also played a major role in the development of Nigeria. At the formative stage of Nigeria, emphasis were placed on colonial economy in Nigeria and mainly focused on cash crops and mineral resources. Tiv people had the manpower to produce these economic crops for colonial uses at that time but needed sufficient consumption of their preferred yam food to carry out these hard jobs. For this reason, many Tiv adults were conscripted to provide labour-force for mining at the Jos Plateau, construction of the railway line, public buildings, bridges, and military services under the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) and World Wars one and two (WWI and II). The most preferred food of the people was and is yam food, wherever their services were engaged, most of the yams were imported from the Benue Province especially in Tiv land for their feeding. In order to get the best of their labour-force, the colonial government was compelled to import yam to such places for their food. It is on record in 1942, for instance, that:

From 31st May to mid July, the Resident had railed to mines 246 tons of yams which were specifically required for 4000 Tiv labourers recruited and sent to the Plateau.⁸

This explains how the colonial government was compelled by economic circumstances to encourage the development of local food crops, like yam thereby promoting national integration and security in Nigeria⁹. Yam production in the colonial Tiv land contributed to nation building in Nigeria as can be seen from this analogy. The transportation of Tiv-yam out of Tiv land for feeding of other Nigerians was something of great national importance. For instance, during and immediately after the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970,

yams were transported from Tiv land to the war torn Zone in the Eastern and Southern parts of Nigeria to feed the Nigerian soldiers. During the post colonial period, General S.V. Malu¹⁰ once disclosed that Tiv-yams from Zaki-Biam yam market were exported in large quantities to feed Nigerian soldiers who were on peace keeping mission (ECOMOG) in Liberia. Feeding of Tiv people with yam food for active service is an indication of how yam food had been instrumental to high labour intensive assignments of a Tiv man in this country and beyond, in addition to how yam food could influence security, and development of the Tiv and the Nigerian nation at large.

Evidently, the post-colonial era, the Federal government introduced the Universal Primary Education Scheme (UPE) which brought about an increase in post-primary and secondary institutions across Tiv land. According to Minde Gbor, a retired Principal, increased population of Tiv students in such institutions and the already existing ones across Tiv land were mainly fed on yam in their institutions¹¹. Apart from feeding the Tiv students with yam for their educational development and to avoid student rioting, which is part of the national security, travellers and visitors to Tiv land were also fed on yam in the hotels, restaurants and other eateries across Tiv land. This is enough justification to suggest that there has been relative food sufficiency and food security in Tiv land, from the pre-colonial period to the post-colonial era, guaranteed by increased Tiv-yam production. Highlight on yam food is overwhelmingly demonstrated in this segment of the study without adequate acknowledgement to the contributions of other food crops, such as beans, grains, and others. This does not in any way imply that other foods were not important or even not eaten by the Tiv people. It simply sings louder the song of yam food to be heard in line with the tune of the study. After all, in Tiv tradition, yam flour (*kpor*) goes hand in hand with millet or corn in cooking a complete dish of, *luam nahan* when and where yams are not available.

The chapter deals directly with the assessment for justifiable evaluation of the impact of yam production and its trade or the development of the yam economy on Tiv land under the study period. To empirically and justifiably draw a conclusion that yam production output kept increasing intanimentally all through our study period. Three data tables are evidentially represented serially suggesting the increase of yam production in the study area which

sustained its viable trade and other social security challenges under the study area and even beyond. Table XXa shows yam production increment from 1920—1950; Table XXb presents yam production increase from 1960-1970 and Table XXc illustrates yam production increase in the study area from 1985-1999.

Table XXa: An Incremental Output of Yam Production in Benue Province of Central Nigeria, 1920-1959

| S/N | YEAR | QUANTITY IN TONNES |
|-----|------|--------------------|
| 1 | 1920 | 987 |
| 2 | 1921 | 1028 |
| 3 | 1922 | 1333 |
| 4 | 1923 | 1478 |
| 5 | 1924 | 1691 |
| 6 | 1925 | 1720 |
| 7 | 1926 | 1894 |
| 8 | 1927 | 1987 |
| 9 | 1928 | 1994 |
| 10 | 1929 | 2109 |
| 11 | 1930 | 2157 |
| 12 | 1931 | 2254 |
| 13 | 1932 | 2311 |
| 14 | 1933 | 2423 |
| 15 | 1934 | 2513 |
| 16 | 1935 | 2617 |
| 17 | 1936 | 2778 |
| 18 | 1937 | 2817 |
| 19 | 1938 | 2882 |
| 20 | 1939 | 2967 |
| 21 | 1940 | 3019 |
| 22 | 1941 | 3198 |
| 23 | 1942 | 3367 |
| 24 | 1943 | 3512 |
| 25 | 1944 | 3743 |
| 26 | 1945 | 3890 |
| 27 | 1946 | 3910 |
| 28 | 1947 | 4003 |
| 29 | 1948 | 4211 |
| 30 | 1949 | 4360 |
| 31 | 1950 | 4576 |
| 32 | 1951 | 4798 |
| 33 | 1952 | 4992 |
| 34 | 1953 | 5012 |
| 35 | 1954 | 5126 |
| 36 | 1955 | 5700 |
| 37 | 1956 | 6076 |
| 38 | 1957 | 6276 |
| 39 | 1958 | 6010 |
| 40 | 1959 | 7619 |

Source: Benue State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources Makurdi (1995)
Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority, Implementation Report
March, 1995

Table XXb: Estimation of Yam Produce (000metric Tons), Number of farmers, Cummulative Area (000HA) of Production in Benue Region 1960-1970

| Year | No. of Farmers | Area | Output |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1960 | 7742 | 87988 | 216452 |
| 1961 | 8939 | 94546 | 232583 |
| 1962 | 12939 | 113749 | 279824 |
| 1963 | 16681 | 129154 | 317721 |
| 1964 | 24423 | 156278 | 384445 |
| 1965 | 37095 | 192.6 | 473797 |
| 1966 | 49935 | 223461 | 549715 |
| 1967 | 57677 | 240.16 | 590794 |
| 1968 | 70349 | 265233 | 652475 |
| 1969 | 83189 | 288425 | 709525 |
| 1970 | 290399 | 538886 | 1325.66 |
| 1971 | 298141 | 546022 | 1343.22 |
| 1972 | 310981 | 557656 | 1371.84 |
| 1973 | 331563 | 575815 | 1416.51 |
| 1974 | 351145 | 592574 | 1457.73 |
| 1975 | 90931 | 301547 | 741807 |
| 1976 | 98673 | 314122 | 772741 |
| 1977 | 111345 | 333683 | 820862 |

Source: Benue State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources Makurdi (1995)
Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority, Implementation Report
March, 1995

Table XXc: Illustrating increase in Yam Production in Tiv area from 1985-1999

| | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Benue State | 208,400 | 637,411 | 183,355 | 478,160 | 662,062 | 675,303 | 695,574 | 402,285 | 300,000 | 290,264 | 229,864 | 856,320 | 1,324,024 | 1,600,741 | 1,784,096 |
| LGA | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ukum | 187560 | 573669.9 | 165019.5 | 430344 | 595855.8 | 607772.7 | 626016.6 | 362056.5 | 270000 | 261237.6 | 206877.6 | 770688 | 1191621.6 | 1440666.9 | 1605686.4 |
| Katsina Ala | 166720 | 509928.8 | 146684 | 382528 | 529649.6 | 540242.4 | 556459.2 | 321828 | 240000 | 232211.2 | 183891.2 | 693619.2 | 1072459.4 | 1296600.21 | 1445117.8 |
| Logo | 156300 | 478058.25 | 137516.25 | 358620 | 496546.5 | 506477.3 | 521680.5 | 301713.8 | 225000 | 217698 | 172398 | 624257.3 | 965213.5 | 1166940.19 | 1300606 |
| Konshisha | 125040 | 382446.6 | 110013 | 286896 | 397237.2 | 405181.8 | 417344.4 | 241371 | 180000 | 174158.4 | 137918.4 | 561831.6 | 868692.15 | 1050246.17 | 1170545.4 |
| Kwande | 125040 | 382446.6 | 110013 | 286896 | 397237.2 | 405181.8 | 417344.4 | 241371 | 180000 | 174158.4 | 137918.4 | 505648.4 | 781822.93 | 945221.553 | 1053490.8 |
| Vandeikya | 62520 | 191223.3 | 55006.5 | 143448 | 198618.6 | 202590.9 | 208672.2 | 120685.5 | 90000 | 87079.2 | 68959.2 | 455083.6 | 703640.64 | 850699.398 | 948141.76 |
| Ushongo | 83360 | 254964.4 | 73342 | 191264 | 264824.8 | 270121.2 | 278229.6 | 160914 | 120000 | 116105.6 | 91945.6 | 409575.2 | 633276.57 | 765629.458 | 853327.59 |
| Gboko | 62520 | 191223.3 | 55006.5 | 143448 | 198618.6 | 202590.9 | 208672.2 | 120685.5 | 90000 | 87079.2 | 68959.2 | 368617.7 | 569948.92 | 689066.512 | 767994.83 |
| Buruku | 104200 | 318705.5 | 91677.5 | 239080 | 331031 | 337651.5 | 347787 | 201142.5 | 150000 | 145132 | 114932 | 331755.9 | 512954.03 | 620159.861 | 691195.34 |
| Tarka | 83360 | 254964.4 | 73342 | 191264 | 264824.8 | 270121.2 | 278229.6 | 160914 | 120000 | 116105.6 | 91945.6 | 298580.3 | 461658.62 | 558143.875 | 622075.81 |
| Guma | 41680 | 127482.2 | 36671 | 95632 | 132412.4 | 135060.6 | 139114.8 | 80457 | 60000 | 58052.8 | 45972.8 | 268722.3 | 415492.76 | 502329.487 | 559868.23 |
| Makurdi | 62520 | 191223.3 | 55006.5 | 143448 | 198618.6 | 202590.9 | 208672.2 | 120685.5 | 90000 | 87079.2 | 68959.2 | 241850.1 | 373943.48 | 452096.539 | 503881.41 |
| Gwer-West | 72940 | 223093.85 | 64174.25 | 167356 | 231721.7 | 236356.1 | 243450.9 | 140799.8 | 105000 | 101592.4 | 80452.4 | 217665.1 | 336549.14 | 406886.885 | 453493.27 |
| Gwer-East | 83360 | 254964.4 | 73342 | 191264 | 264824.8 | 270121.2 | 278229.6 | 160914 | 120000 | 116105.6 | 91945.6 | 195899 | 302894.2 | 366198.2 | 408143.9 |
| Total | 1,625520 | 4971806 | 1430169 | 3729648 | 5164084 | 5267363 | 5425477 | 3137823 | 2340000 | 2264059 | 1792939 | 6800114 | 10514192 | 12711626 | 14167665 |

Source: Nigeria Since Independence, Vol. II p. 63 (with additional projections): edited by Kayode, M.O. & Usman, Y.B. Heineman, Ibadan 1989.

6.3 Yam Trade and Other Security Challenges in Tiv land, 1915-2000.

According to Ubah,¹² during the Second World War in 1939, the Tiv ethnic group was one of the groups that constituted the highest number of Nigerian soldiers in the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) that executed the war. At the end of the war, however, many of them came back with awards for gallant performances without any other additional rewards. In this regard, Varvar, argues that: “the relationship between the size of the colonial army in Nigeria and yam production in Tiv land in the colonial period has to do with how fast these forces were centrally fed on yam food”.

It should be noted that, yam has all along been at the forefront of providing social security in Tiv land through yam trade from the pre-colonial era to date. This implies that, from the pre-colonial time till date, yam markets have been providing economic, socio-political meeting points for information dissemination, social fun and political decision making. Evidently, during the colonial period, specifically in 1923, at the completion of the Enugu to Makurdi railway, trade in yams between Igbo in the East and Tiv of Central Nigeria started booming. There was population increase of the Igbo yam consumers and traders in Tiv area. With the establishment of the railway, it became so easy to transport yam in large quantities from the Tiv zone to Enugu, Port Harcourt, and other cities. Igbo yam traders together with the Hausa traders, who were lesser yam consumers than Igbo; expanded trade in Tiv yam. Apparently with this new dimension of trade in yam and other goods, higher increase in the income of the Tiv people was recorded. With this financial empowerment, they began to buy more European goods, such as clothes, shoes, and others to improve their standard of living. According to Agber¹³, the expansion of yam trade in Tiv land led to the creation of rural-urban yam markets and price disparities at Abinsi, Wannune, and other settlements during the colonial period. The social security aspect involved in this case, was the added increased purchasing power for social goods and fun. In the course of oral interview, Andrew Daka confirmed that there was free movement for young men, who

travelled long distances in the night to woo and elope with ladies in Tiv land. The expansion of trade during the colonial era was therefore up and doing in terms of social security challenges in Tiv area.¹⁴

Suggestively, yam trade expansion of the colonial Tiv area, occasioned by the railway completion in 1923¹⁵, instrumentally remedied the social vices of reckless prostitution and sexual immorality in Tiv land, by providing the young adults with independent rights and more money to contract formal marriages¹⁶. This statement was restated in separate oral interviews with Terpase Igba, Torbom Adi and Tyozenda Ape during our field survey.

The expansion of yam trade continued into the post-colonial period in Tiv area as clearly presented on table XX on page 183 for illustration. During the post-colonial period, it expanded more than ever before in Tiv land. This dramatic expansion was associated with the high demand for yam as a staple food for both Tiv soldiers and other yam consumers outside Tiv land. This was an incentive to generate more wealth, and improve feeder/rural roads and transport system, among others. All these factors dramatically contributed to expand yam trade as many yam markets sprang up within and outside Tiv land. Evidently, yam trade expansion also immensely opened up Tiv land and popularised the people across Nigeria and beyond. Tiv-yam has become a household name to many ethnic groups in Nigeria, Ghana and Liberia. Visitors also travelled far and near to Zaki-Biam yam market for sightseeing, an act of tourism guaranteed by social security.

According to Azuh and Oluwatoyin¹⁷, poverty syndrome is an aspect of social insecurity challenge that has been very persistent in Tiv land and many other parts of the country. Poverty implies the absence of basic necessities of life, especially food, shelter and clothes. Scholars have consistently argued that, poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon factoring the inability of a sizeable population in a given economy to basic income, health, welfare, education, housing, nutrition, food, and clothing facilities, in life. In short, “human poverty is more than income poverty: it is the denial of choices and opportunities for living a

tolerable life”¹⁸ According to NISER’s report (2003) more than 40% of Nigerians live under conditions of extreme poverty, spending less than N320 per capita per month.¹⁹ This expenditure level would hardly provide a quarter of the nutritional requirements for healthy living. In view of the developing nature of Tiv yam economy in Nigeria, not much attention has been given by the government to improve the poverty situation in Tiv land and beyond. However, Tiv-yam production in Central Nigeria has contributed in various ways to ameliorate the poverty situation in the Tiv territory and Nigeria at large. Apart from many non-Tiv people across the country benefitting in one way or the other from the Tiv-yam trade, it is speculated that there are over seven million, five hundred thousand (7.5m) Tiv people in Nigeria and beyond who feed on yam food and depend on yam production and trade related activities.²⁰

The second aspect of the expanded Tiv yam trade is related to the process of yam production as the primary occupation of the Tiv farmers. According to Lyam,²¹ about 93% of Tiv people live on agricultural production and every Tiv farmer cultivates yam yearly. It is, therefore, important to succinctly justify that the Tiv-yam industry has job-creation attributes, food security solution, and other forms of economic developments, which have been impacting on the social security of Tiv land, by and large on the Nigeria nation.

By implication the significance of job creation through yam production in Tiv land is not restricted to Tiv territory in Benue State alone. It is extended across Nigeria, especially in cities of the Southern part of Nigeria, where yam consumption rate is high, and exported outside Nigeria. The location of Tiv-yam markets in Port-Harcourt, Lagos, Onitsha, Benin and Aba provides petty job opportunities for the teeming youths in all these towns, apart from engaging in yam trade proper. With this increasing rate of job opportunities, many youths in Nigeria are engaged in productive activities. This is advantageous, more so, that it offers more fruitful engagements for youths than engaging in criminal activities, like armed robbery, which are detrimental to economic growth and the entire security situation of the

country. There is an alarming rate of unemployment in Nigeria, very much degenerating to a catastrophic dimension, but yam production and trade have the attributes of job-creation in the country, which has been highlighted in the study, and such potentials are capable of improving the living standards of many Nigerians.

6.4 The Establishment of Ukum and Logo Local Government Areas or Councils in Tiv land, 1986-2000.

There are 774 Local Government Areas out of 36 States, including the Federal Capital Territory, in Nigeria²². Benue State is one of the 36 States in Nigeria with 23 Local Government Areas. The Tiv ethnic group is dominant with 14 out of the 23 Local Government Areas and has the largest land mass, popularly known as Tiv land in Benue State.¹⁵ Within Tiv land, there is a conglomeration of three Local Government Areas, namely, Katsina-Ala, Ukum and Logo, out of the 14 Local Government Areas of the Tiv land. It is the conglomeration of the three Local Government Areas of Tiv land in Benue State that is referred to as the Sankera Geo-political entity, *undyor* which constitutes the core yam producing area in this study.²³

Traditionally, yam production used to determine vital issues of migration, wars, settlement patterns, treaties and others, during the pre-colonial era. According to Yandev, yam production immensely influenced the colonial delineation of the first most popular Tiv Native Council called Tiv Native Authority (NA).²⁴ Findings from the field survey also revealed that yam production and trade in Tiv land had impacted, over time, on increased revenue sustainability, population growth and inter-kinship relations or geographical location, which in turn materialised in the later creation of Katsina-Ala (1976), Ukum (1986) and Logo (1996) LGAs in Tiv land. The next attempt is directed at how the galloping yam production and trade in the Sankera axis of Tiv land has galvanised the establishment of these councils or LGAs through population growth, sustainable revenue generation, as well as geographical and kinship locations. After all, this is not coming up new in the economic history of yam

development in Tiv land. S.T. Yandev, once postulated in his dissertation that “yam production overtly or covertly influenced the colonial delineation of the Tiv native authority to serve as the Food Basket of the Nation”.²⁵

6.4.1 Population growth/demographic changes

Relying on the 1963 figure of the Nigerian Census, Tseyo²⁶ pre-viewed future population overgrowth and land shortage in the Southern and Central parts of Tiv land. This was, however, not envisaged to take place in the North-eastern Tiv land in the near future as speculated by Biam thus:

Going by the 1963 Nigerian Population Census, the whole of Tiv land has roughly 126 persons per square mile (ppsm). But Southern and parts of Central Tiv land have 200 ppsm while densities as low as 25ppsm existed in Northern and North-eastern Tiv land. Shortage of farmland in parts of Central and Southern Tiv land is unavoidable,²⁷

By implication, there was as low as 25 persons per square mile (25ppsm) in the Sankera core area of yam production in the early 1970s, when the Tiv-yam economy was at its embryonic stage of growth. Sankera zone is located in the North-Eastern Tiv land and it clearly shows that, the Sankera axis, prior to the growth of yam economy in Tiv land, was grossly under populated and needed a stimulant to enhance population growth to meet up with the Southern and parts of the Central Tiv land.

The lanes of this analysis lead us to the issue of population disparity between the Southern and Northern Tiv land. The present argument in the academic circle over the question of the development gap between the Northern and Southern Tiv land has to be linked to both the growth of yam economy and population in Tiv land. Population growth is an integral part of the over-all development in any economy worldwide. The development of yam economy first became noticeable on the soil of the Southern Tiv land. It, therefore, suggests that there must have been a symbiotic relationship between the two. This study agrees with the argument that, the growth of the Tiv yam economy has for long been encouraging and promoting the

overall development of the Tiv people on their land. As correctly argued by Biam, “due to land overuse and consequent soil deterioration of the overpopulated Southern and parts of Central Tiv land, yam cultivation in those areas was no longer profitable”.²⁰ During this time, Eastern and North-eastern Tiv land primarily became more productive and ideal for increased yam production in the whole of Tiv land because there was a lot of fertile and vast area of uncultivated and uninhabited farmland for more production of yams.

6.4.2. Population Growth and Labour Migration in Tiv land

Accordingly, land deterioration and population growth constituted the centrifugal force in the 1960s to push out yam farmers, labourers, artisans, consumers, and traders away from the Southern and Central parts of Tiv land²⁸. They migrated to the Sankera axis, the newly opened core yam production centre, which became a centripetal force, attracting all these immigrants on the yam production mission²⁹. Evidently, the first group of Tiv farmers/traders, who became famous as pioneering yam businessmen and women in Tiv land, belong to this group of immigrants from the Southern and parts of Central Tivland.³⁰ According to Maga Chia, the late Fave Uchichi, from Gaav in the Southern part of Tiv land, was the first yam farmer to own lorries at Zaki-Biam in the North Eastern part of Tiv land.

It is to be noted that, all the immigrants to Sankera zone have acquired permanent status with their family members still living in the areas within Sankera region. Oral interview with Ityoakosu revealed that some of them, like Fave Uchichi and Vaachia Iorbo, left for Dan-Anacha area of Taraba State as soon as Zaki-Biam in Ukum area began to experience population growth and land exhaustion, but still have parts of their families living in Ukum area to date, doing skeletal yam production and trade.

With the influx of yam consumers, farm labourers, farm owners, yam traders, artisans, and others, into the Sankera geo-political Zone for yam production purpose, the population of the old Katsina-Ala Local Government Area began to expand continuously till date. Naturally, with the increase of population through internal migration to Sankera axis with

diverse groups of people, like artisans, traders in assorted goods, patent medicine sellers, meat sellers, cloth sellers, and other groups, the living standard in the area began to improve. The result of improved health brought about an increased rate of birth in the area. There was continuous reproductive potency of the people to give birth to more children, thereby increasing the population of the Sankera axis, the more. Another source of population expansion arose at this time in the Sankera geo-political axis, which was directly connected to yam production. Findings from the field survey suggest that this was achieved through increased marriage system between the Sankera people and the people of the Southern Tiv land (Ityoakosu oral interview, 2015)²²

Both Zever Ayua and Tyotyev Agbe retired Headmasters shared that, western civilization in this country entered through the South, because of the early contacts with the Europeans³¹. This also applies to Tiv land, especially in connection with yam production. Western Civilization is said to have developed from the South towards the Northern Tiv land. According to G.N. Hembe (2001), in his edited work, this act is considered generally as being responsible for the “North/South development gap in Tivland.”³²

When the situation of internal migration as a result of yam production became more intense, the indigenous male adults of the Sankera area of Ukum, Shitile, Tongov, Ugondo and Ikyurav saw it as an opportunity to quickly intermingle with the southern groups of Tiv people and borrow a leaf on farm techniques for increased yam production in their domain. This was to be easily achieved through the establishment of mutual kinship relationships by way of new marriages with the Southern immigrants in their domain. Sankera male adults consciously encouraged and promoted marriage of young ladies from the Southern Tiv land, like *Gaav*, *Kunav* and *Shangev* to give birth to a cross-breed generation of the ‘Undyor’ known as ‘anigbaav’ people in Tiv land. On the other hand, the people of the Southern Tiv land were more eager to give out in marriage their daughters to the indigenes of Sankera area for mutual kinship relationships to access free land for farming and settlement. Unity of

purpose was developed. Elder Ugbem Dugwer emphasized on this point that many marriages between the two groups were recorded, thereby facilitating the process of population growth in the Sankera area of Tiv land, which met the population condition for the creation of more Local Government Areas in the Zone (Chia oral interview, 2015).

This is justified by the fact that, the mission for more yam production consumption and trade pulled many Southern Tiv immigrants to the Sankera core Zone of yam production as from the late 1960s upwards. This assertion is justifiably supported by the Nigerian population census, which shows that there has been a steady increase of population growth in the Sankera area of Tiv land, especially as from 1963 upwards. For instance, in 1996, the then Katsina-Ala and Ukum Local Government Areas were populated with 401,619, people while in 2006 it increased to 442,454 people. This development eventually qualified the Sankera Zone for the creation of more Local Government Areas within the area by meeting up the population requirement.

6.5. Sustainable Revenue Generation Capacity of Sankera Zone

It has been acknowledged that, to achieve sustainable development, political institutions should possess a solid foundation with a reliable and sustainable financial base. This explains why sustainable revenue base was one of the pillars of the 1976 Local Government Reforms in Nigeria put in place as a pre-requisite condition for the creation of more Local Government Areas in the country. This is the extent to which the growth of yam economy in the Sankera axis of Tiv land has enhanced the development of Sankera's financial base, which subsequently qualified the Zone for the creation of additional Local Government Areas. It is remarkable to note that all the socio-political and economic requirements which factored the creation of Ukum and Logo Local Government Areas out of the Sankera Zone were inter-woven and inter-related. There was an internal migration motivated by increased yam production which impacted on population expansion. By

extension, the population expansion increased the revenue generation base in Sankera area to sustain more political, educational and health institutions in the area.

The post records of population census in Tiv are have shown the population growth led to increased poll taxes, which in turn doubled the amount of money which was credited into the treasury of the local government, in addition to the income from the increased number of yam farmers and traders. The increased income of the local yam farmers cum traders brought about trade expansion in other sectors of the economy. This also boosted the demands of the people for improved health facilities, housing, clothes, food, and more wives. In the long-run, the economy of the area was expanded and distributed, thereby raising the living standard of the people.

The more, the number of adult heads in an economy, the more their involvement in the pursuit of economic activities and the more the amount of money collected as poll taxes from them. The Nigerian population census shows that, there has been a steady increase of population expansion in the Sankera axis of Tiv land from 1963-2000.³³ For example, in 1996, Katisna-Ala and Ukum Local Government Areas were populated with 401,619 people while in 2006, it increased to 442,454 people. The increased amount of money per person tallies with the population difference of 40,835,. Recalling that in 1996, pool tax per head was N10, the total tax paid in 1996 amounted to $401,619 \times N10 = N4,016,190$. In 2006 total tax paid rose to $442,454 \times N10 = N4,424,540$. Therefore, in 2006, the revenue increased by N408,350.00 ($N4,424,540 - N4,016,190 = N408,350$). Findings from the field survey of this study reveals that yam related sources of revenue generation kept leading in the internal revenue generation of the old Katsina-Ala Local Government Area since in the 1970s, which gave birth to Ukum Local Government Area in 1986 and Logo Local Government Area in 1996 respectively. This is clearly and detailly presented in Table XX A & B overleaf.

Table XXI (A): Revenue Disposition Chart in Katsina-Ala Local Government according to Development Area Offices, 1981-1985

Yam Tax

| S/N | Year | District | Poll tax(₦) | Land Levy (₦) | Market Revenue (₦) | Yam related Association s (₦) | Others (₦) |
|-----|------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | 1981 | UKUM(ZAKI-BIAM) | 47,865 | 138,900 | 141,789 | 162,352 | |
| | | UGBA(LOGO) | 61,525 | 86,893 | 50,100 | 129,130 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 9,000 | 25,612 | 15,163 | 54,311 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 16,001 | 35,415 | 34,300 | 80,050 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 9,050 | 15,120 | 30,172 | 58,721 | |
| 2. | 1982 | UKUM(ZAKI-BIAM) | 50,790 | 145,600 | 144,000 | 175,623 | |
| | | UGBA(LOGO) | 64,345 | 88,951 | 51,710 | 135,505 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 10,000 | 25,642 | 17,561 | 56,789 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 18,100 | 40,978 | 36,200 | 81,800 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 10,070 | 19,276 | 32,185 | 61,125 | |
| 3. | 1983 | UKUM(ZAKI-BIAM) | 51,100 | 149,010 | 145,789 | 189,000 | |
| | | UGBA(LOGO) | 67,320 | 90,000 | 57,580 | 138,200 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 11,900 | 28,721 | 20,673 | 62,189 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 20,018 | 44,111 | 38,970 | 88,002 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 11,689 | 20,100 | 35,500 | 64,798 | |
| 4. | 1984 | UKUM(ZAKI-BIAM) | 57,468 | 153,090 | 165,510 | 198,700 | |
| | | UGBA(LOGO) | 70,050 | 98,120 | 62,002 | 148,200 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 13,400 | 30,500 | 22,734 | 65,810 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 22,000 | 46,332 | 42,010 | 98,421 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 13,000 | 21,655 | 38,130 | 72,050 | |
| 5. | 1985 | UKUM(ZAKI-BIAM) | 60,000 | 156,085 | 172,812 | 202,810 | |
| | | UGBA(LOGO) | 72,071 | 101,072 | 65,020 | 150,006 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 13,532 | 32,855 | 25,067 | 68,123 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 23,400 | 48,665 | 45,050 | 100,230 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 15,005 | 22,345 | 40,012 | 75,010 | |

Source: Revenue Office of Katsina- Ala Local Government Office (2013).

Table XX(A): presents the growing strength of the internally generated revenue from yam production related sources in Sankera Zone, according to each of the 5 Development Area offices from 1981-1985. The table shows that Ukum Development Area office was all along leading with the highest amount of revenue generated from yam production related activities among the 5 Development Area Offices from 1981-1985. The leading position, with a sustainable and viable

revenue base of Ukum Development Area Office for over a period of 5 years (1981-1985) could be one of the reasons why it was first considered by the Federal Government for the creation of Ukum Local Government Area out of Katsina-Ala.

Table XXI(B): Revenue Disposition Chart in Katsina-Ala Local Government According to Development Area Offices, 1991-1995
Yam Tax

| S/N | Year | District | Poll Tax (N) | Land Levy (N) | Market Revenue (N) | Yam related Associations (N) | Others (N) |
|-----|------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | 1991 | UGBA(LOGO) | 144,120 | 200,140 | 120,000 | 300,012 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 53,000 | 131,420 | 100,000 | 250,000 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 43,400 | 97,320 | 90,000 | 200,000 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 30,005 | 52,345 | 80,000 | 150,000 | |
| 2. | 1992 | UGBA(LOGO) | 150,000 | 250,000 | 220,120 | 350,000 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 65,100 | 148,600 | 96,000 | 250,000 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 52,200 | 100,050 | 88,420 | 178,000 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 32,010 | 65,000 | 76,000 | 130,200 | |
| 3. | 1993 | UGBA(LOGO) | 105,000 | 298,000 | 232,210 | 368,050 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 77,000 | 150,000 | 98,100 | 244,000 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 57,010 | 102,000 | 90,000 | 200,000 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 45,000 | 78,342 | 80,000 | 150,000 | |
| 4. | 1994 | UGBA(LOGO) | 109,050 | 300,750 | 234,000 | 384,000 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 77,235 | 150,700 | 100,000 | 250,000 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 62,200 | 122,000 | 92,400 | 181,000 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 40,000 | 89,000 | 80,000 | 122,000 | |
| 5. | 1995 | UGBA(LOGO) | 120,000 | 312,170 | 345,600 | 405,600 | |
| | | KATSINA-ALA | 88,000 | 153,000 | 101,000 | 255,700 | |
| | | LOKO(AMAAFU) | 65,000 | 130,200 | 95,050 | 200,000 | |
| | | TOR-DONGA | 50,000 | 100,400 | 82,000 | 150,000 | |

Source: Revenue Office of Katsina- Ala Local Government Office (2013).

Table XX (B):, presents a figurative disposition chart of internally generated revenue, collected from yam production related sources in Sankera Zone based on each of the 4 Development Area Offices from 1991-1995. The leading position of Ugba (Logo) Development Area Office, among the 4 Development Area offices in terms of revenue collected for 5 years is indicated on the table. This probably suggests why Logo-LGA, with a sustainable revenue base, was created after Ukum LGA.

On the whole, Tables XX(A) and XX(B) reflect a clear demonstration of the revenue generating capacity, which increased yearly side by side with the population growth, in Sankera area from 1981-1985, based on the initial five Development Area Offices (DAO) of the old Katsina-Ala LGA. These were Tor-Donga, Katsina-Ala Township, Loko, Ukum, and Ugba. During this period, Ukum DAO led in revenue generation from yam production related activities in terms of internally generated revenue, which later guaranteed its creation as a separate LGA in 1996.

Among the remaining DAOs left in Katsina-Ala LGA, after the creation of Ukum as LGA, Ugba (Logo) also became the leading revenue generation area office from yam related sources and was made a separate Local Government Area in 1996. Tables XX(A) and XX(B) are clear illustrations of how yam production related sources dramatically increased the sustainable revenue base of the Sankera people, which contributed to earning them the creation of Ukum and Logo LGAs in 1986 and 1996, respectively.

Development area or centre is an integral land coverage within the entire land area of a particular Local Government Area. Each centre has its separate and distinct land area coverage, endowed with certain comparative advantages over resources within its' territorial domain, like fertile land and economic trees. Yam production, which depends on fertile land, is more closely linked to the Development Centre than the Local Government Council itself. One Development Centre within the same LGC, by virtue of its demarcation, may possess more fertile land for yam production and equally be producing more yams than any other centres in the same council. The more yams are produced in a Development Centre, the more revenue is generated, especially when combined with an effective and efficient collection management. The competitive generation of internal revenue among DAOs within one LGA, therefore, boosts the revenue of the entire LGC yearly.

6.6 Urbanization:

Urbanization is a process of coming together of villages, hamlets and compounds to form larger nucleus settlement centres in a region. According to Ortserga,³⁴ the formation of urban centres is key to the development of financial institutions in any given economy worldwide. Urbanization is, therefore, “a cause, just as it is a consequence of socio-economic development in a region”³⁵.

The process of urban formation was brought specifically to the Sankera axis of Tiv land mainly through internal migration especially, yam farmers and sellers from the Southern Tiv territory to the North-Eastern Tiv area. The Tiv people from the Southern and Central parts of Tiv land migrated to the fertile land of Sankera area to engage in yam production and trade during the colonial period. Varvar²⁶ also articulated that commoditization of yam had led to large scale migration of Tiv population from the Southern and Central parts of Tiv land to the fertile areas of yam production, thus sustaining the migrant communities where they existed before and creating new ones where they never existed. The field survey of the present research reveals that many of the present yam producing and trading urban communities in Sankera area, such as Zaki-Biam, Anyiin, Gbor, Chito, Gbeji, Ugba, Afia and others, are dominantly urbanised by migrants from the Southern and Central parts of Tiv land. Very many of such migrants later became big time yam producers and traders, like Fave Uchichi, Abwa Asemabo, Denen Tofi, and others. Results from the field survey further reveals that certain semi-urban centres presently booming in yam production and trade in Sankera area started their formation with migrants from the Southern and parts of central Tiv land to Sankera Zone. By implication, yam production and trade during the study period largely urbanized many settlement areas in Sankera, new found core yam producing zone of Tiv.

The example of such settlement areas include Zaki-Biam, Ugba, Anyiin, Chito, Gbor and others as illustrated on Table XXI showing an estimated number of immigrants from Southern Tiv territory-Gaav, Kunav I Ishangev Tiev to a few selected settlements of Zaki-

Biam, Anyiin, Ugba, Chito, and Gbor for more clarifications. The justifiable point under illustration at this juncture is that yam production and trade during the study period, largely urbanised, many settlement areas in the Sankera new found yam producing zone of our study area.

Table XXII: Migration of the Southern Tiv to the North-Eastern part of the Tiv for Yam and Trade, 1960-1999

| Year | Migrants | Total Number of Migrants | Host Community |
|-----------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1961-1970 | Kunav, Gaav & Shangev-Tiev | 2764 | Zaki-Biam |
| | | 1821 | Ugba |
| | | 2114 | Anyiin |
| | | 2514 | Chito |
| | | 3117 | Gbor |
| 1971-1980 | Kunav, Gaav & Shangev-Tiev | 3593 | Zaki-Biam |
| | | 2367 | Ugba |
| | | 2748 | Anyiin |
| | | 3268 | Chito |
| | | 4052 | Gbor |
| 1981-1990 | Kunav, Gaav & Shangev-Tiev | 4670 | Zaki-Biam |
| | | 3077 | Ugba |
| | | 3572 | Anyiin |
| | | 4248 | Chito |
| | | 5267 | Gbor |
| 1991-2000 | Kunav, Gaav & Shangev-Tiev | 1934 | Zaki-Biam |
| | | 1274 | Ugba |
| | | 1479 | Anyiin |
| | | 1759 | Chito |
| | | 2181 | Gbor |

Source: The Nigerian Census Populaation of 1963.

: Field Survey of 2013 in the Southlthern and Central parts of Tiv land.

The important point established here so far is that, there has been massive migration of Tiv people from the Southern and Central parts of Tiv land since the colonial period to date, into Sankera area for the purpose of yam production and trade. This population increase contributed to transform the hitherto scattered and sparsely populated settlements of the area to urban and semi-urban centres, like Ugba, Ayati, Abako and others in Sankera Zone. These centres, eventually became viable coordinating centres of socio-political and economic, as well as melting points for information dissemination. The centres also served as ushers in the development prospects of yam production and trade in Tiv land. In agreement with this

assertion, Ortserga argued that,²⁷ the emergence and growth of semi-urban centres and towns as a result of the swell-up population of immigrants, transformed the region into a forward-looking socio-political and economic development area. In a similar way, Johnson also asserted that:

Development is a function of the agrarian commercialization and the rationalization of agrarian conduction under a pecuniary stimulus calls for a network of conveniently located central places where efficient exchange of goods and services could occur.³⁶

Accordingly, these urban commercial headquarters are now acknowledged as formidable and buoyant revenue bases, sustaining socio-political and economic development in the three respective Local Government Councils of Sankera Zone. The three LGCs (Katsina-Ala, Ukum and Logo) are actually ahead of the older Local Governments Councils, like Vandeikya and Gwer-West in terms of internally generated revenue capacities, as a result of increased yam production and trade in Sankera area.

6.7 Yam Production and the Development of Education in Tiv land, 1900-2000

Historically, before any contact was ever made with Europeans, there was the concept of African traditional education. It is a form of education, whereby a student or child as the case maybe, receives education in an informal manner. A child was tutored on traditional norms and values and exposed to the basics of the natural laws established over time, by the virtue of interaction with man and his natural environment. Such knowledge is imparted orally and is in forms of proverbs, songs, poems, folklores or folktales, and stories, and dances. In most African societies, particularly, the Tiv, traditional education started with the family.

It is said that the father gathers his sons in one specific or formal way to impart this form of education on them, while the mother handles the education of her daughters. This could be in any given condition or situation. According to Baver Ijoho, an elder in Mbagbera council ward, the yam stead in the yam farm, where all farmers met to take a rest after much

work, in most cases, was a place for a father to pass wisdom to his children (Ijoho, oral interview).²⁹ This could come in form of ancient folklores or proverbs, or songs, with valuable information, which could help as a reference for knowledge and wisdom in the later years, apart from inculcating the skills of yam production process into young ones. Bonding is established while working and this spirit of closeness could lead the father to share his knowledge on certain issues concerning the traditional society with his children. Thereafter, the age grade system at the *ya* level was another avenue for traditional education.

During planting or harvest activities, much knowledge was imparted and transferred through a lot of oral exchange and interaction between an older generation and the young. Through this method, traditional education, ideas, events, knowledge and wisdom was transferred from one generation to another.

One of the cardinal points of the Tiv traditional system of education in the pre-colonial Tiv land was to provide the young men with basic and skilful knowledge about the Tiv traditional ways of yam farming, including other crops on their land. Traditional patterns of yam production techniques, such as land clearing and making of mounds for planting yam seedlings.

In fact, acquiring sufficient skilful knowledge about farming yam was a prerequisite qualification for maturity to marry a wife. Adequate knowledge about yam production could qualify young men to marry wives and increase labour force for farming activities in a family. At this stage, they brought relief to their parents from farming activities, especially yam cultivation, considered to be highly labour intensive. The common expectation of traditional yam farmers was that, whenever their children grew up with adequate knowledge of the yam production techniques they would join them up, thereby adding to farm labour which would lead to increased yam farms for higher future outputs and eventually takeover from them. Based on the high expectations, traditional education of yam production to the

young ones was handled with all seriousness of purpose in Tiv land during the pre-colonial era.

That while young men were acquiring traditional education on several aspects of yam production ascribed to men, mothers on the other hand, educated their daughters on such aspects which were ascribed traditionally to women, like harvesting yam tubers, planting yam seedlings, and weeding of yam farms. In addition, mothers educated their daughters about the traditional ways of cooking food to serve men on the farms while making mounds. Women's education for purposes of yam production was more intensive and involving than men's own. Apart from possessing more roles than men to perform on yam farms, women were taught how to prepare delicious meals and the appropriate times to serve such meals to men on the farms. Usually, it was traditionally common to serve roasted or boiled yam with grinded benniseed (paste), "*you sha ishwa*" in the morning, pounded yam with delicious soups in the afternoon. This was to be repeated in the evening before going to bed at night. On the whole, traditional education greatly influenced and sustained yam production in the pre-colonial Tiv land.

It was against this background that western education came to compliment the traditional education during the colonial period in Tiv land. The coming of the Europeans brought about new forms of education called western education. Western education, according to B.D Iyortom (2015)³⁷ is the formal method of teaching people how to read and write; and to be able to keep records for the purpose of remembering the past events and getting away from the primitive ways of relationships and communication. The first Europeans to introduce this type of education to Tiv land were the missionaries. Charged with the mission of introducing Christianity, the Christian missionaries discovered that they could not do their own work effectively, unless its adherents were able to read and write. In a short while, they took advantage of an educational system that was tailored toward their

needs. They established schools that were religiously biased by using education as a bait to attract the people to Christianity.

It was further disclosed by B.D Iyortom that from its inception, western education was reserved for lazy and outcast children, that is, children who had less social value and could not work on yam farms. A lot of labour was needed on the yam farms; therefore, the thought of giving out able bodied children was not a welcome development. Akiga Sai, a foremost pioneer educationist, for instance, was said to have been readily offered to the missionaries 'uke' because of his deformities. Education, during the early colonial era, was not so valued by the Tiv natives. At that time, yam production was a hindrance to the development of Western education in Tiv land.

In light of the above, many mushroom schools, known as Bible schools, were first established with low attendance by the Tiv locals. Thus, wherever a church mission was established, it was followed by a mushroom Christian missionary school. For example, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at Sai in 1911 opened a school by Carl Zimmermann³⁸. With the exposure from the First and Second World Wars, as well as the journeys to work in coal and tin mines in Jos, came a new penchant for education.

Over time, the first schools produced an elitist class out of the forsaken and rejected children, who cleared doubts and proved sceptics wrong about the Whiteman's schools and education. More schools with higher educational standards were established by both government and the missionaries, like Mount Saint Michaels, Aliade, established in 1953, W.M. Bristow Secondary School, Gboko 1960; Mount Saint Gabriel, Makurdi, established in 1964, St Andrews Adikpo in 1967 and several others. It became a status symbol and a thing of pride to have a learned person who could read and write in the Whiteman's language come from a family, clan or village. Thus, the struggle to educate their children in the western system of education began. Most families began to send their wards to schools. Various villages began to clamour for the Whiteman's school. The yam farm that hitherto

was a curse and a barrier to western educational growth and development became a blessing. Yam production in the colonial period became a commodity of trade and veritable source of income for all needs, including payment of school fees. Small scale farmers, who would not formally let their children go to school due to expenses incurred on the yam farms, rather would sell their yam produce to train their children in school. Communities that were formally hostile to the missionaries now contributed massively yams and money derived from sell of yam to start up community development schools.

The railway constructed across Makurdi/Aliade axis, the bridges and other roads gave vent to the massive commercialization of the yam produced like never before, which brought about a change in the local economy³⁹. Positive responses to Western education increased and further enhanced the development of yam economy. This development continued to impact of the study area.

Toward the end of the colonial regime in Nigeria, economic transformation of the colonial economic policies, especially the commoditization of yam products significantly increased yam production and trade in Tiv land. The provision of more infrastructural facilities, like railways, roads, schools, public offices, money incentives and added value of the Western education, all contributed to educational development in Tiv land, especially from the 1960s to 2000. The contribution of yam production and trade to the development of Western education in Tiv land within this period was done in various forms.

First and foremost, through yam trade, Tiv yam traders interacted with non Tiv people outside the Tiv territory. These Tiv yam traders saw how Western education, had transformed the lives and standards of living in those areas. On their return to Tiv land, the value of Western education was inculcated into the minds of their fellow Tiv men at home. The idea of sending children to schools increased. Tiv people began to send their children to school for Western education, so that on graduating, they would be employed in public offices, with huge salaries and cars attached or given to them. Many Tiv sons, like Prof. I. Saror, Prof. E.

Gyangyan, Prof. D. Yakubu, Prof. J. Tseayo, Prof. O. Malu, Prof. M. Jibo and others, were all sent to schools by their parents in the late 1950s, and their education funded mainly from proceeds made from the sell of yam. Good enough, very many of them took to teaching profession in order to expand Western education in Tiv land and beyond.

Secondly and closely related to the above, it is commonly expressed by the adage that “travelling is education” yam traders who went to sell yams in Igbo land, especially after the civil war borrowed a leaf from there. They saw how Western education was considered as very essential and serious achievement among the Igbo people in their respective communities. These general goods traders including yam returned to Tiv land with these laudable ideas. They then began to establish their private post primary institutions and encouraged their communities financially with money realised from trading to establish more of such institution across Tiv land. This explains why many private and community post primary institutions sprang up throughout Tiv land in the 1970s as presented in Table XXII.

Table XXIII: Selected Community and Private Post Primary Institutions Established across Tiv land, 1967-1970

| S/NO | NAME OF SCHOOL | YEAR ESTABLISHED | LOCATION |
|------|-------------------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| 1 | Mbapuun Grammar Secondary School | 1976 | Zaki-Biam |
| 2. | Ngenev Community Secondary School | 1977 | Sankera |
| 3 | Mbaterem Community Secondary School | 1977 | Kyado |
| 4. | Torov Community Secondary School | 1978 | Chito |
| 5. | Ucha Community Secondary School | 1977 | Afia |
| 6. | Ugondo Community Secondary School | 1978 | Ugba |
| 7. | Yaav Day Secondary School | 1977 | Harga |
| 8. | Akume Atongo Memorial School | 1979 | Abaji |
| 9. | Tongov Community Secondary School | 1979 | Amaafu |

Source: Field Survey 2015

So far under the present chapter, the seemingly positive impact of yam production and trade are briefly examined. On the other hand, there are negative impact in Tiv land, such as land exhaustion and soil degradation, with their attendant problems. This is the next focus of the discourse.

6.8 Yam Production, Land Exhaustion and Soil Degradation in Tiv land, 1915-2000

Soil degradation is a situation of soil deterioration and exhaustion of its natural potency through human activities or natural forces⁴⁰. The depleted soil resources, such as nutrients, manure, chemicals, water, minerals, and others make soil unsuitable for further growth of crops, especially the yam crop. Soil degradation is, as well, the downward trend in soil resources, such that their level of use in human societies is also debased at an increasing rate. This is usually caused as a result of human overuse or misuse or both of the soil through mining, cattle grazing, bush burning, deforestation, constructions, farming, hunting of games, and others.

There are also natural causations of soil degradation, such as soil erosion, draughts, weather conditions, rainfall, earthquake, and others. The concept of soil degradation itself denotes negativity to a large extent in this context. Soil as the life wire of yam crop production, when depleted obviously and adversely affects yam production, as shall be discussed.

In addition to population expansion, the process of yam production in itself factored soil degradation during the 1960s in Tiv land. The traditional standard regulation for yam cultivation was to first clear the area of would-be farm field of all the bushes, grasses, small trees, and others, before making yam heaps. The process is known in Tiv as *hura ihyande*. After weeding off bushes, pulling grasses, felling of small trees, removing of stumps and others, the area becomes cleared, ready for heaps or mounds making for planting of yam seedlings. Tiv people refer to the cleared area as *ihyande*. In the course of making heaps in the second stage of yam farm cultivation, all the underground roots of trees and stumps are uprooted. This is to provide free and open loose soil within the heaps for yam tubers to grow and penetrate freely without any hindrance underground. In the late hoeing period, just before the rain sets in, the already pulled down grasses and bushes are burnt to avoid the delay of packing them away before tilling the heaps on the field. During the early period of mound

making, called *sule sanen* in Tiv, the weeded grasses and pulled down bushes on the field are not burnt away, but preserved mulching against direct sunlight and over drying of the mounds before yam seedlings are planted on them. This is how yam cultivation process destroys the natural ecosystem of the land along with its soil nutrients in the course of increasing yam production. The destruction of trees, stumps uprooting and burning of bushes leads to ushering on the farmland the devastating effects of soil degradation in Tiv land.

At the time of low population density in Southern and Central parts of Tiv land, Tiv traditional mechanism of shifting cultivation was used to allow the land to remain fallow for some years and rejuvenate. However, with rapid population expansion, especially after the 1960s, when every male adult became eager to own his individual yam farm and enlarge it annually to earn more money. It virtually led to an invitation for land crisis to continue with shifting cultivation in area⁴¹.

The foregoing attempt is to illustrate how the population expansion syndrome of the Tiv people; improved rural road network in their domain, their wealth accumulation desires, and other exigencies of the colonial administration, brought about their gregarious overuse of their static farmlands within their domain in the 1960s. This land overuse gradually led to deterioration and exhaustion of farmlands. A critical situation which led to soil degradation, initially in the Southern and Central parts of Tiv land but later extended across the whole of Tiv territory in Central Nigeria.⁴²

A brief narration of how increased yam production had brought about the devastating soil degradation in Tiv land before 1960s is attempted. Since then, farm land exhaustion and soil degradation have gradually escalated to engulf the whole of Tiv area in Central Nigeria. There are also other factors of soil degradation like mining, cattle rearing, droughts, hunting, and many other means which gradually sprang up and continued to contribute to soil degradation in Tiv land within the period of the study.

When the manifestations of soil degradation were empirically noticed early in the Southern and parts of Central Tiv land after the 1960s⁴³, there were two major responses by Tiv people to remedy this critical situation of land scarcity. Internal migration was first initiated to search for fertile land within Tiv territory to make up for farmland shortages. The second way forward was double cropping and the introduction of orange and mango plantations in Tiv land. Realistically, these two steps were taken in the right direction at the right time and actually sustained the development of yam economy in Tiv land.

The income generated from the sell of other crops, like maize, groundnuts, guinea corn, millet, and others was used to replace what was lost from the hitherto sell of yams. The internal migration further led to land crisis and later external migration. All the same, it served as a short-term relief to put into full use farm land within the Tiv territory and maximize the benefits of yam production in Tiv land.

It is not an exaggeration to state that, when the farmlands within the Tiv territory were almost completely exhausted, the quest for farmland by the Tiv yam farmers turned fully outwards. It is speculated that the outward-looking for farmland turned sour and was key to the 2001 Tiv massacre/genocide, apart from being the major source of acrimony between the Tiv and their neighbours. A one time Minister of Defence and an extraction of the Jukun kingdom, who are the Tiv neighbours, T.Y. Danjuma in his defence of the 2001 Tiv genocide asserted thus:

The Tiv are at war with all their neighbours; why are they at war with all their neighbours from Benue to Nassarawa through Taraba to even Ebonyi State? In all these cases, it is over land. I think it is because of the expansionist tendencies of the Tiv people.⁴⁴

Hagher speculated that the 2001 Tiv massacre led to reduction in yam production, not only in Tiv land but across the whole of Central Nigeria. About one million Tiv yam producers were killed by their neighbours and the Nigerian soldiers as well as properties worth billions of Naira were destroyed. More than twenty-billion of yam tubers were destroyed both on the

farms at different locations and yam markets like Dan-Anancha, Zaki-Biam, Gbeji, Vaase, Chito, Abako, Anyiin, Ugba, and many other settlements. Evidently, after visiting most of the destroyed sites to actually see things for himself, Professor Derry Joe Yakubu of the Peace Mission International lamented that:

Since February, 2001, the Tiv people have been attacked and displaced in three States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria: Benue, Taraba, and Nassarawa. Over 1,000,000 Tiv are now refugees in their own country! The Tiv people have been robbed of their basic human rights which most civilised societies now enjoy. They are being hunted down and slaughtered in their homes and farms like wild animals. The Tiv all over Nigeria now live in morbid fear for their lives and property.⁴⁵

There is also another type of soil degradation, usually caused by natural resources, like gypsum and barite in the soil. The extensive farmland destruction at Tse-Kucha in Yandev land of Gboko Local Government Area, where a cement factory is located and Lessel in Ushongo Local Government Area, where barite is mined. An important point to note here is that, land infertility or degradation, either by land overuse or mining, both produce adverse effects on yam production in the long run.

At the two mining areas in Tiv land, the top layer of the soil of the vast farmland is completely removed exposing the hard layer of the soil, which does not support crop production. It is common knowledge that, deep pits, drainages, gutters, and other infrastructures are visibly found on the mining sites, which serve as death traps in Tiv land in addition to land degradation. Already, there are numerous recorded cases of deaths of underage children attempting to swim in such pits during the raining season whenever water collected therein, especially in Lessel. The long-run effect is the creation of farmland shortages for crop production, including yam apart from bringing about depopulation to the area. It should not be forgotten, that yam is the most favourable and preferred food crop of the majority of people in Tiv land. The lack of farm land for yam cultivation in Tiv land implies an invitation to famine and food insecurity in the area. As earlier stated, farmland

shortages have for long been instrumental to Tiv migration to the territorial land of their neighbours, thereby leading to wars over land in Central Nigeria.

6.9 Emergence and Growth of Indigenous Entrepreneurs in Tiv land, 1915-2000.

Scholars have generally agreed that entrepreneurship connotes all functions which involve the exploitation of opportunities in existence within a market, like self employment of any sort:

that the function which involves the exploitation of opportunities which exist within a market like self employment of any sort; the activity that involves identifying opportunity within the economic system: the creation of new organizations; the willingness and ability of an individual to seek out investment opportunities in an environment and be able to establish and run an enterprise successfully based on the identifiable opportunities.⁴⁶

On the other hand, entrepreneurs are business persons who take or identify opportunities and establish new business ventures regardless of the risks involved. This is to create businesses, so that new methods, products, new markets and new forms of organizations are invented to satisfy human needs and wants mostly at a profit.

Applying the concept of entrepreneurship to the study of Tiv yam production and trade, both Tosh (1980) and Odey (2015) illuminated that entrepreneurship in the African societies originated from the simple use of hoe and cutlass. This was achieved through the engagement of peasant productive activities and the gradual development of local trade in food stuff and cash crops upon which the colonial export trade depended.⁴⁷ Accordingly, Odey augmenting Tosh's (1980) argument with an opinion that, the growth of cash crop trade, at the local and international levels, and the rising significance of cash crops economy/monetization, were through the productive efforts of peasant farmers. These farmers were invariably the unquestionable heroes of African micro-entrepreneurial history. This was the initial reason for the emergence of entrepreneurship in Africa.⁴⁸ By extension, yam production and trade among the Tiv of Central Nigeria was an important factor for emergence of Tiv indigenous entrepreneurs. The Tiv had the ability and traditional initiative

to use hoe and cutlass in order to mobilize factors of production, mainly land and labour, from a humble beginning rather than the factory or industrial enterprise.

This evidence, therefore, justifies the fact that small scale yam farmers during the Tiv pre-colonial period were entrepreneurs per excellence. The yam crop, from the pre-colonial till post colonial period in Tiv land, evidently served the dual purposes of food sufficiency and income generation for the Tiv people. It is on the strength of this belief that Landes (1971) restated that indigenous African entrepreneurship pre-dated the colonial domination in the Central part of the continent. He further argued that penetration of the European capitalism rather slowed down the growth of indigenous African entrepreneurs, who began to re-establish themselves all over again.

In a contrary view, other scholars, like Myint (1971)³⁷ argued that colonial governments in African States encouraged the indigenous entrepreneurship in the continent rather than slowing down the process. This study toes the latter line of argument (Myint) and further accepts that truly the Tiv entrepreneurship pre-dated colonialism, but rather fast tracked its process of development during the colonial period in Tiv land. Evidently, Boyd Alexander writing before the “opening up” of Tiv land speculated in the same vein, that trade in agricultural produce like yam and benniseed were on-going with the foreign companies before the colonization of Tiv land. His words:

The supply of benniseed which is an important product in the trade of the Niger Company is entirely dependant on Munchi (Tiv) who bring it in or not as they choose; the same is the case with yams in the markets along the river.⁴⁹

M.O Odey⁵⁰ supported this view point, buttressing that food and cash crops and estimates of surplus food stuff ranging from 60,000 to 80,000 tons of yam tubers and 65,000 to 90,000 tons of rice, guinea corn, maize, millet and beans were exported from the Central part of Nigeria Tiv land inclusive to overseas countries. This was done by the Niger Company, that monopolized the so called “silent trade”. Going through these written records with the knowledge of what entrepreneurship implies, it becomes more convincing to accept

that the emergence and existence of Tiv entrepreneurship pre-dated the colonial rule in Tiv land.

Berry in Odey (2015)⁵¹ once asserted that African colonial economies are worthy of study in their own rights and terms. This is due to their resilience and persistence in petty commodity production connected to other areas. Historically, it is based on these assertions that this study derives additional motivation for the inclusion of this sub-topic in the discussion. So far, it has been argued in this study that Tiv entrepreneurship pre-dated colonialism in their land. The arrival of colonialism on Tiv land only fast-tracked the process of Tiv entrepreneurial development and expansion in their land and beyond.

According to Austin in Odey (2015)⁵² by the 19th Century, primordial African societies were extinct and productive activities and market principles had began to generate surplus produce for the market. The “essentially static” economies of West Africa were galvanized in the latter half of the Century by the advent of the European trading firms with rewards for the sell of export crops which were in demand overseas . The attempt to source for local traditions to complement this assertion, took the researcher to elder Akaazua Muemue’s village at the outskirts of Ihugh town, in Vandeikya Local Government Area in 2014. He has a well built and equipped secondary school, named after him, and many other storey buildings. The researcher sought to know how he began his journey of entrepreneurship, acquiring and accumulating so much money to become one of the pioneering wealthy persons with a lot of landed properties in Vandeikya, Gboko, Makurdi and other places in Tiv land and beyond.

Elder Muemue⁵³ opened up that, the proximity of sharing a common border area between his own people (Kunav) and Udam is a blessing in disguise. According to him the whole idea of trading in Tiv land emanated from the pre-colonial inter trading relationship between Kunav and Gaav people of the South Eastern Tiv land and the Udam people of Cross River State. That their great grandparents were trading with Udam people in assorted petty wares or goods, including yam, ever before the arrival of the Whiteman’s government in Tiv land. So, they (Muemue and his colleagues and age mates) inherited the act of trading from

their great grand parents when they became adults. This version is supported by D.C. Dorward's statement that, "the first guns bought by the Tiv were purchased from Udam..."⁵⁴ Muemue further agreed that, he was among the group of then young men who engaged in the long distance trade across Tiv land during the colonial era. He further recalled that his colleagues and age mates in the business at that time were Tilley Gyado, who was their leader, Atomga Ukpo, Audu Atsem, Aunde Ikyulokyo, Belamo Ahura, A.A. Adaga, Anum Iorzua, Kpamber Adura, and many others. With time, they were joined in the business by other Tiv sons from different parts of Tiv land like Denen Tofi, Fave Uchichi, Tuve Erukaa, Kula Wombo, Sunda Yongo, Samu Ihugh and many others.(Muemue oral interview)⁵⁵

Elder Muemue further explained that in those days, each one of them had a special goods container or carrier, specifically designed for carrying about their merchandise for trade. The container was named "Kpenga" in Tiv, meaning trade. The bigger size of it was also called "Achakpa", probably an Udam name, also relating to the act of trade. 'Achakpa' has no meaning in Tiv but Tiv traders were identified in those days with these containers as traders. This supports the assertion that, just as the act of yam trade was borrowed from the Udam people in the early part of the study so was trade in yam. They could carry their wares or goods made up of benniseed, yam tubers, tobacco leaves, spices and many others, to almost all the places in Tiv land and even beyond.

Muemue further confirmed that they were not trading along the conventional trading routes but using the local short-cuts paths to the conventional trading stations such as Katsina-Ala, Ibi, Donga, Takum and others. They could take off in a group from Agbo, now Vandeikya, in the morning for instance, with their ware on their heads and travel all the way to sleep at the bank of river Katsina-Ala. The following morning, after swimming across river Katsina Ala with the assistance of Etulo people; they continued with their journey to either spend another night at Sai village or Kyado/Zaki-Biam, depending on which market they were heading to on a particular trip to go and sell their goods. Benniseed was better sold at Donga Garba market, so whenever they carried plenty of benniseed, they would spend a night at Sai village to reach Donga Garba the next day to sell their merchandise. On the other hand,

whenever they carried other goods, with less benniseed, they would follow the Wukari path to dispose their goods at Ibi market the following day. This was applicable to all the traditional markets across the Tiv land and beyond, like Abinsi, Kwatan-Sule, Tyulen, Makurdi, Aliade, Ogoja and others.

He finally concluded that, all his money and landed properties were acquired through trade in petty food/cash crops and other goods which later grew into contract businesses. He restated, that he started this act of trade during his childhood period and has grown very old now, therefore, there is nothing on earth that is new to him now. That he has lost all his colleagues and is extremely old with no good taste for anything in life. Death does not even sound fearful to him because all his age mates are dead and he is gracefully waiting for when to join them. For this singular reason, he has already dug and prepared his grave under the ground floor of where we were seated upstairs. Thereafter, he actually conducted us down stairs to see his already well dug and prepared grave waiting for his burial time. In agreement with Muemue's assertion, that the boarder proximity between Kunav and Udam people is a blessing in disguise, our field survey further unravelled that prosperous entrepreneurs in Kunav area alone first emerged and gradually out numbered the one in the whole of Tiv land put together.

Similarly, Gyado's grandson (Atoo Gyado)⁵⁶ asserted that with all the expansive nature of his grandfather's wealth, it was legitimately acquired initially from petty trading of food/cash crops and other goods in Kunav area of Tiv land. His grandfather graduated from there to become a distributor of the Nigerian Tobacco Company (NTC) in Nigeria. He further stated that it was at this level, that his grandfather enlarged and expanded the tentacles of his enterprise across Nigeria as one of the richest men in Tiv area.

Muemue's interview also corroborates Yandev's assertion that all the pre-colonial economic and socio-political activities of the Tiv people were anchored on yam production and trade especially from the colonial period.⁵⁷

The oral information from Muemue is complemented with Odey's (2015) view, which accepts that the introduction of the general purpose money by the colonial government, road

networks and influx of the Igbo traders from the Southern part of Nigeria boosted the retail trade, from food crops to cash crops in canteens in Tiv land and beyond at Ogoja, Ibi, and Abinsi. This development became so popular that all attempts to stop it by the Tiv elders failed. It was on this note, that in 1941 alone, the colonial government in Tiv land regulated yam trade for the use of colonial officials and over 225,000 tonnes of yam were exported to the Plateau tin mines and some by rail to Enugu and Port-Harcourt, apart from 125, 000 tons for local consumption⁵⁸. It is noted at this point that this development also led to the emergence of Tiv yam related entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs outside the Tiv land in Port Harcourt, Enugu and Jos.

On the whole, it is suggestive that the simple use of hoe and cutlass in the process of Tiv small scale productive activities initiated the process of Tiv entrepreneurship. The gradual development of the local trade in petty food/cash crops upon which the colonial export trade depended was the follow up process to complete Tiv entrepreneurship on their land during the colonial period. The development of commodity production and the early export of yam tubers, groundnut, benniseed and other crops from Tiv land, termed “a revolution of cash and agricultural economies”, marked the second stage of Tiv entrepreneurship development, during the colonial epoch in Tiv land. The emergence and development of the Tiv indigenous entrepreneurship from the pre-colonial to the colonial economic period in Tiv land have so far been discussed. More attempts will be made to analyse the development of Tiv indigenous entrepreneurship in the post colonial Tiv land in the sequential analysis that follow.

The post colonial period in Tiv land, recorded a remarkable growth of indigenous entrepreneurship, occasioned by new developments and other exigencies, leading to the overall economic development in Tiv land during the period, 1960-2000. Various factors combined during the post colonial Tiv land to bring about increased yam production and expanded trade leading to numerous economic transformations with the sporadic emergence of entrepreneurship organizations in Tiv land and beyond. Ninga (1973) who was carried

away by the euphoria of increased yam production, which he considered synonymous with the expanded yam trade, openly stated that:

Yam marketing proper started during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 with the ever expanding war demands and money incentives, plus the availability of transport, yam production was said to have doubled its pre-war volume by 1970.⁵⁹

The reality of it all is that, trade in yam proper started earlier than during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 as already analysed in the early part of the study. However, Ninga (1973) viewed increased yam production as being synonymous with the expanded trade in yam with an oversight that yam production and trade are a continuous progressive phenomenon in the history of yam development from the pre-colonial to the post colonial era in Tiv land. The incremental expansion of yam production and trade in the post civil war period only became more pronounced and more noticeable than before the civil war in Tiv land.

According to an informant, “the brief decline in yam production and trade during the Nigerian Civil War was a blessing in disguise”. As usual in Tiv land, women, children and old men replaced those farmers that left Tiv land to execute the civil war and yam production continued in Tiv land during the civil war period just as before the war though at a lesser intensity. At the same time, the vacuum created by the absence of Igbo yam traders was filled by retiree primary school teachers, returnees from the second world war, like Amee Jorpo, Atondo Gongor, Awua Bokon and others. Yam farmers and others came into yam trade in numbers and took over the business of yam trade in Tiv land. This group combined with the already existing general goods-traders, lucratively revamped both trade in yam and in general goods in Tiv land, during and after the Nigerian civil war.

At the end of the civil war, there was much more increase in demand for yam food, to sustain war victims who were mainly Igbo yam consumers and the need to feed the Nigerian soldiers on yam food. There was also the return of Igbo traders back into the trade; increased incentives for wealth accumulation, improved road network and transport system, the transfer of Tiv yam marketing centre from Gboko to Zaki-Biam in the core centre of yam production in Tiv land, and other exigencies factored and renewed the emergence of many enterprises

and entrepreneurs in Tiv land. This development gradually led to the overall economic development of the Tiv people. According to Angure Dem⁶⁰, the market overseer of Zaki-Biam Market many yam related enterprises were visibly seen across Tiv land during the post colonial period than before then. Kpindi Gberikon⁶¹ also argued that most of the existing pre-colonial villages in Tiv land, like Ugba, Anyiin, Gbeji, Chito, Ayati and others, were transformed into urban and semi urban status via yam trade across the whole of Tiv land. As a matter of reality, petty yam enterprises, like transport organizations, yam shade owners associations, yam flour industry at Katsina-Ala, shop/canteen owners associations, dry cleaning and barbing saloons and many others, were visibly seen all over Tiv land via yam production and trade.

TABLE XXIV: The Growth of Yam Related Entrepreneurships in Major Yam Trading Towns in Tiv Area 1960-2000

| S/NO | TOWN | Entrepreneurships | 1960-1969 | 1970-1979 | 1980-1989 | 1990-1999 |
|------|------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | Gboko | Yam Trading Association | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | | Yam Shade Owners Association | - | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| | | Yam Transporters Association | - | 3 | 5 | 10 |
| | | Yam Loaders/Marketers Association | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| | | Fertilizer/Insecticide Association | - | 5 | 15 | 31 |
| | | Yam Flour (<i>Kpor</i>) Association | 5 | 5 | 10 | 7 |
| | | General Goods Association | 10 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| 2 | Zaki-Biam | Yam Trading Association | - | 10 | 20 | 34 |
| | | Yam Shade Owners Association | - | 15 | 36 | 51 |
| | | Yam Transporters Association | - | 30 | 600 | 150000 |
| | | Yam Loaders/Marketers Association | - | 10 | 11 | 16 |
| | | Fertilizer/Insecticide Association | - | 9 | 20 | 40 |
| | | Yam Flour (<i>Kpor</i>) Association | - | 8 | 190 | 230 |
| | | General Goods Association | - | 10 | 20 | 30 |
| 3 | Ugba | Yam Trading Association | - | 5 | 8 | 18 |
| | | Yam Shade Owners Association | - | 6 | 18 | 20 |
| | | Yam Transporters Association | - | 11 | 300 | 5000 |
| | | Yam Loaders/Marketers Association | - | 5 | 6 | 14 |
| | | Fertilizer/Insecticide Association | - | 6 | 12 | 30 |
| | | Yam Flour (<i>Kpor</i>) Association | - | 7 | 150 | 200 |
| | | General Goods Association | - | 8 | 18 | 28 |
| 4 | Dan-Anacha | Yam Trading Association | | 9 | 21 | 35 |
| | | Yam Shade Owners Association | - | 13 | 30 | 54 |
| | | Yam Transporters Association | - | 32 | 590 | 140000 |
| | | Yam Loaders/Marketers Association | - | 9 | 10 | 17 |
| | | Fertilizer/Insecticide Association | - | 6 | 15 | 30 |
| | | Yam Flour (<i>Kpor</i>) Association | - | 7 | 180 | 220 |
| | | General Goods Association | - | 9 | 21 | 32 |

Source: Field Survey, 2013.

The above data table visibly presents that yam trade at the national level in tiv area started in the 960s in Gboko town, creating and expanding her yam related types of entrepreneurships till in the 1970s. After 1970, the headquarters of yam trade was transferred to Zaki-Biam from Gboko. The growth of the main trade with its related other trades like, yam shades, transporters, porters and others slowed down except trade in general goods which kept expanding till date.

Zaki-biam which took off as the headquarters of yam trade in Tiv area started developing and expanding her tentacles of other related trade till in the 1990s, when both Dan-Ancha and Ugba, her feeder markets broke off as separate yam marketing centres in Tiv land.

Both Dan-Anacha and Ugba towns as illustrated on the tavle continued to develop and expand their yam related enterpreneurships respectively in the study area. The figurative illustrations in the above table clearly justifies that yam production and trade during the study period contributed enormously to the growth of many yam related enterprises on Tiv land.

In summary therefore, both positive and negative implications of yam production and trade were achieved on Tiv land from 1915-2000. However, positive implications impactively outweighed the negative ones. This apparently justifies why Tiv yam economy throughout, the period of study (1915-2000) despite all the impediment, kept expanding and developing in Tiv land and beyond.

On the whole, despite the economic turn arounds such as the development of entrepreneurship in area by 2000 yam production was still at the rudimentary stage of using traditional tools and techniques for production. The Nigerian government and other stakeholders of yam production need to come together to proffer solutions to economic deterrents of yam production and trade development in Tiv land.

6.10 Conclusion

Primarily, the aim and objectives of this study, among others, is to create new knowledge through historicism of yam production and trade in Tiv land from 1915-2000. This attempt yielded a lot of resilient developments about yam production and trade in Tiv land for a period of about eighty-five years, (1915-2000). It has also shown how these developments in turn impacted both positively and negatively on the socio-political and economic wellbeing in Tiv land and beyond. The positive impact, among others, include food security and other security benefits, the emergence of entrepreneurs in Tiv land, the rise of urbanization, creation of Ukum and Logo Local Government Areas, and the acceptance and development of Western education. On the other hand, the aftermath of yam production and trade are, soil degradation and land exhaustion leading to land conflicts and wars, and increase in social vices, such as theft, prostitution, drug abuse, and others.

This chapter finally argues that the positive effects of yam production and trade transcended the three phases of the economic development of yam in Tiv land. This period covers 85 years from 1915-2000 and stretches from the pre-colonial period through the colonial era to the post colonial epoch. All this while, the negative impact, which started unfolding as a result of the colonial capitalist mode of production, could not stop increased yam production and trade in Tiv land as it kept expanding. This study has therefore, established that, yam production and trade took over the socio-economic and political aspect of ushering developments into Tiv land, from where Tiv benniseed production and export stopped during the colonial period and its on-going till date in Tiv land and beyond.

On the whole, after comparing the negative with the positive manifestations of yam production and trade on Tiv land for over 40 years, the positive manifestations overwhelmed the negative ones, drawing the research conclusion that yam production and its trade positively impacted more on the socio-economic and political upliftment of the Tiv land in particular and Nigeria as a whole.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

7.1 Summary and Conclusion

The thesis entitled: “The Development of Yam Economy in Tiv land of Central Nigeria, 1960-2000” historicizes yam production and trade in Tiv land, from the Colonial to the Post –Colonial period.

In the very ancient time of the pre-colonial era, yam crop was introduced into the Tiv agricultural farming system to augment the food supply of the Tiv people. After a long period of fashioning out the appropriate mode of its cultivation, there evolved the lineage mode of yam production purely based on Tiv traditional systems and beliefs. The lineage mode of production was characterised with the use of communal ownership of land. Hoe and cutlass were the major tools of effecting labour force of the individual families. Produce from the farm were shared among members of the family for consumption and the little left over was used for exchange by barter, gifts and ritual performances.* With the use of lineage system of yam production for over a long period, surpluses were increasingly being generated all this while. With increase generation of surpluses in the course of production, there arose the need to exchange them for other goods and services to meet up with other utility needs of the Tiv people thereby venting out the surpluses. With time, the exchange system developed into what was then known as trade by barter. Trade then combined with production during the pre-colonial era in Tiv land to give birth to an eventful phenomenon of producing yam purposely for sales. This development of the yam economy was sustained all through the pre-colonial period in Tivland.

During the colonial period, 1915-1960, which marks the beginning of our study period, Tiv traditional lineage mode of production was disarticulated and transformed to the capitalist mode of yam production. A situation which introduced a social system of allowing

certain Tiv farmers to own more wealth and use it to acquire land and labour force of other farmers to further augment wealth through yam production and sales.

The colonial administration employed economic transformational policies such as monetization, taxation, commoditization, wage, labour, imposition of cash crops production, provision of infrastructures and others to transform the traditional lineage mode of production to the capitalist one during the colonial era. This transformation elevated yam to a position of a 'commodity product' As a commodity product, yam began to frame-work the combined functional developments of its products and trade from this point till date in Tiv land and even beyond. Such combined functional developments included the likes of (i) yam marketing began to overwhelm yam consumption (ii) yam began to intensify it's dual role of food and cash crop in Tiv land (iii) increased yam production became synonymous with increased yam trade (iv) yam marketing began to assert a veritable source of wealth creation in Tiv land (v) yam trade also began to replace benniseed export as an economic main-stay of the Tiv people and others. All these functional developments were properly anchored on yam commodity product and sustained all through in Tiv land during the colonial period, and were later fast-tracked and trajected into the post colonial Tiv land.

Under the post Independent Tiv land, inspite of political impediments such as the '*Nande Nande*' of 1962, the '*atemityough*' of 1964 and the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 as well as the underdeveloped nature of farming equipment and methods, high cost of farm inputs, land wars and others, Tiv-yam production and trade kept on progressively developing and expanding till date and even beyond. Tiv yam production and trade boosted more than before, after the war due to various reasons including the individual desires of the people to recoup their lost wealth during the civil war, the need to re-sustain the food security situation of the entire country as well as rebuilding the socio-economic and political architecture of the Nigerian nation.

In the end, the progressive development and expansion of Tiv-yam production and trade in Tiv land and beyond for over a period of 40 years ranging from the colonial period to the post Independence era (1960-2000), created enormous socio-political and economic impact in Tiv land and beyond. These were manifested both negatively and positively in terms of food and social security, urbanization, entrepreneurships, education, political developments, land degradation, land wars, increased criminality and others in Tiv territory and beyond. Juxtaposition of the negative verses positive manifestations of the impact, suggests in the end that Tiv yam production and trade impacted more positively on the socio-economic developments in Tiv land and indeed the whole nation.

Yam production and trade in Tiv land pre-date the colonial era, which is the starting point of this thesis. However, with the introduction of colonial rule accompanied by corresponding capitalist mode of production in the study area, several fundamental changes began to manifest in the system and practice of yam production and trade. Within the study period of 40 years (1960-2000) the nature of yam production and trade exhibited its changing trends with corresponding impacts. Prior to colonialism, yam production was essentially cultivated for subsistence purposes. Even the surpluses that were exchanged for other food and valuable items, and services were meant for utility needs and not for money making venture. Yam production was not deliberately produced for commercial purpose which in its real sense was to enhance capital accumulation by way of profit. The colonial period of the study witnessed the emergence of capitalism in Tiv land which its principal tenet was (and still remains) the accumulation of wealth. Consequently, yam production was commoditized through the influence of the colonial economic policies as an important means of wealth accumulation in Tiv area. Commoditization of yam also became widely acceptable as a means of exchange with cash money. These acts gradually standardized yam trade with defined market structures and an elevated status of the yam trade in the colonial Tiv land. Road infrastructure, monetization of the economy as well as its commercialization created

impetus to both the production of yam and its trading. These allowed for a standardized unit of measure in yam trade such that the price of a tuber of yam depending on the size and quality was able to be determined within and outside the Tiv land. The colonial economy made the value of measure and means of exchange more simpler and easier especially with regards to its mobility. Similarly, the road and other transport infrastructures such as motor vehicles, lorries and water boats among others made the conveyance of yams from one point to another much easier. This therefore impacted positively on the expansion of yam production and its sales in Tiv land and beyond.

Following the exit of colonial rule, characterised by political crisis as a result of general elections which eventually led to the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970, Tiv land experienced the dwindling effects on yam production. Since crises is a process and violence is the means of achieving it, the 1962 and 1964 political crisis which degenerated into the political violence of 1962, called "*Nande Nande*" in Tiv and 1964 also called "*Atem Itough*" in Tiv, became sources of insecurity and the attendant population displacement, which temporarily had negative results on yam production. These violent situations disrupted yam production activities including its trade routes, personnel and momentum.

The Nigerian Civil War, followed as a result of persistent political upheavals in Nigeria from 1967-1970. The civil war suddenly took away very many yam producers into the military service, temporarily slowing down, or reducing the rate of yam production activities in Tiv land. Yam trade also declined at this time, because the Igbo stakeholders suddenly left for their land to fight and the fear of unknown, apart from some yam trading routes to Tiv land being closed down. With time, gradual make-shift arrangements were put in place and the civil war became a boost to yam production and trade in Tiv area. The boost in yam production and trade during the period of the civil war, made others to believe that yam trade started during the civil war, an obvious over-sight of its initial progressive effects

on Tiv land. Truly, yam production and trade only boosted up during the Nigerian civil war period. This gave rise to Ninga's affirmation that:

However, yam marketing proper started during the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970. With the ever expanding war demands and money incentives plus the availability of transport, yam production doubled its pre-war volume by 1970

It is important to recall from the onset of this conclusion that statistical data and figures were lacking to justify and authenticate the rate of increased yam production and trade in our analysis from the pre-colonial to the colonial periods. This was because the colonial government was more interested in the export trade of cash crops than the local trade of the African food crops. Justifications and authentication in all the analysis, during the two periods in the study were anchored on recorded testimonies, facts and oral information. However, starting from the post colonial period to date, such statistical data, figures and information became available to strengthen the analysis as demonstrated in the last segments of the study.

After the civil war, demands for yam continued to rise as a result of socio-economic exigencies arising from the aftermaths of the war and the general situation of economy in the country. With the return of peace and tranquillity after the war in the country coupled with the return of ex-service returnees in Tiv area, more yam farms were increased on Tiv land. At the same time, Igbo yam traders resumed yam trading. Both Tiv and non Tiv traders were engaged in yam trade in and outside Tiv land. The non Tiv traders in particular sourced yams in Tiv land for onward trade in areas outside the Tiv territory like Enugu, Aba, Port-Harcourt, Lagos, Calabar and other cities across the country. Table XV:, on page 145 presents a clear picture of increase in yam production and trade by displaying the external distribution of yam from Zaki-Biam yam market in Tiv land to various destinations across the country after the civil war, 1971-1976. The table also shows that the highest amount of traded yam went to Onitsha town in 1971 with 869,689 and 1972 with 1,171,440 tonnes of yams respectively.

Awka followed with 232,359 in 1971 and 21,906 tonnes in 1972 respectively. This is an indication that increase in yam production and trade continued after the civil war period to the 1980s in Tiv area.

Beginning from the 1980s some form of mechanization crept into yam production techniques in Tiv land. These methods included the use of herbicides, insecticides in weeding farms as well as control of yam-destroying insects and rats. In addition, both the Federal and Benue State governments deliberately enforced different policies of encouraging yam production and trade. These include improved road network and transportation: government subsidy and distribution of fertilizers; provision of agricultural extension services to rural farmers; and facilitating soft loans or credit facilities to Tiv farmers. The positive yielded result, increased yam production and trade as reflected, for instance in Table XVIII, on page 163 showing external distribution of yam from Dan-Anacha yam market, a nearby yam market established by the Tiv farmers in Taraba State between 1981-1986 and Table XIX, on page 167 showing external distribution of yam from Ugba, yam market, one of the main yam markets in Tiv land between 1996-2001. One important point to note about these two tables is that, after the civil war, yam trade got expanded to key cities across the country besides Igbo land. Table XVIII, on page 163 projected Lagos as one of the leading receiver of yams from Tiv land with 2,100,000 tonnes in 1981, and 24,360,000 tonnes in 1982 respectively apart from establishing Iddo Tiv Yam Market. While Table XIX, on page 167 indicates that Kano city received 403,200 tonnes in 1996 and 907,200 tonnes in 1997 respectively clearly indicating the rise in Tiv yam market after the Nigerian Civil War. The three tables under reference demonstrate increased production and trade of the Tiv yam distributed for consumption across the whole country via trade after the civil war till date.

The study has also shown that yam production and trade in Tiv land during the period of analysis has led to the growth of Tiv economy in particular and Nigeria at large in three stages namely, pre-colonial, the colonial period and the post colonial era facilitating food

sufficiency in this nation. Yam serves as both food and cash crop and promotes the volume of food in circulation in Tiv land and by extension, Nigeria at large especially during the post colonial era. Tiv yam is consumed across the length and breadth of this country. In the same manner, yam production and trade provide the revenue base for capital formation, which is a critical requirement for economic development of any society worldwide. Yam production and trade in the study area also enhanced political developments in the area as it creates viable and sustainable sources of revenues thereby qualifying the areas to merit more Local Government Councils, such as Ukum, Logo and Katsina-Ala Local Government Councils as beneficiaries in this regard.

In addition, yam production and marketing facilitated the development of education and the setting up of market centres in and outside Tiv area. The Zaki-Biam yam market in Ukum, Benue State, Dan-Anacha yam market in Taraba State, Port-Harcourt yam market among many others are classical examples. So also was the issue of urban development. Some small settlements grew into semi-urban areas due to the massive assemblage of immigrants for yam marketing activities that took place in them. For instance, Zaki-Biam, Dan-Anacha, Ugba among others. On the negative side, yam production and marketing brought about land conflicts which in certain cases graduated into full blown land wars. There has been persistent violence between Tiv farmers and other elements in Dan-Anacha and other areas in Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba States including Wukari. These which reoccurred in many years since the 1980s and boiled down to land contestations. Yam production and trade as well promoted the growth of social vices including prostitution, theft and house breaking, alcoholism among others.

In spite of the seeming positive impacts of yam production and trade on Tiv land and Nigeria at large, progress in yam production and marketing are made less than required in order to attain sustainable levels. This is as a result of some of the following factors:- Yam production in Tiv land was largely embarked upon through traditional methods. The

mechanization process in production was minimal. Similarly, there was virtually the total absence of mechanized system of processing yams in order to add value to it. Storage facilities were also absent. On the other hand, many farmers and potential entrepreneurs in the yam economy lacked the required financial capital to engage in high level productive ventures in yam, among other constraints, including ecological ones.

All in all, the conclusion drawn from the analysis in the study suggests that yam production and trade in Tiv land, from 1960 to 2000 impacted both positively and negatively on the socio-political and economic life of the Tiv area. These include improvement in the security system; emergence of entrepreneurship; urbanization, creation of Ukum and Logo Local Councils and the development of Western education. Negative impact include, land degradation and exhaustion leading to conflicts and wars, and increment of social vices such as thefts, drug abuse, prostitution and others. Comparatively, positive impact overwhelm the negative ones, drawing a conclusion that yam production and trade impacted more positively on the socio-political and economic upliftments/developments in Tiv land and beyond especially from 1915 to 2000.

7.2 Recommendations/Suggestions

The research work unravels that according to Tiv traditions, “yam is food and food is yam” which makes it the most highly valued and priced crop since inception in on their land. In as much as its production is labour, land and capital intensive, it has gradually become a veritable source of life dependence for food security and wealth accumulation in Tiv land and beyond. These recommendations are therefore directed at tackling problems emanating from labour, land and capital to further develop yam production process and marketing mechanism on Tiv land. Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are here proffered:

The Benue State Government and all the Local Government Areas, famous for yam production should mandatorily make functional legislations to allocate 5% of their every

annual budget for the development of yam production and trade in all the Tiv speaking Local Government Councils. The government should reasonably subsidize yam production inputs, such as fertilizers, agro-chemicals, and equipment, like tractors, and many others. These tiers of government should guarantee soft bank loans for yam farmers across the state. In addition, they should make policies that will encourage private entrepreneurs and large scale farmers across the State by way of subsidy, soft financial loans, and price control management.

Generally, yam production and trade related industries, like yam flour mills and storage facilities should be encouraged. By so doing, yam exportation to the outside world will be made easy as it is done in Ghana, the leading exporter of yams worldwide. The State Government should liaise with Federal Government to create reserve farm land with water facilities, preserve and protect them in all the local government areas. The State Government should further liaise with the Federal Government to put in place a high powered agency, fully backed by legislations, to constantly monitor and nip in the bud all issues of land crisis/wars involving yam farmers and Fulani cattle rearers and others within and outside Benue State. This body should also be equipped with cross boarder legislations for adjudication and also encourage annual Agricultural Shows to showcase and promote the best yam producers of each year.

Enabling government laws should be put in place to create separate yam production and trade funds under the already recommended powerful State agency to finance and promote small scale yam production and trade schemes across the State. Government and stakeholders of yam production should come together to commercialize research on yams in both the Federal and State Universities located within Benue State. Then commercialize and grant aid them, to encourage, promote and improve yam varieties and new techniques of yam production. There should be more incentives, rural infrastructural and security apparatus put in place by the State government for increased yam production and trade. This will minimize rural-urban migration of youths who will take to yam farming which will keep them away

from social vices. Finally, the State government in conjunction with the Local Governments producing large quantities of yam and private entrepreneurs should encourage and establish skill acquisition centres. This will enhance development in yam related small scale and agro-industries, like fertilizer blending industries in the State. Other economic infrastructures such as roads and electricity supply should be developed by the government. All these will provide an enabling environment for yam farmers and entrepreneurs to step up yam production and marketing across Tiv land and indeed, the whole nation to sustain the development of yam economy.

7.3 Contribution to Knowledge

The central argument of this thesis is that yam production and trade in Tiv land beginning from 1960 to 2000 went through remarkable changes worth examining by perspective historians in the region. This is because yam has remarkably come to stay as one of the most important food crops as well as cash crop among the Tiv of Central Nigeria in the yam belt of the West African Sub-Region. It was in the light of the foregoing that this research efforts were embarked upon from the colonial period to the post colonial times in Tiv area in Central Nigeria from 1915 to date for additional knowledge. The study finally concludes that yam production and trade have become a lucrative established aspect of the Nigerian agricultural economy, predominately practiced among Tiv, one of the largest ethnic groups in central Nigeria. As a common knowledge in history, conclusions of research studies are regarded as laws in sciences, therefore this conclusion provides additional new knowledge about the Tiv yam economy which can be put into use to replicate further development of the Nigerian agricultural economy especially the yam crop. This additional knowledge becomes most important, coming at this critical time, when the oil sector of economy is fast dwindling and there are increasing clamours all over the country for diversification of the dependable source of our nation's economy to the agricultural sector.

This thesis further establishes an embodiment of a practical disposition of impediment or constraints for food agricultural development in this country. Any form of efforts put in place to tackle these constraints jointly by governments, stakeholders, and private economic developers would surely yield a good result for increased development of the Nigerian agricultural economy. The development of the Nigerian food economy is another sure way out for enhancement of the entire food security system and indeed the National development in this country.

The study has also generated additional new knowledge to bridge up the hitherto existing lacunas in yam production and trade in Tiv land. It also provides new information, data and figures which can further be put into use for more research works, revenue allocation formular of government policies among others. As an authentic information source-based study, it also serves as dependable new knowledge to specifically move forward yam production and trade in Tiv land of Central Nigeria and indeed, the whole nation.

Bibliography

A: Primary Sources:

Oral Interviewees

| S/N | Name | Occupation | Age | Date of Interview | Place of Interview |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|-------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | Aahe Azaugba T. | Yam Trader | 65yrs | 11/12/2012 | Abuja Town |
| 2 | Abeega Akawe | Yam Porter | 36yrs | 12/5/2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 3 | Abo Akaa | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 20-03-2013 | Chito, Ukum |
| 4 | Abo Mkem | Yam Trader | 63yrs | 15-02-2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 5 | Adaa Ahange | Yam Trader | 50yrs | 17-12-2012 | Tyowanye Town |
| 6 | Adem Akaa | Yam Porter | 45yrs | 14-05-2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 7 | Adi Kuku | Yam Porter | 50yrs | 24-02-2012 | Takum, Taraba State |
| 8 | Adrew M. Daka | Farmer | 68yrs | 30-12-2012 | Chito, Ukum |
| 9 | Adue Amo | Yam Trader | 47yrs | 27-07-2011 | Ugba, Logo LGA |
| 10 | Aerga Gum Anar | C/m, Yam Ass. | 81yrs | 15-12-2012 | Tse-Anar, Ukum LGA |
| 11 | Agba Akor | Yam Trader | 50yrs | 30-10-2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 12 | Agber Gafa | Yam Trader | 49yrs | 18-12-2012 | Tyowanye Town |
| 13 | Agber Hueza | Ex-Soldier | 89yrs | 15-07-2013 | Agadam, Gboko |
| 14 | Agber Ijembe | Yam Trader | 53yrs | 29-03-2014 | Aliade, Gwer |
| 15 | Agbo Adi Ukor | Yam Trader | 45yrs | 3/1/2011 | Chembe Village, Logo |
| 16 | Agbo Dugwer | Yam Asso. | 71yrs | 15-07-2014 | Zaki-Biam |
| 17 | Agbo Dugwer | Transporter | 67yrs | 30-08-2013 | Onitsha Yam Mkt |
| 18 | Agu Mue | Yam Trader | 58yrs | 20-11-2012 | Port-Harcourt |
| 19 | Agu Tor Mue | C/M Yam Ass. | 57yrs | 30-07-2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 20 | Agya Tamen | Yam Trader | 55yrs | 11/12/2012 | Gbor Town |
| 21 | Ajiidi Ashwe | Yam Trader | 40yrs | 15-02-2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |

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|----|-----------------|-----------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|
| 22 | Akaabo Asom | Yam Farmer | 50yrs | 22-06-2013 | Vaase, Ukum |
| 23 | Akaahar Adi | Elder-Gboko | 103yrs | 1/10/2010 | Gboko, Jemgbagh |
| 24 | Akaazua Feghe | Yam Trader | 71yrs | 13-10-2012 | Zaki-Biam |
| 25 | Akange Ihyo | Yam Labourer | 41yrs | 7/12/2012 | Gbor Town |
| 26 | Akile Anjondo | C/M Yam Ass. | 75yrs | 10/1/2009 | Mbamena, Ukum |
| 27 | Akombobee Ityo | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 13-03-2014 | Vaase, Ukum |
| 28 | Akor Azer | Yam Loader | 41yrs | 26-02-2012 | Donga Yam Mkt |
| 29 | Akor Azer Bua | Yam Trader | 47yrs | 20-02-2012 | Chanchangi, Taraba State |
| 30 | Alhaji Baakobo | Transporter | 58yrs | 16-03-2014 | Lafia, Nassarawa State |
| 31 | Amakaa Agye | Lender | 75yrs | 10/9/2013 | Mbamena, Ukum |
| 32 | Anoki Daura | Yam Trader | 50yrs | 13-01-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 33 | Apebo U. Aza | Shade Owner | 53yrs | 7/2/2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 34 | Aper Ukor | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 7/12/2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 35 | Apuu Kwaghna | Yam Trader | 47yrs | 15-02-2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 36 | Apuur Mkem | Yam Trader | 49yrs | 28-03-2014 | Aliade, Gwer |
| 37 | Ashinde Awar | Yam Farmer | 57yrs | 28-11-2012 | Abaji Town |
| 38 | Asor Akombo | Yam Farmer | 50yrs | 30-07-2013 | Vaase, Ukum |
| 39 | Asor Kor | Yam Farmer | 51yrs | 12/1/2012 | Chanchangi, Taraba State |
| 40 | Ata Iju O. | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 18-03-2014 | Lafia, Nassarawa State |
| 41 | Atim Abee | Yam Farmer | 50yrs | 25-06-2013 | Vaase, Ukum |
| 42 | Atim Nguher | Yam Trader | 60yrs | 25-11-2012 | Katsina-Ala Town |
| 43 | Atom Shaminja | Yam Trader | 51yrs | 20-11-2012 | Adikpo Town |
| 44 | Atondo Gongor | Ex-Serviceman | 65yrs | 10/8/2011 | Dan-Anacha |
| 45 | Avuu Gyaase Ubi | Ugba Yam Mkt | 78Yrs | 11/12/2012 | Ugba Town, Logo LGA |
| 46 | Awua Donko | Farmer/ Teacher | 79yrs | 20-10-2013 | Katsina-Ala Town |

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|----|------------------|-------------|-------|------------|----------------------|
| 47 | Azenda Akor | Yam Trader | 50yrs | 27-03-2014 | Aliade, Gwer |
| 48 | Azenda Akorga | Yam Porter | 47yrs | 11/12/2012 | Gbor Town |
| 49 | Azer Abya | Yam Trader | 73yrs | 10/1/2013 | Tine-Nune, Ukum |
| 50 | Azer Igbodo | Transporter | 60yrs | 30-08-2013 | Onitsha Yam Mkt |
| 51 | Bende Nenge | Yam Trader | 53yrs | 15-12-2012 | Gbor Town |
| 52 | B. T. Akaabee | Trader | 49yrs | 16-07-2011 | Ugba Town |
| 53 | Chenge Ikyaaagba | Tra. Ruler | 51yrs | 16-07-2011 | TyoGbenda Udende |
| 54 | D. Tarkighir | Businessman | 65yrs | 25-08-2013 | Onitsha Yam Mkt |
| 55 | Daa Una | Yam Trader | 61yrs | 25-11-2012 | Katsina-Ala Town |
| 56 | Dajo Apav | Yam Farmer | 48yrs | 18-12-2012 | Jato Aka Mkt |
| 57 | Damiyo Akem | Yam Trader | 53yrs | 18-12-2012 | Ugbema Mkt |
| 58 | Dankwabo Adi | Transporter | 56yrs | 29-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass.State |
| 59 | Debo Orakaa | Yam Farmer | 41yrs | 23-03-2014 | Aliade, Gwer |
| 60 | Dekaan Amo | Yam Loader | 45yrs | 10/1/2011 | Abeda, Logo LGA |
| 61 | Dekaan Ape | Yam Farmer | 47yrs | 8/5/2012 | Sai Mkt, K/Ala |
| 62 | Dekaan Msugh | Yam Farmer | 47yrs | 13-03-2014 | Vaase, Ukum |
| 63 | Dekor Ade | Yam Trader | 72yrs | 25-01-2013 | Gbagir, Ukum |
| 64 | Dem Anivo | Yam Farmer | 44yrs | 27-03-2013 | Chito, Ukum |
| 65 | Demeor Aka | Yam Farmer | 51yrs | 17-01-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass.State |
| 66 | Demkaa A. Amo | Shade Owner | 49yrs | 7/2/2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 67 | Demkaan Mfe | Shade Owner | 50yrs | 10/2/2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 68 | Demkaan Mfo | Yam Farmer | 51yrs | 18-01-2012 | Chanchangi, T/ State |
| 69 | Denen Tofi | Trader | 90yrs | 30-10-2012 | Gboko Town |
| 70 | Denjim Ate | Yam Trader | 60yrs | 6/12/2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 71 | Depuun Ayom | Yam Farmer | 57yrs | 25-07-2013 | Jootar, Ukum |

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|----|----------------|----------------|-------|------------|-----------------------|
| 72 | Deseer Atim | Yam Farmer | 65yrs | 13-07-2011 | Jootar, Ukum |
| 73 | Deve Amo | Yam Trader | 70yrs | 30-01-2013 | Gbagir, Ukum |
| 74 | Doobee Lyam | Yam Trader | 49yrs | 27-10-2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 75 | Dooden Ape | Yam Trader | 60yrs | 6/11/2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 76 | Dooior Ajege | Yam Porter | 60yrs | 20-10-2013 | Zaki-Biam |
| 77 | Dr Hans Senwua | Prov. COE K/la | 57Yrs | 10/12/2012 | G.R.A Katsina-Ala |
| 78 | Dyako Atser | Elder-Vkya | 71yrs | 15-07-2012 | Vandeikya, Jechira |
| 79 | Ernan Akpor | Sec. Yam Ass. | 51yrs | 25-11-2013 | Zaki-Biam |
| 80 | Ervihi Apinega | Yam Farmer | 48yrs | 11/4/2012 | Abako Mkt, K/Ala |
| 81 | Ezra Senwua | Sec. Yam Ass. | 50yrs | 27-07-2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 82 | Gbangban Kaan | Yam Farmer | 43yrs | 28-03-2013 | Gbejir, Ukum |
| 83 | Gbayor Anungwa | Sec. Yam Ass. | 70yrs | 13-01-2011 | Alabar, Ukum |
| 84 | G. T. Gwebe | Farmer/ Trader | 70yrs | 31-12-2012 | Zaki-Biam Town |
| 85 | Gbekaan Ashe | Yam Farmer | 55yrs | 5/12/2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 86 | Gbemgbem Amo | Yam Asso. | 49yrs | 25-02-2011 | Abeda, Logo LGA |
| 87 | Hingir Gbenda | Yam Trader | 58yrs | 25-11-2012 | Katsina-Ala Town |
| 88 | Hongor Shakon | Yam Trader | 53yrs | 20-11-2012 | Adikpo Town |
| 89 | Iorpande Chaha | Businessman | 81yrs | 16-11-2011 | Zaki-Biam |
| 90 | Iorpine Dura | Yam Trader | 63yrs | 30-08-2013 | Onitsha Yam Mkt |
| 91 | Ishom Kor | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 31-12-2013 | Gbor-Ucha, Ukum |
| 92 | Ishom Zer | Yam Trader | 45yrs | 7/3/2013 | Chito, Ukum |
| 93 | Ivokor Unongo | Elder-Guma | 99yrs | 20-08-2012 | Gbajimba, Minda |
| 94 | Iworiwo Wanan | Transporter | 63yrs | 11/10/2013 | Angwan Tiv, Kaduna |
| 95 | James Ape | Transporter | 58yrs | 30-11-2012 | Abaji Town |
| 96 | John Ali | Yam Porter | 39yrs | 7/3/2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |

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|-----|----------------|---------------|-------|------------|-----------------------|
| 97 | John Gbande | Yam Farmer | 50yrs | 31-03-2013 | Gbor-Ucha, Ukum |
| 98 | John Igba | Yam Farmer | 50yrs | 5/12/2012 | Amaafu Town |
| 99 | Joseph S. Yina | Yam Farmer | 66yrs | 10/2/2013 | Maihula, Taraba State |
| 100 | Joseph Uda | Yam Trader | 57yrs | 29-11-2012 | Abaji Town |
| 101 | Kaahwan Gange | Transporter | 76yrs | 10/8/2013 | Iddo Garage Lagos |
| 102 | Kange Nyagba | Yam Labourer | 51yrs | 4/12/2012 | Amaafu Town |
| 103 | Keghkegh H. O. | Yam Trader | 45yrs | 24-02-2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 104 | Kende Kaa | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 7/1/2012 | Amadu, Taraba State |
| 105 | Kende Penda | Yam Farmer | 46yrs | 18-12-2012 | Ugbema Mkt |
| 106 | Kohol Apase | Yam Trader | 52yrs | 21-03-2011 | Uzer, Logo LGA |
| 107 | Kohol Ishu | Yam Trader | 40yrs | 28-07-2012 | Ugba, Logo LGA |
| 108 | Kohol Sua | Yam Trader | 49yrs | 27-03-2013 | Gbagir, Ukum |
| 109 | Kor Avom | Yam Trader | 50yrs | 30-03-2011 | Ugba, Logo LGA |
| 110 | Kor Kever | Yam Trader | 48yrs | 11/12/2012 | Gbor Town |
| 111 | Kor Songo | Yam Farmer | 43yrs | 25-03-2014 | Aliade, Gwer |
| 112 | Kucha Utebe | Ex-Soldier | 77yrs | 30-07-2013 | Gboko Road, Makurdi |
| 113 | Kukor Nyer | Yam Trader | 65yrs | 8/12/2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 114 | Kwaghbee Tom | Yam Trader | 51yrs | 20-07-2013 | Jootar, Ukum |
| 115 | Kwaghyoon Ubo | Yam Farmer | 50yrs | 29-06-2013 | Vaase, Ukum |
| 116 | Kwaghza Uke | Yam Porter | 53yrs | 17-06-2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 117 | Lanshima W.O. | Farmer/Trader | 65yrs | 25-11-2013 | Gidan Donga, T/ State |
| 118 | Liambee Shande | Elder-Farmer | 93yrs | 30-09-2011 | Adikpo, Kwande |
| 119 | Maishanu Abaji | Yam Farmer | 54yrs | 29-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass.State |
| 120 | Mamkaa Ade | Yam Farmer | 59yrs | 3/7/2012 | Sai Mkt, K/Ala |
| 121 | Mary Ude | Yam Trader | 47yrs | 15-10-2012 | Uzo, Ukum |

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| 122 | Mbaadega Tiv | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 27-07-2013 | Tse-Gube, Afia |
| 123 | Mbaan Upav | Yam Farmer | 40yrs | 23-07-2011 | Ugba, Logo LGA |
| 124 | Mbache Akese | Yam Farmer | 65yrs | 15-12-2014 | Afia, Ukum |
| 125 | Mbakaan Aho | Yam Trader | 43yrs | 17-10-2012 | Adogo, Ukum |
| 126 | Mbakpen Ibo | Yam Farmer | 47yrs | 16-01-2012 | Chanchangi, T/State |
| 127 | Mbanan, K.G. | Farmer/Trader | 75yrs | 20-11-2013 | Dan-Anacha |
| 128 | Mbatsav Adué | Yam Loader | 58yrs | 15-01-2011 | Abeda, Logo LGA |
| 129 | Mindi Gbor | Rtd. Sch. Principal | 83yrs | 7/3/2012 | High-Level Makurdi |
| 130 | Mlanga David | Yam Asso. | 61yrs | 13-02-13 | Afia, Ukum |
| 131 | Msen Uande | Yam Trader | 53yrs | 27-02-2012 | Donga Yam Mkt |
| 132 | Mson Adi | Yam Trader | 55yrs | 24-02-2012 | Takum, Taraba State |
| 133 | Mson Kave | Yam Porter | 42yrs | 20-07-2011 | Uzer, Logo LGA |
| 134 | Nongo Atse | Yam Trader | 51yrs | 25-12-2013 | Port-Harcourt |
| 135 | Nyako Agyaragu | Yam Trader | 45yrs | 25-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass.State |
| 136 | Nyor Kuma | Yam Trader | 51yrs | 16-12-2012 | Gbor Town |
| 137 | Oralu Sambe | Yam Asso. | 49yrs | 20-11-2012 | Zaki-Biam |
| 138 | Ordue Yem | Yam Labourer | 35yrs | 7/12/2012 | Gbor Town |
| 139 | Orfega Ko | Farmer | 51yrs | 27-12-2013 | Gawa, Taraba State |
| 140 | Orir Torkon | Yam Trader | 51yrs | 29-11-2013 | Katsina-Ala Town |
| 141 | Orkar Ishom | Yam Farmer | 57yrs | 11/4/2013 | Gbejir, Ukum |
| 142 | Orshio Feghe | Yam Trader | 62yrs | 13-10-2012 | Zaki-Biam Town |
| 143 | Orta Kekon | Transporter | 53yrs | 18-12-2012 | Ugbema Mkt |
| 144 | Perikyaa Zegi | Tra. Singer | 69yrs | 11/10/2013 | Mbamena, Ukum |
| 145 | Pila Tsutsu, B. | C/m, Yam Ass. | 52Yrs | 30-12-2012 | Zaki-Biam |
| 146 | Pila Tsutsu Tor | Transporter | 67yrs | 21-03-2013 | Angwan Tiv Kaduna |

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| 147 | Pila Tyo Akaabo | Yam Farmer | 71yrs | 21-01-2012 | Mbamena, Ukum |
| 148 | Rtd. Major Gen. J. T. W Gbor | Author On Tiv Books | 61Yrs | 3/12/2012 | Ngibo, Katsina-Ala |
| 149 | Sale Abwagi | Yam Loader | 53yrs | 8/3/2014 | Keffi, Nassarawa State |
| 150 | Sambo Dan. | Transporter | 60yrs | 16-01-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 151 | Samuel Ugondo | Yam Farmer | 49yrs | 12/3/2011 | Wukari, Taraba State |
| 152 | Samuel Ugondo | Farmer/ Trader | 57yrs | 11/11/2013 | Gbogodo, Taraba State |
| 153 | Sani Abogi | Yam Porter | 67yrs | 8/3/2014 | Keffi, Nassarawa State |
| 154 | Sani Ada | Yam Trader | 50yrs | 25-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass.State |
| 155 | Sende Tyokaa | Yam Farmer | 66yrs | 22-03-2014 | Gbjimba, Guma |
| 156 | Seta Ahii | Yam Loader | 61yrs | 31-01-2013 | Donga Yam Mkt |
| 157 | Shachia Kegn | Shade Owner | 56yrs | 7/2/2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 158 | Shikaa Tina | Farmer/Trader | 61yrs | 30-11-2012 | Maihula, Taraba State |
| 159 | Suemo Chia | Author | 76yrs | 30-06-2013 | GRA, Makurdi |
| 160 | Sule Akany | Transporter | 53yrs | 10/3/2014 | Lafia, Nassarawa State |
| 161 | Sule Kadaroko | Yam Trader | 53yrs | 29-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 162 | Sule Kahan | Yam Porter | 57yrs | 10/12/2012 | Gbor Town |
| 163 | Sule Maishanu | Yam Trader | 49yrs | 29-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 164 | Tamen Doo | Yam Loader | 50yrs | 7/12/2012 | Gbor Town |
| 165 | Tanko Akashi | Yam Trader | 49yrs | 25-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 166 | Tasha Aga | Yam Trader | 48yrs | 18-12-2012 | Tyowanye Town |
| 167 | Terdoon Aba | Yam Labourer | 54yrs | 5/12/2012 | Amaafu Town |
| 168 | Terhembra N.Y. | Yam Farmer | 51yrs | 15-03-2011 | Wukari, Taraba State |
| 169 | Terhembra O.K. | Farmer/Trader | 49yrs | 10/11/2013 | Gbogodo, Taraba State |
| 170 | Terkaa Uden | Yam Asso. | 50yrs | 27-03-2011 | Abeda, Logo LGA |
| 171 | Terkor Ahemba | Yam Trader | 47yrs | 1/11/2013 | Kyado, Ukum |

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| 172 | Terkura Fave | Yam Farmer | 60yrs | 12/10/2012 | Dan-Anacha, T/State |
| 173 | Terpase Agba | Yam Trader | 60yrs | 25-11-2012 | Katsina-Ala Town |
| 174 | Tile Gyado | Trader | 97yrs | 11/6/2011 | Ihugh Town |
| 175 | Amakaa Agye | Kindred Head | 78yrs | 5/11/2011 | Mbamena, Ukum LGA |
| 176 | Torbee Tangur | Yam Trader | 55yrs | 12/7/2012 | Jootar, Ukum |
| 177 | Torbom Abi | Tam Farmer | 53yrs | 10/1/2012 | Amadu, Taraba State |
| 178 | Torhembra Ude | Yam Farmer | 51yrs | 20-06-2013 | Vaase, Ukum |
| 179 | Torkaa Dwem | Yam Farmer | 48yrs | 25-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 180 | Torkwase Ade | Yam Trader | 45yrs | 13-10-2012 | Ayati, Ukum |
| 181 | Torpande Igbut | Yam Porter A reporter | 56yrs | 13-05-2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 182 | Tyodoo Agune | Yam Asso. | 59yrs | 21-03-2014 | Afia, Ukum |
| 183 | Mrs. Mbakaan Adam | House wife | 69yrs | 27-04-2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 184 | Tyopine Uke | Yam Farmer | 51yrs | 10/3/2012 | Abako Mkt, K/Ala |
| 185 | Tyotyev Agbe | Teacher | 75yrs | 25-11-2013 | Afia, Ukum |
| 186 | Tyozenda Ape | Yam Trader | 45yrs | 29-10-2013 | Kyado, Ukum |
| 187 | Tyozoho Kem | Trader | 61yrs | 30-03-2012 | Takum, Taraba State |
| 188 | Udaa Kon | Yam Loader | 49yrs | 27-02-2012 | Donga Yam Mkt |
| 189 | Udekaan Apine | Yam Trader | 55yrs | 2/3/2013 | Chito, Ukum |
| 190 | Ugba Ayem | Yam Farmer | 95yrs | 10/1/2012 | Amadu, Taraba State |
| 191 | Ugba Kume | Shade Owner | 60yrs | 7/2/2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 192 | Ugba Kume | Transporter | 85yrs | 19-03-2014 | Lafia, Nassarawa State |
| 193 | Ugba Shamin | Yam Farmer | 56yrs | 19-01-2012 | Chanchangi, T/ State |
| 194 | Ugbem Dugwer | Elder-Ukum | 99Yrs | 20-12-2012 | Zaki-Biam, Sankera |
| 195 | Ugber Akpa | Yam Farmer | 40yrs | 19-12-2012 | Jato Aka Mkt |
| 196 | Ugber Kon | Yam Trader | 69yrs | 7/1/2013 | Ayati, Zaki-Biam |

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|-----|-----------------|----------------|-------|------------|-----------------------|
| 197 | Ugondo Gum | Transporter | 75yrs | 27-03-2010 | Port-Harcourt |
| 198 | Ugondo G. Anar | Yam Marketer | 65Yrs | 27-11-2012 | Dan-Anacha |
| 199 | Ukaha Gbenda | Shade Owner | 59yrs | 7/2/2013 | Wukari Yam Mkt |
| 200 | Ukehemba Vor | Yam Dealer | 49yrs | 23-09-2011 | Uzer, Logo LGA |
| 201 | Ukekor Ishom | Yam Farmer | 47yrs | 25-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass.State |
| 202 | Ukekor Ityo | Yam Farmer | 57yrs | 11/4/2013 | Gbeji, Ukum |
| 203 | Ukende Ashe | Yam Farmer | 47yrs | 1/3/2012 | Abako Mkt, K/Ala |
| 204 | Ukesongo Ordue | Yam Farmer | 47yrs | 11/1/2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 205 | Mbakurun Yawe | House wife | 61yrs | 11/5/2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 206 | Chief D. Dzahan | Ter Ukum | 89yrs | 20-02-2011 | Afia town Ukum LGA |
| 207 | Ukor Adi | Yam Porter | 35yrs | 19-07-2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 208 | Ula Lisa | Ex-Soldier | 86yrs | 10/8/2013 | Iddu Garage Lagos |
| 209 | Usman Agya | Yam Trader | 51yrs | 25-02-2014 | Agyaragu, Nass. State |
| 210 | Vaachia Iorbo | Blacksmith | 71yrs | 20-07-2012 | Zaki-Biam Town |
| 211 | Vaachia Ter | Yam Trader | 45yrs | 31-12-2012 | Ugba Town |
| 212 | Vihimga Ude | Yam Farmer | 53yrs | 31-12-2013 | Gbor-Ucha, Ukum |
| 213 | Gbave Kyukyundu | Rtd Pastor | 99yrs | 20-11-2012 | Ayaba Ukum LGA |
| 214 | Yaro Kumbur | Farmer/Trader | 69yrs | 30-07-2013 | Zaki-Biam Town |
| 215 | Yogbo Gbagir | T. Healler | 99yrs | 27-02-2012 | Gbagir Ukum LGA |
| 216 | Zemzem Anshu | Yam Farmer | 53yrs | 11/4/2013 | Gbejir, Ukum |
| 217 | Zendesha Uza | Yam Trader | 47yrs | 29-03-2011 | Anyiin, Logo LGA |
| 218 | Zever Ayua | Rtd Headmaster | 70yrs | 30-08-2013 | Kendev, Ukum |

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