

# DE-AGRARIANISATION AND RURAL EMPLOYMENT NETWORK

Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden  
Centre for Research and Documentation (CRD), Kano



## Cocoa Farming and Income Diversification in South-western Nigeria

Dr Abdul Raufu Mustapha

ASC Working Paper 42 / 1999

Copies may be ordered from:  
Afrika-Studiecentrum  
P.O. Box 9555  
2300 RB Leiden  
The Netherlands  
Fax 31-71-527-3344  
E-mail: [asc@fsw.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:asc@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)  
Website: [asc.leidenuniv.nl/general/dare.htm](http://asc.leidenuniv.nl/general/dare.htm)





## Preface

This working paper provides research findings emanating from the De-Agrarianisation and Rural Employment (DARE) Research Programme funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and coordinated by the Afrika-Studiecentrum in conjunction with African research teams from institutions in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Tanzania and South Africa. We wish to acknowledge the encouragement of Hans Slot of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the editorial skills of Ann Reeves for providing vital back-up for the work of the programme's research teams.

Despite Sub-Saharan Africa's agrarian image, the rural peasant population is diminishing in relative size and significance. From a multi-disciplinary perspective, the DARE programme has sought to dissect the process of change, drawing attention to the new labour patterns and unfolding rural-urban relations now taking place. The programme research theme consists of four sub-themes: economic dynamics, spatial mobility and settlement patterns, social identity adaptations and gender transformations.

The objectives of the DARE programme have been to:

- 1) compare and contrast the process of de-agrarianisation in various rural areas of Africa in terms of a economic activity reorientation, occupational adjustment, social identification, and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly peasant modes of livelihood.
- 2) examine how risks on rural household production and exchange influence the extent and nature of non-agricultural activities in rural economies.
- 3) explore the inter-relationship between agriculture and the service sector in African economies; and
- 4) publish and disseminate the research findings to policy makers and scholars in Africa and elsewhere.

The Afrika-Studiecentrum's role has been to facilitate the formulation of country case study research in various rural African localities by African researchers, provide a discussion forum for work-in-progress, and assist in the publication and dissemination of completed analyses of research findings.

The following study by Dr Abdul Raufu Mustapha is the product of collaboration between the Centre for Research and Documentation (CRD) in Kano and the Afrika-Studiecentrum. The specific objective of the research was to document the changing nature of rural livelihoods, links to urban areas and relationships between agricultural and non-agricultural work, with special emphasis on the evolution of informal economic activities.

The overall findings from the DARE programme are intended to provide insight into the processes of change which are moulding the livelihood prospects of African rural and urban dwellers of the next century. It is hoped that the knowledge gained may be useful for formulating more effective developmental policies to assist in short-circuiting Sub-Saharan Africa's current economic and political vulnerabilities.

Dr. Deborah Fahy Bryceson  
DARE Programme Coordinator



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Introduction</b>	1
<b>Cocoa Farming in the Period up to 1970</b>	1
<b>Cocoa Farming during the Oil Boom</b>	5
<b>Cocoa Farming under SAP</b>	7
<b>Surviving SAP in Alade</b>	11
<b>Alade: Household Characteristics, Reproduction and Social Networks</b>	13
<i>Alade: Basic Household Characteristics (Between Households)</i>	13
<i>Alade: Basic Household Characteristics (Within Households)</i>	15
<i>Household Reproduction and Social Networks</i>	18
<b>Trends in Income Diversification in Alade</b>	21
<b>Nature of Non-farm Enterprises</b>	25
<b>Conclusion: Looking to the Future</b>	30
<b>References</b>	33
<b>ASC Working Papers</b>	36



# **Cocoa Farming and Income Diversification in South-western Nigeria**

## **Introduction**

Cocoa is Nigeria's most profitable export crop. Cocoa farmers have historically concentrated most of their land and other resources on this single crop. Non-farm activities were often minimal in the agronomic system that developed around cocoa production. At the individual level, agricultural accumulation was mostly used to educate the farmer's children, to expand cocoa holdings, to develop real estate, and to meet obligations of kin and community. From about the 1920s till the late 1960s, income from cocoa also constituted the mainstay of 'development' expenditure by colonial and post-colonial governments in south-western Nigeria. This was not a mean achievement considering the relatively developed nature of social infrastructure in this part of Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the impact of changing government policies and the international economic environment has made it very difficult for cocoa farmers to maintain this desired pattern of agrarian accumulation without diversification. This study chronicles the patterns of long-term diversification that are observable in the cocoa-farming community of Alade in Idanre Local Government Area of Ondo State.

The next section gives some historical background of cocoa cultivation and government policies up to 1970 when Nigeria began to experience its oil boom. The following sections look at the impact of the oil boom on cocoa-farming communities and then consider the impact of the structural adjustment programme (SAP) on the fortunes of the cocoa-farming community after 1986. The situation of household production and reproduction in the aftermath of SAP and the internal dynamics of the households of Alade are reviewed while the following section looks at the extent and trends of diversification of livelihood strategies within the farming community against the background of the long-term effects of the various changes since the 1950s. Finally the prospects for the future are considered.

## **Cocoa Farming in the Period up to 1970**

The demand for cocoa on the world market at the turn of the century created new structures of local economic opportunities amongst the Yoruba-speaking peoples of south-western Nigeria. In responding to the new challenges from the mid-19th century, the emergent cocoa farmer had recourse to non-market institutions; slave labour, indentured labour, kinship systems of land and labour allocation, and a patriarchal seniority system which subordinated not only women but also younger adult males, to the elder males within the family (Berry 1975). As the classic study by Galletti *et al.* (1956) shows, by the 1950s, the resultant 'Cocoa Belt' had evolved into an area of about 10,000 square miles, in a bean-shaped arc, running from Abeokuta in the south-western corner of Nigerian Yorubaland, through Ibadan, to Akure in the south-east. This belt produced about 90 per cent of Nigeria's cocoa. One in ten acres was planted with cocoa

and 30 per cent of the families in the area grew cocoa; in some areas of particularly high cocoa production, as much as 70 per cent of farmers' holdings were devoted to it (Dorosh and Akanji 1988: 8). Galletti *et al.* also pointed out that land holdings were highly unequal; 55 per cent of farmers surveyed in 1950 held only 19 per cent of the cocoa land, while the top 10 per cent held 41 per cent. The mode in cocoa holdings was 1.25 acres.

In this initial period, the land tenure system differed from place to place, depending on historical circumstances. For example, Ibadan was a war camp established during the course of the Yoruba Civil Wars of the 19th century. Here, a 'traditional' land tenure system, especially away from the urban settlement, was relatively rudimentary. Hunters roamed wide expanses of the countryside in search of game. Propelled by the need for 'effective occupation', the British colonial authorities found it convenient to recognise these hunter-families as the 'landlords' of the countryside, thus creating the pseudo-landlord class that tried to control access to land within the emergent cocoa peasantry. The cocoa peasantry was obliged, for much of the time, to pay a token rent (*ishakole*) to the 'landlord' (Beer and Williams 1976). In other parts, such as in the old Idanre District on the eastern fringes of the Cocoa Belt, the longer established communities tended to practice a 'communal' land tenure system in which all virgin and unused land was available to all members of the community. Such land could be cultivated by a native after consultation with the nearest group of farmers, without any need to seek the permission of the traditional political authority. A group of farmers often went into virgin forests to establish 'farm camps' (*aba, abuleko*) which formed the nucleus of their new holdings. The founder of the camp and his successors as camp headman admitted new members and administered camp rules in consultation with respectable camp members. No *ishakole* was collected (Oloko 1964: 23).

Since Galletti's study, subsequent studies have also revealed that the pattern of land distribution in the Cocoa Belt had not changed fundamentally by 1969. But within this persistent inequality, different forms of control over and access to land had evolved: owner-managed farms, tenant farms, tenant share-cropping farms, and peasants whose production was tied to funding money-lenders (Opeke 1986: 13). This overwhelmingly peasant-based agrarian system also relied on migrant labour attracted from the north and east of the Cocoa Belt (Galletti *et al.* 1956). There was a tendency towards an ethnic, gender and generational specialisation in particular labour processes. Igbo, Idoma, and Igala labourers worked mainly on cocoa and food farms, while Urhobo migrants processed the palm fruits on cocoa farms on a share-cropping basis. Hausa labourers specialised in the grading, packaging and loading of cocoa (Oloko 1964: 11). Women were mainly hired for carrying water for cocoa-spraying operations, and for carrying and processing cocoa pods. Children took part in carrying and processing pods (Dorosh and Akanji 1988: 12). The pattern of paying labour varied. Some were paid on a piece-work basis, others were paid annually, and yet others received a third of the crop. Some were provided with housing, while others were virtually like clients with the

farmer providing their housing and food. Some junior brothers worked for their seniors in the expectation of help in future with the establishment of their own farms (Berry 1975).

For much of the early 20th century, colonial government intervention in cocoa cultivation was limited to taxation. European trading firms were left with the business of providing a marketing structure which exchanged imported consumption goods and the colonial currency for the cocoa output which was then exported to Europe. At the bottom of this mercantilist structure were budding groups of indigenous traders. Cocoa prices on the local and world markets were always subject to wide fluctuations, with serious repercussions for cocoa farmers and local traders. In 1937, the European trading firms of the Association of West African Merchants (AWAM) instituted a monopolistic 'Cocoa Pool' aimed at eliminating competition in cocoa buying. This was in response to the squeeze on their profits due to the downturn in the global economy. The resultant widespread political tension in the cocoa economies of Ghana and Nigeria was of great concern to the Colonial Office and led to the establishment of the Nowell Commission, which suggested that, in Nigeria, cooperatives should be encouraged to compete with European firms. However, the outbreak of the Second World War led to the establishment of the marketing board system (Beer 1976, Williams 1980, Deutsch 1990, 1990b). Local traders were transformed into licensed buying agents. There was also the mushrooming of farmers' unions often led by educated and disgruntled local traders. The boom in world market prices for cocoa in the 1950s led to renewed agrarian investment and accumulation through cocoa. The education of farmers' children, an expansion of cocoa holdings and real-estate construction all received a fillip.

However, the subsequent history of the marketing boards has had a major impact on the development of cocoa cultivation. Between 1947 and 1962, 32 per cent of cocoa producers' potential gross incomes were withheld through export duties, marketing board trading surpluses and the produce purchase tax (Helleiner 1966). Cocoa incomes were used to support the Treasury in London. With self-government in the late 1950s, the Western Regional government converted marketing board receipts to its programmes of 'development' which had little direct benefit for the rural producers. Through the marketing board system, export crop producers became the milch cow of the entire economy. When cocoa prices fell on the world market in the 1960s, the losses were simply transferred to the farmers and by the late 1960s, the board was perceived by farmers as a hindrance. In 1978, the Western Regional Marketing Board which was somewhat more susceptible to local pressures was replaced by a federal-owned and more insensitive Cocoa Marketing Board. On a positive note, however, it tried to provide subsidised inputs through cooperative societies. The Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) was also established at this time to research different aspects of cocoa production.

By the late 1960s, the exploitation of peasant resources through the marketing board had created strong disincentives within the cocoa economy. The purported gains from price stabilisation and input subsidisation were not as effective as the deleterious impact of the

withdrawal of funds through the marketing boards. Furthermore, the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970, led to a dramatic shortfall in migrant labour supplies. Cocoa farmers were faced with rising production costs and falling produce prices simultaneously. The accumulation process virtually ground to a halt. Rural decline was noticeable, yet the cocoa farmer found it difficult to withdraw from cocoa cultivation because of the perennial nature of the crop which starts producing beans about 5 years after planting, and continues to do so, at a diminishing rate, for about 40 years. Though many cocoa farmers in the western section of the Cocoa Belt where there is a high percentage of old trees paid increasing attention to kola nut and food crop production as alternatives, most did not have the labour or capital needed to convert their farms to other crops. Clearing ageing cocoa farms requires a great deal of labour, and food farms also have the additional disadvantage of requiring more labour for their maintenance (Dorosh and Akanji 1988, Deutsch 1991: 229). Despite these pressures, cocoa prices during this period may still have been slightly more remunerative compared to food prices which were kept artificially low through imports and the cheap-food policies of the government.

In the face of such difficulties, cocoa farmers and traders intensified the smuggling of cocoa to neighbouring Benin in order to evade the marketing board monopoly and earn higher prices. Between 1968 and 1974, it is claimed that a total of 69,080 tonnes of smuggled Nigerian cocoa was exported by the Benin parastatal SONACEB (Igue 1977: 42). Apart from smuggling, cocoa farmers also sought to protect themselves through different forms of collective action. In the 1920s, cocoa farmers had established cooperatives, and with the introduction of the marketing board system, they had also formed farmers' unions. These cooperatives and unions represented farmers' interests with varying degrees of success. Many farmers also joined populist movements, the most dramatic of which was the *Agbekoya* (tr: farmers reject suffering) which, in 1968, led an armed revolt by cocoa farmers, especially in the more depressed western part of the Cocoa Belt. In that year, cocoa farmers, already suffering from what they saw as gross underpayment by the marketing board, were confronted with increased tax demands by the regional government.

In the resultant *Agbekoya* resistance, the farmers put forward demands for less taxation and higher cocoa prices. When the revolt was finally settled through negotiations, the farmers paid much less tax than the government was demanding, and cocoa prices were raised by 50 per cent (Beer 1976, *Morning Post* 11/7/69: 16). But this limited victory by the farmers was very short-lived, as policies promoted during the post-1970 'oil boom' were to continue, and further consolidate the structures of disincentive which had all but crippled cocoa farmers from about the mid-1960s. Meanwhile, as the process of agrarian accumulation faltered, diversification increasingly became a necessary mechanism for survival, if not continued accumulation. In 1970, the Civil War ended and Nigerian public finance was radically transformed with the infusion of massive petroleum earnings.

## **Cocoa Farming during the Oil Boom**

The oil boom did not create the problems that confronted cocoa cultivation; it only accentuated them. It further undermined the agrarian basis of post-colonial accumulation and encouraged the quest for solutions to the agrarian crisis which 'by-passed' peasant smallholders. In the petro-dollar driven attempt at modernisation, technicist capital-intensive projects like dams and irrigation schemes were favoured. Nigerian agriculture in this period developed a distinct bifurcation; aspirant capitalist farmers, usually with political connections on the one hand, and the bulk of the peasantry on the other. Loans were diverted to the politically powerful who were also able to acquire land under the Land Use Decree. Ordinary farmers, like the bulk of the cocoa-farming community, found themselves largely outside the main thrust of the policy. However, some other oil-boom policies were benign, if not beneficial, in their effect. With abundant petro-dollars, there was a policy of providing subsidised inputs through the Cocoa Marketing Board, the Cocoa Development Units, and the various state ministries of agriculture. There were also various price-incentive schemes, the removal of some taxes, the establishment of guaranteed minimum prices, and the subsidisation of the marketing of scheduled crops other than cocoa, which was the only crop still able to sustain its commodity board (Ojo 1988, Bienen 1985). Though this latter set of policies relieved some of the hardships confronted by cocoa farmers, it could not revive the industry. This was because of the macroeconomic context within which these policies were set.

Firstly, fiscal and monetary policy led to the over-valuation of the currency and sharp increases in oil revenues and state expenditure led to excess liquidity and runaway inflation. Administrative manipulation of exchange rates and interest rates put agriculture at a disadvantage; an over-valued exchange rate depressed local earnings in the face of rising production costs, while artificially low interest rates benefited only the politically well-connected large farmers in the modernising sector. Secondly, the inflationary spiral induced high increases in labour costs for agriculture between 1972 and 1980, and domestic cocoa prices rose by 332 per cent, while labour costs in the Cocoa Belt rose by 785 per cent during the same period (Watts 1987: 31). Thirdly, the bias against agriculture within the wider developmental agenda and the greater resources channelled to other sectors such as import-substitution, industrialisation and the construction industry tended to draw labour away from agriculture. The expansion of governmental bureaucracies and the legislation of a minimum wage reinforced this shift. These developments created a substantial urban market for the urban informal sector and also drew labour away from agriculture. Fourthly, the strong Naira made imports cheap; at the same time, cheap-food policies aimed at the pacification of urban dwellers encouraged the importation of food and raw materials (Ojo 1988). The cumulative impact of macroeconomic and agrarian policies during the oil boom was the virtual abandonment of smallholder agriculture, cocoa farmers included. Faced with this hostile environment, cocoa production declined for most of the 1970s, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Nigerian Cocoa Production ('000 tonnes)**

Year	Output	Year	Output
1970	305	1975	220
1971	257	1976	165
1972	244	1977	202
1973	215	1978	160
1974	207	1979	180

Source: FAO, cited in Bienen (1985: 34)

But these figures of declining output do not adequately convey the reality of the crisis facing cocoa farmers in the 1970s. For a perennial crop, output levels in the 1970s tended to reflect investment decisions made in the 1950s or 1960s. It is likely that the reality of the 1970s was more grim than the cocoa output figures suggest. The picture of rural decline in the Cocoa Belt is most forcefully presented by Berry who points out that increases in the domestic producer price of cocoa were wiped out by increased labour costs and inflation. She argues that:

Many of my informants were worse off at the end of the 1970s than they had been in 1969, at the end of a fifteen-year decline in the cocoa price. (Berry 1987: 207)

Conversion to food crop production was hardly an alternative as the cheap-food policy further depressed already low food prices; between 1972 and 1980, domestic cocoa prices rose by 332 per cent (Watts 1987: 31), while food prices rose by only 150 per cent between 1975 and 1981 (CBN 1989). It is estimated that in the early 1980s, food prices were only about 60 per cent of what they would have been in the absence of the high level of food imports (Watts 1987: 75). Clearly, a shift to food crop production was not an economic option, with the result that many farmers had no alternative than simply to cut down on the level of resources invested in the upkeep of their cocoa farms, thereby allowing the farms to degenerate. But limited quantities of cocoa continued to be harvested from such farms because cocoa still guaranteed a higher rate of return than other food and cash crops.

The major problems confronting the farmers were declining yields from ageing trees, inflation, and labour shortages. These were problems which the farmers could not easily tackle on a collective basis. Furthermore, oil revenues had removed the reliance of public finances on marketing board funds and negated the agrarian basis of the state, thereby denying the farmers a focus for collective political action. Farmers' militancy, as witnessed in the 1950s and 1960s, did not reappear. Instead, local institutions of collective action such as the cooperative union, declined or collapsed. Cocoa ceased to offer even a modest opportunity for prosperity or political leverage. Berry argues that, faced with these dire straits, many cocoa farmers sought

new opportunities in petty trade, while others shifted their attentions to descent-based networks and institutions. The tendency towards diversification and emigration to urban centres became even more pronounced. The downward spiral in agrarian accumulation set in motion in the 1970s worsened in the early 1980s. In the period 1980-1985, both the over-valuation of the Naira and the rate of domestic inflation intensified. By 1985, real cocoa prices were nearly 50 per cent less than what they had been in 1979 (Dorosh and Akanji 1988: 29). This was the context for the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986.

### **Cocoa Farming under SAP**

SAP policies with relevance to cocoa production largely consisted of the scrapping of the Cocoa Marketing Board, the removal of input subsidies, and the liberalisation of input and produce marketing. At the macroeconomic level, there was the controlled floatation of the Naira, the limited liberalisation of the interest rate, the encouragement of export promotion and the withdrawal of the state from vital social services. Cocoa farmers in Ondo State were jubilant at the introduction of SAP. But have their expectations been fulfilled? Has SAP reversed the decline in cocoa production? Has the pattern of agrarian accumulation, based exclusively on cocoa farming, been reinstated? Or are cocoa farmers still dependent on the process of diversification which has been thrust upon them since the 1960s?

In a 1992 study of Alade, some of these issues were investigated (Mustapha 1994). A similar study was again carried out in the same location in 1996/7 under this DARE project. The impact of SAP on the political economy of cocoa cultivation in Alade has been both dramatic and extensive. Cocoa marketing was the first sector to experience the impact of the SAP reforms. The marketing of cocoa had been dominated by local buying agents prior to 1986. The Alade Multi-Purpose Union, formed in 1980, was the major buying agent in Alade. This union nearly collapsed as farmers took to alternative market structures introduced by market liberalisation. The shift in marketing structure away from the cocoa-board monopoly immediately led to the bidding up of the price of cocoa by the new entrants into the trade. The average domestic producer price for cocoa before the introduction of SAP in July 1986 was N1,600 per tonne, as set by the cocoa board. By the second half of that year, this had gone up to an average of N4,000.

In the 1986/7 season, the price went up again to about N6,000 per tonne, and in 1987/8, it stood at about N8,000 (Ojo 1988, *Daily Times* 27/10/87: 7). By 1989, cocoa prices of N10,000 per tonne were being quoted (*BED* 13,1,5-6). In many cases, farmers got even higher than average prices. Cocoa was particularly attractive commercially because it was an export crop capable of generating foreign exchange which was in very short supply in the wider economy. Such was the rise in local prices under the impetus of the foreign-exchange crunch that by the second half of 1987, local prices were said to be ahead of world market prices at operative liberalised exchange rates. In Ondo State, prices stood at N8,500 per tonne, while the Naira equivalent of the London price was N8,051 per tonne, and the New York price was

N7,591 per tonne (*CMR 330: 4, Business Concord 11/8/87: 7*). By the middle of 1989, local cocoa prices started to fall (*CMR 334, 1989: 4*). From well over N10,000 per tonne in late December 1988 and January 1989 in Alade, the price crashed to N3,500, causing considerable hardship to farmers and traders alike (*African Concord 5/2/90: 43-45*). The fall in cocoa prices at the international level had started towards the end of 1988 but the demand for foreign exchange through the export of cocoa kept local prices up for a while.

By 1991 however, cocoa prices had risen as high as N15,500 per tonne in Alade and they continued to oscillate. For much of 1993 the price stood at N30,000 per tonne (*BED 17,9,8*), closing the year at N55,000. By January 1994, the price was down to N18,000 [*BED 17,4,8*]. For much of 1994, the price stood at N60,000, ending at N135,000 in December 1994. By February 1995, cocoa farmers were demanding N105,000 as against an offer of N85,000 from cocoa traders (*BED 17,9,8, Daily Times 11/2/95: 19*). During the 1997 survey one tonne of cocoa was selling for N100,000.

Though cocoa farming continues to rely heavily on hired labour, the impact of SAP on the labouring system is the intensification of self-exploitation within the farming household. This is as a result of a number of factors: increased demand for all types of labour, the inability of supply to sufficiently meet the demand, and the 286 per cent jump in the wages paid to piece-rate workers between 1986-1992. Over the same period, a smaller increase of 167 per cent was recorded for largely Hausa workers responsible for grading cocoa. Between 1992 and 1997, labour costs had again gone up by about 1100 per cent. Many farmers now do themselves jobs they would previously have given to piece-rate workers. At the same time, there has been a significant deterioration in the condition of hired labourers. The portion of the output going to sharecroppers has been effectively reduced. All forms of hired labour are now subject to increased surveillance. Equally significant are the uses to which female household labour are now being put. Compared to the pre-SAP period, more women are now having to do more strenuous operations, both on behalf of their households, and on their own personal account.

In summary, in Alade, SAP has worsened the position of labour, both household and hired. Though renewed profitability of cocoa farming has led to some re-assertion of male land rights, available evidence suggests that own-account farming by women has intensified. Many more women now have to work harder, for themselves and for their households, carrying chemicals and water to farms, carrying cocoa from the farms, processing and drying the cocoa, and providing the meals of household members and some labourers. Furthermore, more women now perform arduous tasks which had hitherto been reserved for labourers or male members of the household. Many more children are now taking part in farming on the household farm, performing basically the same labour tasks as women. Some children are given tasks that seem to be beyond their ages and many parents pay less attention to training and schooling, preferring instead to use their children on the farms. On the whole, however, the women and children of Alade do not convey the same image of misery and economic stress associated with SAP-induced labouring processes found in other parts of agrarian Nigeria

(CBN/NISER 1992). After all, despite the increased self-exploitation, the farmer is better able to meet his social and economic obligations to members of his household, including the demand for school fees. And many women are able to drastically increase their personal income. The impact of SAP on the household has therefore been mixed.

Cocoa farming is heavily input dependent. Before SAP, cocoa farmers enjoyed some subsidised inputs supplied by either the marketing board or the state. For example, from 1972 onwards the World Bank assisted the Cocoa Development Unit (CDU) in distributing improved seedlings, chemicals, and cash credits. The state and World-Bank-sponsored Agricultural Development Programmes (ADP) also provided subsidised fertilisers and other agricultural services. In Ondo State, the CDU was downgraded in 1989 and merged with the local ADP. In 1992, the Commercial Division of the ADP, responsible for input provision, was converted into the profit-oriented Agricultural Inputs Supply Company. In theory, this company is supposed to be trimmer and more efficient in input delivery and there is even speculation that it will eventually be privatised. In reality however, the company has yet to find its feet, while the former input delivery network based on the CDU, ADP, the Cocoa Marketing Board, and the cooperative societies has been reorganised. The limited quantities of subsidised inputs supplied by the Ondo State Ministry of Agriculture and the Ondo State Farmers' Congress have not solved the basic problem of input supply.

In Alade, one of the methods used to increase cocoa production since SAP is the increased use of fertilisers and chemicals to improve the quantity and quality of cocoa beans from the ageing trees on the limited acreages available. Thus, the problems attendant on the disruption of the former input delivery system were accentuated by the increased levels of input demand. As a consequence, most Alade farmers now rely on private traders for the bulk of their chemical inputs. Input supply has become very problematic and input prices have become prohibitive. Price changes between 1986 and the early part of 1992 indicate that while cocoa prices increased by 969 per cent in that period, the prices of chemical inputs went up by an average of 2323 per cent. Because of high rainfall, Nigerian cocoa is heavily dependent on copper sulphate to control pod and flower diseases which inhibit productivity (Lass 1987: 279). Between 1986 and 1992, the price of this crucial chemical input went up by 2800 per cent in Alade and between 1992 and 1997, the increase in the price of copper sulphate was in the region of 1166 per cent. Output of cocoa by households is increasingly determined as much by their capacity to mobilise chemical inputs as by the extent of the household's acreage.

**Table 2: Alade: Percentage Increase in Basic Prices, 1986-1997**

Item	1986 (SAP) - 1992	1992 - 1997
Cocoa	1000	655
Labour	286	1100
Copper sulphate	2800	1166
Basket of food goods	509	1067

Source: Fieldwork 1992, 1996/7

Despite increased production pressures, there has been a remarkable increase in cocoa output in Alade in the period from 1986 to 1991. However, it appears that this expansion in output both at the local and national levels may have stalled since 1990 due to climatic factors, increases in the cost of chemical inputs and other production factors, and declining world prices. Central Bank of Nigeria figures suggest that cocoa output has been declining from 1989 (256,000 tonnes) to 1991 (180,000), suggesting a 30 per cent drop over two years (CBN 1991: 67-8). Similarly, in the period between January and May 1991, the Produce Department of the Ondo State Ministry of Agriculture graded 26,000 tonnes of the light crop cocoa. In the same period in 1992, only 7,000 tonnes were graded (personal comm., Director of Produce, Min. Agric., Akure). In 1998, the Cocoa Processors Association of Nigeria (COPAN) raised the alarm about declining cocoa yields:

- 'We are alarmed at the rate output is declining,' Tope Bakare, president of COPAN told Reuters in Lagos. 'Unless something is done in five years we may not have 60,000 tonnes.'
- COPAN officials say the main reason for falling production was declining output from ageing trees and agricultural populations. They stated that the average age of trees in the south-western Cocoa Belt is 30 years, while that of farmers is 50 years.
- 'To convince farmers that trees are past their economic yield age and need replanting is difficult. They worry about what they would lose in the period before the trees begin to produce,'...
- Bakare said a study commissioned by COPAN showed that production fell 45 per cent from 300,000 tonnes in 1990/91 to 165,000 tonnes in 1996/7. And with the main season ending, the study estimated the 1997/8 crop to be about 140,000 tonnes.
- Other industry sources, while not giving definite figures, said the 1997/8 crop was likely to be less than the previous year's (Reuters 4/2/98).

While cocoa farmers have benefited from produce price and exchange rate liberalisation under SAP, they have been confronted with other problems. Some are historical; ageing trees and an equally ageing farming population. Others are climatic; El Niño leading to droughts and fires or excessive rainfall. Other problems, however, can be directly linked to SAP; high costs of chemical inputs and labour, and a similar trend in the cost of family provisioning and subsistence. Finally there are problems deriving from the international political economy; the unreliable nature of international price trends for cocoa. Cocoa farmers face higher incomes, but they also face even higher input and subsistence costs. In the course of fieldwork in August 1997, High Chief Aregbesola, a senior community leader and prominent cocoa farmer in Alade, and a Patron of the Ondo State Farmers' Congress (OSFC) said:

... I am worried about the increased rate of indebtedness among farmers. Farmers get inputs on loan from cocoa merchants, often using their harvests and even fields as collateral. Sometimes, farmers lose their fields till they are able to pay off the debt. This is becoming worrisome (Chief Aregbesola, Aug. 1997).

Though SAP improved the circumstances of cocoa farmers, the resulting situation was not a return to the heyday of cocoa cultivation. It is within this context of limited improvement coupled with continuing problems that we should locate the persistent relevance of non-farm incomes in the cocoa economy.

### **Surviving SAP in Alade**

In assessing the long-term trend in socio-economic developments in Alade, I rely on three studies conducted in 1964 (Oloko 1964), 1992 (Mustapha 1994) and the current survey carried out in 1996/7. These studies provide the opportunity to compare changes over a thirty-year period. The first point that is that the Cocoa Belt, including Alade, continues to be marked by serious inequality. As pointed out earlier, this inequality was first observed in the seminal study of the Cocoa Belt by Galletti *et al.* in 1950 (Galletti *et al.* 1956). They pointed out that in the belt as a whole, the top 10 per cent of farming households held 41 per cent of all the land while the bottom 55 per cent of households had only 19 per cent of the holdings. The middle 35 per cent of households had the remaining 40 per cent of holdings. In the 1992 and 1996/7 surveys of Alade, a similar pattern of inequality was observed. This inequality manifests itself in the extent of landholdings per household rather than the tendency to hire or sell labour. Most Alade farmers continue to rely to a large extent on hired labour for a major part, but by no means for the totality, of their farming operations (Mustapha 1994). Increasingly, however, having a large landholding does not necessarily guarantee superior economic performance. Ageing trees and depleted soils have combined to ensure that the capacity to invest in chemical inputs is also an important determinant of output.

In delineating the different segments of the sample, there are some major differences in the methodology of the 1992 and the 1996/7 studies. In 1992, 124 households were surveyed and

the sample was stratified using the same percentages adopted in the work by Galletti's team. In 1996/7, 100 households were stratified according to their position in the frequency distribution of household landholdings. As in the previous studies, however, three strata were delineated. Another methodological difference is that 40 households out of the 100 households covered in the general survey in 1996/7 were randomly selected and surveyed over the entire farming year. The 1996/7 survey therefore has two sets of data: one relating to the entire 100 households in the survey and limited only to household heads, both male and female, and another data set relating to *all* the members - household heads, spouses, children and dependants - of the 40 subset of households selected for more intense year-round observation. The 1996/7 survey also includes a specific survey of non-farm enterprises.

Apart from the persistent pattern of inequality, a second long-term trend observable in Alade is that the community is now more prosperous, compared to 1964. For example in 1964, no respondent had a car or a television (Oloko 1964: 35). In 1997, however, 21 respondents had a total of 24 cars and trucks, and 44 respondents had 46 televisions. Some of this prosperity must have been as a result of the more favourable conditions of the post-1986 period. However, if we compare the pattern of asset holdings in 1992 and 1996/7, we begin to get some ideas of the cumulative impact of SAP on the Alade community. The general pattern of asset holding in 1996/7, as compared to 1992, is shown in Table 3. On the whole, there have been declines in the levels of ownership of houses/plots, cars/trucks and televisions/radios. The levels of ownership of motorcycles, vital for going to outlying farms, have remained fairly constant. Ownership of sewing machines, useful for generating non-farm income, has increased. Bicycles, also vital for moving to outlying farms but hardly featuring during the 1992 survey, are now a prominent feature of asset holdings. Equally important are the differences between the three strata; these suggest that the Middle stratum is an economically dynamic group, despite the medium size of its landholding.

**Table 3: Alade: Asset Holdings by Stratum, by Percentage, by Year**

Asset Type	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	1992	1996/97	1992	1996/97	1992	1996/97
Houses/plots	50	32	55	48	53	20
Cars/trucks	17	12	52	67	34	21
Sewing machines	33	24	27	35	22	41
TV/radio	83	9/22	82	65/47	75	26/31
Motorcycles	17	17	52	50	34	33
Grinding machines	-	14	-	14	-	71
Bicycles	-	35	-	43	-	22

Source: Fieldwork 1992, 1996/7

The 1992 levels of asset ownership reflected policies favourable to cocoa farmers under SAP from 1986. In 1992, however, cocoa farmers were confronted with a massive devaluation of the Naira, and the consequent hyperinflationary push. And as Table 2 indicated, the rise in the price of cocoa has not kept pace with the rise in the prices of other vital items of consumption in the production of cocoa and the reproduction of the farming household. After 1986, Alade farmers experienced a boom in their living standards, followed by a slow-down in the level of prosperity from 1992. We should remember, however, that this is a highly unequal community and the boom and slow-down are likely to affect different segments of the society differently. As the quotation from Chief Aregbesola illustrates, a mere slow-down for some may mean total bankruptcy for others. On the whole it is valid to say that since 1986 the Alade community's economic circumstances have been a case of 'two steps forward, one step back'. For some it has been a movement from the pre-SAP doldrums to the boom of the post-1986 period and then a slow-down in the post-1992 period; for others, the dynamic may well extend right down to bankruptcy. The worsening of the economic climate is reflected in the shifts in the levels of asset holdings by the different strata of the 1996/7 sample, as illustrated in Table 3. It is within this dynamic which is at once local, national and international, that we should situate the households of Alade and their roles and aspirations with respect to their productive and reproductive activities. In doing so we are better able to understand the trends in income diversification in the cocoa economy.

### **Alade: Household Characteristics, Reproduction and Social Networks**

Understanding the economic strategies of various households requires a knowledge of their basic characteristics and the social networks in which they are embedded. In this section, I provide such information, both for the general survey of 100 randomly selected household heads, and for the in-depth survey of the 40 households whose total population is 182.

#### ***Alade: Basic Household Characteristics (Between Households)***

Some of the basic characteristics of the Alade sample are listed in Table 4.

**Table 4: Alade: Basic Characteristics of Households by Stratum, by Percentage Share**

Item	Upper	Middle	Lower
Sample of 100	18	45	37
Farms	35	48	17
Wives	19	61	30
Children	20	50	30
Other dependants	22	39	39
Migrant members	24	56	20
Other non-residents	16	52	32

Male temp. migrant	20	60	20
Female temp. migrant	11	64	25
Goats	24	52	24
Fowl	24	52	24
Dogs	45	38	19

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

Of the 100 household heads, 18 per cent are in the Upper stratum, 45 per cent in the Middle and 37 per cent in the Lower. The mean age of the various strata are: 67 years (Upper), 65 years (Middle), and 57 years (Lower). As is to be expected, the household heads in the Upper stratum started farming earlier than the others, followed sequentially by the Middle and Lower strata. The mean household sizes are 15 (Upper), 14 (Middle) and 12 (Lower). Two per cent of all the sample are of the Idoma ethnic group from Benue State while 98 per cent are Yoruba. Twenty-one per cent of the sample are non-indigenes of Alade and 79 are indigenes. Female household heads make up 10 per cent of the sample. There is a concentration of female-headed households in the Lower stratum (60 per cent of the female-headed households) and a concentration of the male-headed households in the Middle stratum (48 per cent of the male-headed households). The average age of the female and male household heads is fairly similar at 65 years and 63 years respectively. Ninety-seven per cent of the total sample are Christians and 3 per cent are followers of the traditional Yoruba religion.

The differential levels of formal education of the household heads in the sample of 100 are shown in Table 5.

**Table 5: Alade: Level of Education by Stratum, by Percentage**

Stratum	No educat'n	Some primary	Some secondary	Full secondary	Diploma/NCE	Univer-sity	Total with post primary educ.
Upper	55	39	0	0	6	0	6
Middle	51	18	22	5	2	2	31
Lower	35	30	8	16	6	5	35

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

Apart from formal education, the 100 respondents also had other skills acquired through apprenticeships or work experience. These are shown in Table 6.

**Table 6: Alade: Other Skills and Experience by Stratum, by Percentage**

Stratum	None	Trad. low inc.	Trad. religious/social	Tailor barber	Carpentry	Mod. mechanics	Transport	Petty trade	Trade	Civil service etc
Upper	67	0	0	11	0	6	11	0	0	5
Middle	69	2	2	5	2	7	7	2	4	0
Lower	57	0	2	13	11	3	3	3	5	3

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

From the available evidence, the basic dynamic of the social structure of Alade is clearly more Chayanovian than Leninist; land holding, and not the buying and selling of labour was the primary determinant of a household's position in the social structure (cf. Mustapha 1994). Furthermore, there was the expected Chayanovian correspondence between the age of the household head, when (s)he started farming, the household size, and the position of the household in the social structure. The delineation of strata would suggest the concentration of economic resources and economic capability in a descending order from the Upper to the Lower strata. Evidence from the 1996/7 sample indicates that this is only partly true in Alade. Relative to its share of the population, the Upper stratum has more than its fair share of the good things of life: this is particularly the case with farmland. But when it comes to other resources, such as the share in the total number of wives and children, the Middle stratum has a higher share relative to the Upper. It is also significant that relative to the Upper stratum, the Middle stratum has a higher proportion of members with post-primary education and also a higher percentage of its household have members as migrants away from the local community. Both of these factors, education and migrancy, have tended to give the Middle stratum an economic dynamism which belies its medium status. Though the Lower stratum is better educated than the Middle, households in the former group are generally resource-poor, and are not able to translate any advantages from their educational exposure into economic dynamism.

***Alade: Basic Household Characteristics (Within Households)***

In the mini-sample of 40 households randomly selected for year-round monitoring, a total of 182 economically active adults were monitored. Of these, 22 per cent are household heads, both male and female, 31 per cent were wives of household heads and 47 per cent were adult dependants, both male and female, of the household head. Considering these 182 as individual economic agents, 17 per cent fell into the category of the Upper stratum, 68 per cent, into the Middle stratum, and 15 per cent into the Lower. Fifty-one per cent were female, the remaining 49 per cent being male. It is the economic behaviour of these 182 individuals which gives us a clearer insight into the general behaviour of the sample of 100 household heads. The ethnic

diversity of the labouring process in the Cocoa Belt is fairly reflected in the sample of 182 - the Urhobo are the only significant group missing. This ethnic composition is shown in Table 7.

**Table 7: Alade: Ethnic Origins of the Sub-sample of 182**

Group	Percentage
Hausa	0.54
Igbo	0.54
Idoma	2.74
Igala	1.10
Igbirra	2.20
Ogoja	3.30
Yoruba	89.56

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

The basic characteristics of the sample of 100 heads is fairly similar to those of the sub-sample of 182. However, by disaggregating the characteristics of heads, wives and dependants, we can get a clearer picture of the distribution of the social and physical capital available between households and within households in the community. This is crucial for understanding gender and generational differences - real and aspirational - in the processes of household production and reproduction. Three areas of important variation within households are in education, other acquired skills, and actual occupation. The educational variation between household heads and their wives and dependants can be gleaned by comparing Table 5 and Table 8.

**Table 8: Alade: Educational Levels of Wives and Dependants (Sample of 182 by Stratum, by Percentage)**

Educational Level	Wives			Dependants		
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower
None	83	62	71	8	13	20
Koranic	0	0	0	0	6	0
Some Primary	17	35	29	50	39	50
Some Secondary	0	3	0	25	27	0
Full Secondary	0	0	0	17	11	30
Diploma	0	0	0	0	2	0
Total Post-Primary	0	3	0	42	40	30

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

Two crucial areas of difference are the percentages of the different categories with no education, and those with post-primary education. While household heads are better educated relative to their wives, the heads are less well educated than their dependants. On the whole, wives, particularly those who fall into the category of the Upper stratum, tend to have no education. Furthermore, wives who fall into the Middle stratum category are better educated than the others. Dependants are better educated than wives and looking at those with no education and those with post-primary education, there is a closer correlation between economic status and educational attainment amongst the dependants. Similarly, disparities in acquired skills are apparent in the comparison of Table 6 with Table 9. Table 6 indicates that more Middle stratum household heads have no other skills relative to the other strata. Secondly, more Middle stratum households are to be found with experience in activities with weak returns such as traditional low-income activities, traditional religious activities, and petty trade. Thirdly, the Upper stratum has had more experience of high-earning activities such as transport and civil service employment. Table 9 shows that more dependants have other skills, followed by household heads, leaving their wives trailing behind. Amongst the wives, however, the acquisition of skills is inversely related to the individual's social position. These variations within households are not only significant in the immediate processes of production and reproduction, they will also condition any effort at raising rural incomes or addressing wider issues like poverty alleviation, and child and maternal welfare.

**Table 9: Alade: Other Skills and Experience, Wives and Dependants (Sample of 182 by Stratum, by Percentage)**

Skill & Experience	Wives			Dependants		
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower
Petty trade	25	14	29	8	23	0
Trade	0	5	0	0	7	0
Cooked food selling	0	3	0	0	3	0
Clothes and hair, etc	0	8	29	17	25	30
Traditional low income	0	0	0	0	3	0
Civil service, etc.	0	0	0	0	5	0
Carpentry and building	0	0	0	17	6	10
Modern mechanics etc.	0	0	0	25	10	30
Transport	0	0	0	0	2	10
None.	75	70	43	33	14	20

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

### *Household Reproduction and Social Networks*

In the face of the current economic difficulties facing the cocoa-farming households of Alade, how have they been dealing with the problems of economic production and household reproduction? Obviously, some of the characteristics pointed out above, and their differential distribution between and within households will be extremely important. Table 10 shows the actual occupations of the household heads in the general survey of 100 household heads.

**Table 10: Alade: Actual Primary Occupation (Sample of 100 by Stratum, by Percentage)**

Stratum	Petty trade	Trading	Civil service	Farming	Trad. religious & social	Modern mechanic	Carpentry, building
Upper	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
Middle	0	5	2	89	2	2	0
Lower	8	16	3	62	3	2	3

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

Farming cocoa remains the main occupation in all strata, though this tendency systematically diminishes from the Upper stratum to the Lower. Conversely, the tendency to branch into a non-farming occupation as the main, but not necessarily sole, occupation increases as we move from the Middle stratum to the Lower. Equally important is the type of main occupation people are moving into; here again, the movement is conditioned by economic status, as the Lower are tending to move into trading and petty trade. The convergence of low economic status and the tendency to move into non-farm economic activities as the main source of income would seem to suggest that in Alade, the economic dynamic is one of diversification as a consequence of the lack of capacity to fully engage in agriculture. However, this conclusion must be seriously qualified when taken in conjunction with other evidence from the survey. For example, in Table 16, all the 40 household heads interviewed in the sample of 182 reported considerable non-farm incomes, even when none of them reported a non-farm occupation as their main activity in Table 10. If we include evidence from Table 6 which suggests that Upper stratum household heads tend to have experience in higher income non-farm activities, then the overall picture is that while some Middle and many Lower stratum households have branched out into non-farm occupations as their main economic activity, Upper stratum households continue to mix profitable non-farm activities with their primary preoccupation with cocoa farming.

The economic behaviour of the wives and dependants is shown in Table 11.

**Table 11: Alade: Actual Primary Occupation of Wives and Dependants (Sample of 182 by Stratum, by Percentage)**

Primary Occupation	Wives			Dependants		
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower
Cooked food selling	0	0	0	0	5	0
Petty trading	8	3	14	17	13	0
Farming	92	97	71	42	28	30
Traditional low income	0	0	0	0	3	0
Trading	0	0	0	0	6	0
Civil service, etc.	0	0	0	0	3	0
Clothes and hair, etc.	0	0	0	17	13	20
Carpentry and building, etc.	0	0	0	8	6	10
Modern mechanics, etc.	0	0	0	8	5	20
Transport	0	0	0	8	2	10
None	0	0	15	0	17	10

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

While the economic actions of the wives in each of the three strata seem to mimic those of the household heads of the Lower stratum, the actions of the dependants of all strata are divergent. This is clearly as a result of the specific characteristics of the dependants. They have the highest percentages of those with post primary education and the lowest percentages of those with no other skills. Secondly, by the virtue of their youth, they are likely to have fewer agricultural resources in a society that is basically patriarchal and Chayanovian in nature. The dependants therefore have the need and ability to diversify, while the wives may have similar needs but not necessarily the ability to diversify across such a wide range of activities. Yet it should be pointed out that a high percentage of women engage in farming - own account or household - as their primary occupation. The income implications of economic activity are discussed in later section.

**Table 12: Alade: Membership of Social Groups by Wives and Dependants  
(Sample of 182 by Stratum, by Concurrent Percentages)**

Group Type	Wives			Dependants		
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower
Agricultural cooperative	25	43	43	42	17	10
Age grade	8	5	29	0	9	20
Ethnic association	0	5	0	0	9	0
Religious association	83	68	86	75	58	30
Women's association	58	38	0	8	13	10
Social club	0	0	29	0	14	30

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

What is the broader sociological context within which these patterns of economic activity are taking place? What has been the impact of the wider economic context on social networks? What has been their impact on intra-household relations? It would seem that particular types of social networks have weakened, while others have become stronger. For example, 72 per cent of Lower stratum wives, 92 per cent of the Middle and 100 per cent of the Upper claim that they have cut back on visits to friends and relations in nearby towns. It is a puzzle why more of the Lower stratum wives should continue to make such visits. Maybe the wives in the Lower stratum have a greater need to continue to seek assistance from relatives in other towns. The types of social networks which wives and dependants actually patronise is reflected in Table 12. While the religious revivalism in Nigeria explains why more Lower stratum wives should belong to religious associations than to an agricultural cooperative, there is no apparent reason why Lower stratum dependants should concentrate more attention on social clubs and age-grade groups than on the agricultural cooperative. And what are the livelihood implications of these sorts of social networks? At the household level, there is also a tendency towards increased individualisation of economic activity. This is the one area where the behaviour of wives is more radical than that of their dependants, as Table 13 shows.

Table 13 suggests that, in general, the increase in the exploitation of household labour since SAP is more closely tied to the intensification of own-account farming, particularly by wives. It would seem that while the majority of female-headed households (60%) find themselves in the Lower stratum, suggesting a lack of agricultural capacity, many women who are wives in male-headed households are doing very well in the expansion of own-account farming. The bilateral lineage system in Alade gives women continued access to land from their father's and mother's families. In addition, husbands also help their wives with land leases. This relatively easy access to land, the economic independence of women in this and many other Nigerian societies, and the new opportunities under SAP must have combined to provide a stimulus for female economic initiatives, as suggested by Table 13. No doubt, some of the women are making the

shift out of compulsion and not choice, and the resulting proceeds in such cases may be going more into household maintenance, for example growing more food in the face of rising food costs. On the whole, however, evidence suggests that Alade women - if not the female-headed households - are involved in a process of individual accumulation. Such a process of individualisation will often create an enabling environment for income diversification. And it is to this general process of income diversification that I now turn my attention.

**Table 13: Alade: Variations in the Time Contributed to the Household Farm and Own-Account Farming over the Last 5 Years (Sample of 182)**

Time Variation	Wives			Dependants		
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower
	<i>On household farm</i>			<i>On household farm</i>		
Less	92	95	72	50	33	20
More	8	5	14	8	5	0
Same	0	0	14	42	62	80
	<i>Own-account farming</i>			<i>Own-account farming</i>		
Less	17	11	43	0	11	0
More	83	89	57	50	28	30
Same	0	0	0	50	61	70

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

### Trends in Income Diversification in Alade

Official figures on income diversification in Nigeria are clearly confusing. To cite only the most recent example, the Federal Office of Statistics' (FOS) 'National Agricultural Sample Census 1993/4' claims that 90 per cent of Nigerians take agriculture as their primary occupation while 2 per cent practice farming as a secondary occupation. Eight per cent are said to be primarily engaged in agriculture but at the same time carry out other 'sideline occupations'. Does this mean that all Nigerians are agriculturalists or might it mean that there are no 'full-time' farmers in Nigeria? It is this sort of muddle which confuses any effort at appreciating the dynamics of diversification in rural communities and responding to them appropriately at the policy level. Local-level studies may help to clarify the situation.

Starting from Oloko (1964), it is possible to piece together a broad picture of the long-term trend in income diversification in Alade. Historically, cocoa farmers rarely engaged in non-farm commercial or artisanal activities. When cocoa farmers took to non-farm occupations in the 1970s and 1980s, it was as a result of the severe crisis of accumulation confronting them (Berry 1985). Indeed, only 5 per cent of the 1964 Alade sample had any non-farm occupation (Oloko 1964: 57). My 1992 study established that by the early 1980s, that is just before SAP, about 35 per cent of the Lower stratum in that survey, 30 per cent of the Middle, and 33 per

cent of the Upper had non-farm occupations. These proportions are consistent with the 1996/7 figures (Table 6) which show that the Upper stratum has more non-farm skills relative to the Middle stratum. In the immediate aftermath of SAP, however, there was a slight drop in the percentage of households in the Lower stratum (4%) and Middle (5%) with non-farm occupations. This must have been as a result of renewed interest in cocoa due to the relatively more favourable circumstances under SAP. It might then be said to be a limited process of *re-agrarianisation*. The percentage of Upper stratum households with non-farm occupations remained unchanged. There was a slight difference in the type of non-farm occupations engaged in by Lower stratum households after 1986. They appeared to be moving away from low-return activities such as tailoring, to activities with higher returns, but requiring relatively low capital such as petty trading and electronic repairs. The shifts involved were often small in magnitude but the tendency was fairly clear (Mustapha 1994). The 1996/7 study clearly suggests that re-agrarianisation has been reversed in Alade. This trend is illustrated by Table 14.

**Table 14: Alade: Participation in Non-farm Activities by Stratum, by Percentage 1964-1997**

Stratum	1964	Pre 1986	1992	1997
Upper	-	33	33	25
Middle	-	30	25	50
Lower	-	35	31	80
% of study sample with non-farm activity	5	33	29	52.5

Sources: Oloko 1964, Mustapha 1994, Fieldwork 1996/7

Table 14 suggests a possible process of combined and simultaneous de-agrarianisation and re-agrarianisation. At one level the Upper stratum households may be reducing the level of their participation in non-farm activities and paying more attention to cocoa cultivation. However, this evidence seems to be contradicted by Table 16 which shows that Upper stratum households continue to dominate earnings from non-farm incomes. It may also be that their financial dominance of this sector is related to the type of non-farm activities they engage in (see Table 6), rather than the extent of their involvement. What is not in doubt, however, is that households in the Middle and Lower strata are escalating their levels of participation in income diversification. The motivation for the two strata may, however, be radically different. The Middle stratum seems much more economically dynamic and likely to be engaged in a process of diversification and accumulation, while the Lower stratum may be diversifying more as a result of economic necessity. On the whole, the overall tendency suggested is one of increased diversification and de-agrarianisation. It is possible to further disaggregate the 1997 figures so

that we can observe the differential participation of the various social categories in Alade - household heads, wives and dependent adults.

Table 15 indicates that income diversification is not just biased towards the households of the Lower stratum but more specifically, it is biased towards the dependent adults who fall into the Middle and Lower strata. At the opposite pole of participation in income diversification are the household heads of the Upper stratum. At work, therefore, in the tendency towards income diversification are the combined effects of economic capacity and generational difference.

**Table 15: Alade: Percentage Participation of Various Groups in Non-farm Activities**

Category Sample of 182	Without non-farm activity 32			With non-farm activity 68		
	<i>Upp.</i>	<i>Mid.</i>	<i>Low.</i>	<i>Upp.</i>	<i>Mid.</i>	<i>Low.</i>
Household heads	75	50	20	25	50	80
Wives	33	49	43	67	51	57
Dependants	33	13	20	67	87	80

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

The income derived from various economic activities by the different categories of the sample is shown in Table 16.

**Table 16: Alade: Annual Mean Income of Various Categories from Different Economic Activities in Naira (Sample of 182)**

Category	Cocoa	Livestock	Total farm income	Non-farm income	% of non-farm in total income
<i>All Upper stratum</i>	39,725	4,105	66,652	38,400	37
Heads	47,000	9,111	92,562	35,350	28
Wives	67,712	2,888	87,900	16,428	16
Dependants	6,888	1,560	20,426	56,830	74
<i>All Middle stratum</i>	61,296	1,657	77,925	23,048	23
Heads	122,874	2,375	150,523	14,572	9
Wives	68,636	2,540	95,932	12,597	12
Dependants	36,000	902	43,486	32,003	42
<i>All Lower stratum</i>	31,208	1,672	40,184	21,700	35
Heads	31,338	1,651	51,579	3,312	6
Wives	54,734	4,492	55,315	19,050	26
Dependants	14,610	0	19,710	36,608	65

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

A striking aspect of Table 16 is the divergence in farm income, particularly from cocoa, between the Upper and Middle strata. This is especially the case when we compare household heads and dependent adults across the two strata. The evidence considered so far in this study suggests that the household heads of the Upper stratum are tending to decrease their participation in non-farm activities while those of the Middle stratum have a distinct advantage in farm earnings. It is not immediately clear why this apparent contradiction should be so. However, it is possible to hazard some reasons. Firstly, many individuals in the Upper stratum may have under-declared their farm earnings. Secondly, it may be that the larger tracts of land held by the Upper stratum households do not simply translate into larger output because of agronomic problems - soil exhaustion, ageing trees, expensive chemicals - while the Middle stratum individuals, given their greater exposure through migrancy and education, are better able to overcome these problems through increased investment in chemicals and labour. Thirdly, 22 individuals out of the 182 from whom the data was compiled had earnings from cocoa well above the normal level. Some had earnings of N464,203 and N344,000 from cocoa. Most individuals reported cocoa earnings of less than N70,000. Seven of the 22 exceptional individuals are household heads from the Middle stratum and between them they had a mean income from cocoa of N273,171. These exceptional cases may go a long way towards explaining some of the disparity between the Upper and Middle strata. Fourthly, as mentioned earlier, the greater income of the Upper stratum from non-farm activities may reflect its strength in lucrative sub-sectors - transport and the civil service - of the non-farm sector rather than the overall extent of the stratum's participation.

Lower stratum dependants earn a higher average income from non-farm activities compared to the household heads of the Upper stratum suggesting the strong effect of generational tendencies on income diversification. On the other hand, the fact that household heads of the Upper stratum, who seem to be just maintaining if not reducing the level of their participation in non-farm activities, can earn so much more than the household heads from the other strata, who are expanding their participation, indicates the impact of economic capacity in achieving a meaningful diversification. Though only 25 per cent of the Upper stratum household heads engaged in non-farm activities, they obtained an average return of N35,350, while the 80 per cent of the heads of the Lower stratum engaged in non-farm activities had an average annual return of only N3,312. It is also noteworthy that only dependent adults are earning close to 50 per cent or more of their income from non-farm sources. For the other social categories, agriculture remains the main source of their income. However, while cocoa farming continues to be *the* major economic activity in Alade, there is little doubt that even under the relatively favourable policy conditions of market deregulation, most members of the community are increasingly drawn towards income diversification in order to fulfil the reproduction of their households. This pull towards diversification is all the more remarkable given that cocoa farming is the preferred occupation for most. Two case histories may help to convey the human dimension of this increasing trend towards diversification:

**Case One:** Chief Aregbesola, High Chief and prominent cocoa farmer, close to 100 years old. Was quite happy at farming until a political fracas broke out between the Alade community and their kin in Oke-Idanre in the 1930s. He had to abandon farming and learn bricklaying. Claims that bricklaying was more remunerative than farming cocoa even then, but he quit the trade after 10 years because he could return to cocoa farming.

**Case Two:** Samson Akinola, 43 years of age and trained as a carpenter. Was not interested in becoming a farmer so he learnt a trade. Finished his apprenticeship in 1972 but did not practice. Instead, he took up paid work as a repairman in a saw-mill. He didn't practice carpentry between 1972-82 because the returns were not satisfactory and the milling industry offered better wages. Now he combines carpentry with food farming for the consumption of his family. When his carpentry picks up, he shifts his attention away from farming and he does not get back to farming as long as his carpentry is booming. He has a wife and six children, all of whom go to school. His wife sells timber. In the future, he hopes to retire to his natal hometown of Gbongon in Osun State and start farming.

### **Nature of Non-farm Enterprises**

What are the basic characteristics of the non-farm enterprises that already exist in Alade? This question is important because appropriate policy towards non-farm activities must be guided, not just by the push factor emanating from cocoa cultivation, but also by existing patterns and possibilities within the non-farm sector. To address this problem, a survey of 52 non-farm enterprises was conducted during the 1996/7 survey of Alade. The sample was stratified by selecting three enterprises from a range of non-farm enterprises observed in the course of the survey. Evidence from the sample was analysed using gender and economic capability as the basic criteria and the evidence was stratified by sex and by the capital cost for establishing the enterprises at their current levels at the time of the interviews. Apart from the male and female categories, Group One is made up of enterprises requiring a start-up capital of N12,000 or less, while Group Two is made up of enterprises requiring more than N12,000, ranging up to as much as N500,000. Twelve enterprises were run by women and 40 by men with 58.3 per cent of the enterprises run by women belonging to the economically weaker Group One. The corresponding figure for male enterprises was 47.5 per cent.

**Table 17: Alade Non-farm Enterprises by Types, by Gender and by Group (Percentage Shares)**

Economic Type	Female	Male	Group One	Group Two	Total
Low-income traditional activities	16.7	12.5	19.2	7.7	13.5
Traditional/religious professionals, entertainers	16.7	12.5	15.4	11.5	13.5
Small-scale cooked food and beverages	25.0	2.5	11.5	3.8	7.7
Agricultural produce processors	0.0	10.0	3.8	11.5	7.7
Hotels, restaurants, and bakeries	0.0	5.0	3.8	3.8	3.8
Clothing, hair and related services	16.7	10.0	11.5	11.5	11.5
Carpentry and building	0.0	17.5	11.5	15.4	13.5
Modern crafts and services	0.0	20.0	7.7	23.1	15.4
Transporters	0.0	2.5	0.0	3.8	1.9
Traders: retailers and hawkers	16.7	0.0	3.8	3.8	3.8
Traders: wholesalers and shopkeepers	8.3	2.5	3.8	3.8	3.8
Formal sector employees	0.0	5.0	7.7	0.0	3.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

Of the operators surveyed, 57.7 per cent were indigenes of Alade. Of the sample, 53.8 per cent started their enterprises before 1986, 19.2 per cent between 1986 and 1991, and 21.2 per cent between 1992 and 1997. 66.7 per cent of the women, 70 per cent of the men, 65.4 per cent of Group One and 73.1 per cent of Group Two carried out their enterprise throughout the year. 16.7 per cent of the females, 10 per cent of the males, and 11.5 per cent each of both Groups One and Two limited their activities to just the dry season when farming activities were slack. The distribution of the enterprises by category is shown in Table 17.

The female category tended to concentrate on the three low-income activities at the top of the list in addition to clothing and hair services, and petty trade. However, a higher proportion of women were large-scale traders. On the other hand, the male category had a more even spread, nevertheless concentrating on modern crafts such as carpentry, building, and motor

mechanics. Group One concentrated on the three low-income activities but also showed a tendency towards clothing and hair services, modern crafts, and formal sector employment. Group Two concentrated on traditional/religious professions, agricultural produce processing, clothing and hair services, and modern crafts. 41.7 per cent of the female, 20 per cent of the male, 23.1 per cent of Group One and 26.9 per cent of Group Two operated their enterprises from home. Twenty-five per cent of the female, 22.5 per cent of the male, 11.5 per cent of Group One and 34.6 per cent of Group Two operated from shops. The difference here between Groups One and Two clearly suggests different capabilities to acquire operating space outside the home. Of the female group, 91.7 per cent and 92.5 per cent of the male group confined their activities to Alade; the corresponding figures are 88.5 per cent for Group One and 96.2 per cent for Group Two. Here, we notice the tendency of the economically weak to spread their nets as wide as possible. One hundred per cent of the female category and Group Two were owner-operators while the figures were 75 per cent for the male category and 61.5 per cent for Group One. A small number of the male and Group One categories were employees or workers on commission. The basic characteristics of the four groups are presented in Table 18.

**Table 18: Alade: Average Characteristics of 52 Non-farm Enterprises**

Category	Female-owned	Male-owned	Group One	Group Two
Age	42.4	40.9	41.3	41.2
Number of adult dependants	4.6	3.6	4.1	3.6
Cocoa harvested (in kg)	0.0	362	230	326.9
Other crops (local units)	13.9	23.4	16.6	25.8
Starting capital (5 yrs ago) in Naira	1,939	3,895	398	6,490
Starting capital (now) in Naira	16,017	40,320	3,346	66,076
Hours per week (5 yrs ago)	35.5	34.3	32.7	36.5
Hours per week (now)	40.3	39.5	38.8	40.7
Income per month	7,583	4,222	3,054	6,942
% with some private education	83.4	87.5	84.5	88.5

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

Table 18 reveals that all non-farm enterprise categories also farmed, suggesting that the penetration of cocoa farming by the need for non-farm incomes also works the other way round. This is particularly the case with 'other crops' which are largely food crops. 41.7 per cent of the female, 62.5 per cent of the male, 65.4 per cent of Group One and 50 per cent of Group Two indicated that farming was a subsidiary activity. It is noteworthy that only male operators grew cocoa. Asked why they farmed, 33.3 per cent of the female, 55 per cent of the male, and 50 per cent of both Groups One and Two indicated that farming was for consumption only. Asked why they started their enterprises, 50 per cent of the female, 52.5 per cent of the male, 50 per cent of Group One and 53.8 per cent of Group Two said they needed more income to meet rising costs of living. 16.7 per cent of the female category also indicated that lack of farmland and free time during the slack agricultural season were factors which led them to non-farm enterprises. In the male category, 12.5 per cent wanted money to purchase the input for their cocoa farms. In Group One, 15.4 per cent indicated that lack of farmland was a factor while another 11.5 per cent indicated that they needed funds for inputs. Furthermore, 75 per cent of the female, 57.5 per cent of the male category, 69.2 per cent of Group One and 53.8 per cent of Group Two said the income from their enterprises was used for family subsistence. Twenty-five per cent of the female, 27.5 per cent of the male, 11.5 per cent of Group One and 42.3 per cent of Group Two largely reinvested their income in their enterprises. Only 7.5 per cent of the males, 7.7 per cent of Group One and 3.8 per cent of Group Two invested their income in agriculture. Non-farm enterprises in Alade seem to be propelled by the need for family subsistence, the securing of inputs for agriculture and the provision of an alternative in the face of land shortage. Non-farm operators may engage in farming, but investing in farming is clearly not their main priority. Nonetheless, farming continues to play a major role in non-farm enterprises; 25 per cent of the female category, 20 per cent of the male, 15.4 per cent of Group One and 26.9 per cent of Group Two said they got some of the capital for their enterprises from their farm operations. Credit was obtained largely from traders and husbands.

Table 18 also reveals the inflationary pressure on the level of start-up capital and the general intensification of self-exploitation in the labour process since SAP. It is not clear why the income of the female category should be higher than even those of Group Two. This may be as a result of a higher turnover; but it may also result from the deliberate withholding of information by Group Two operators who are most likely to attract the attention of tax officials. Table 19 provides a closer look at the inflation in start-up costs from about 1992. Only the female category and Group One have been able to adjust the prices of their products or services above the rate of increase in their equipment and inputs. This may explain the level of income of the female category noted in Table 18. The increase in input costs for Group Two also indicates the cost pressures under which the leading enterprises are operating.

**Table 19: Alade: Percentage Change in Costs of Non-farm Enterprises 1992-97**

Item	Female	Male	Group One	Group Two
Equipment	132	226	30	227
Input	305	626	84	1,112
Typical goods price	635	324	397	381

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

The situation with respect to the labour regime of the enterprises is shown in Table 20. Of the four categories, only the female has improved its labour input since 1992. The category has improved its level of employment, apprenticeship and family labour. On the other hand, the situation of the male category has worsened across the board. This is especially the case with Group Two and suggests that non-farm enterprises are not insulated from the labour problems within the agrarian economy. Women, either because of the profitability of their enterprises or because of maternal control over their children and other relatives, have been able to protect themselves from the problem of labour scarcity. Sixty per cent of all operators themselves had been apprentices and the apprenticeship system seems to be working well though only about 35 per cent of the operators expressed satisfaction with their apprentices.

**Table 20: Alade: Mean Labour Inputs by Category**

Type	Female	Male	Group One	Group Two
Employees (5 yrs ago)	0.42	0.83	0.007	1.39
Employees (now)	0.83	0.68	0.12	1.31
Apprentices (5 yrs ago)	0.0	0.73	0.23	0.89
Apprentices (now)	0.33	0.65	0.19	0.96
Family workers (5 yrs ago)	0.17	1.6	0.96	1.58
Family workers (now)	0.67	1.33	0.89	1.46

Source: Fieldwork 1996/7

Despite some of the constraints pointed out, overwhelming majorities of each category claim that their enterprises are doing better now than before; 83.3 per cent of the female category, 82.5 per cent of the male, 76.9 per cent of Group One and 88.5 per cent of Group Two. The main reason cited for their favourable economic situation is the availability of customers, no doubt fuelled by cocoa income. One hundred per cent of the female category,

47.5 per cent of the male, 57.7 per cent of Group One and 61.5 per cent of Group Two cited this reason. Another important reason given was having specialised equipment which others did not have. Most operators also claimed that the public services they needed had improved in the past five years; in particular, the roads to nearby towns and outlying villages. Finally, there was a clear difference in the level of participation in trade-based associations among the categories. The female category had only 41.7 per cent participation, compared to 72.5 per cent for the male. The corresponding figures are 46.2 per cent for Group One and 84.6 per cent for Group Two. The main reasons given for joining such associations were setting prices, obtaining credit and inputs, and organising protection from police harassment. However, 22.5 per cent of the male category and 26.9 per cent of Group Two claimed that membership of such associations was compulsory.

### **Conclusion: Looking to the Future**

SAP has led to a revival of cocoa farming in Nigeria and farming households have responded to new opportunities opened up to them by adjusting their use of household resources. However, the benefits of this revival have not been evenly spread. Important sections of the community, particularly the poorer households and the younger generation are less able to benefit from these improved circumstances because of economic and generational constraints. There is therefore no possibility for a return to the good old days of the 1950s when cocoa cultivation offered the sole means of sustained accumulation to all. Furthermore, the revival in cocoa farming is not unproblematic, especially its sustainability on a long-term basis. There are two sets of long-term problems constraining this sustainability. The first is the serious structural and agronomic problems militating against cocoa cultivation in the Cocoa Belt. The second is fiscal, because of erratic international and local prices and the inflationary pressures within the local economy, particularly with respect to the prices of chemical inputs and food.

A major structural problem is the age of the trees. The Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria has argued that about 70 per cent of these trees are over 30 years old (*BED* 13,8,7, ILO 1981: 94). As far back as 1967, the point was made by top government officials that the trees were 'moribund' and that 'it was futile to continue to spray them with expensive chemicals' (*Daily Sketch* 27/10/67). To make matters worse, most of these old trees are of the low-yielding *amelonado* variety with yields of about 350 kg of cocoa per hectare, compared to the 2,000 kg to 3,500 kg per hectare produced by new hybrid varieties. The majority of the farms have clearly passed their prime and the cost of replanting, in terms of new inputs and lost earnings from cutting down existing trees, will be difficult, if not impossible, for the local economy to bear. It is only in the relatively recent cocoa-growing enclave of Ikom in south-eastern Nigeria that there is a vigorous uptake of new variety seedlings. With SAP, farmers are expected to solve the problem of old trees through the market, with minimal state support. In the face of weak or non-existent financial markets, the majority of farmers find it an impossible task. Agronomic problems relate to questions of soil quality and environmental stress. Parts of the

Ondo 'Cocoa Belt' have suffered from repeated cycles of drought and excessive rainfall. In 1982/3, 17,000 hectares of cocoa were destroyed by drought in the state (*Guardian*, 26/1/84: 5). Prolongation of wet conditions in 1987 led to increased fungal diseases (*Daily Times*, 27/10/87: 7) and in 1990, a long dry season damaged many trees and created perfect conditions for the bushfires that ravaged many farms (*CMR* 337: 6). In the 1991/2 season, heavy rains again led to a decline in output (CBN 1991: 68). The effects of these climatic oscillations are compounded by soils which are becoming increasingly exhausted.

Changes in the world market price for cocoa have not been any less dramatic than the climatic oscillations in the Cocoa Belt. The spot price of cocoa per tonne in London fell from an average of £1,568 in 1986 to £813 in 1990, a drop of 52 per cent (*CMR* 340: 20). By June 1992, it had fallen to £541. From that low point, prices followed an erratic upward movement, peaking in early 1996 at just above £1,100. Since then, they have resumed a downward trend, reaching £855 in February 1997 (*CMR* 358: 4). These price trends largely reflect the level of over-supply on the global market and the huge buffer stocks held in Europe and North America. Global cocoa producers are becoming victims of their own success. Within this global production of cocoa, Nigerian producers are relatively weak, coming well behind such giants as Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Indonesia. And even if Nigerian producers were to manage to produce more cocoa, they would largely be contributing to the overall erosion of international prices. However, local cocoa prices in Nigeria do not adequately reflect the full extent of the oscillation in international prices because of counter-pressures from the massive and continuous devaluation of the Nigerian Naira in the face of persistent acute shortages of foreign exchange. But while these devaluations may shore up the local price of cocoa, they also lead to rising inflation and increased costs of production and household subsistence. Conservative official estimates suggest that the nationwide annual rate of inflation went from 5.5 per cent in 1985 to 38 per cent (1988), 41 per cent (1989), 8 per cent (1990), 13 per cent (1991), 45 per cent (1992), and 57 per cent (1993) (*BED* 17,12,1). In 1994, the conservative estimate was 75 per cent, moving to 85 per cent in 1995. This inflationary pressure has subsided to about 11 per cent in 1999 but could very easily resume another upward spiral.

There is therefore little hope that in Alade's current position, cocoa production can return to its golden days when it propelled an unprecedented level of regional, household and individual accumulation. Still, official policy continues to aim largely at increasing cocoa production in the hope of recapturing Nigeria's lost prominence among cocoa-producing nations. In the aftermath of the 'Dutch Disease' which followed the oil boom, Nigerian policy makers have developed an iconic view of that era in the country's economic past when the bulk of the nation's resources came from agriculture, now euphemistically referred to as 'non-oil' sources. Through the Industrial Crops Development Programme of the Agriculture and Commerce ministries, the federal authorities hope to restore the former glory of cocoa. Under the drive for increased agricultural production by the civilian Obasanjo administration, some thought has also been given to the resuscitation of marketing boards; a move which has been greeted with hostility in

the Cocoa Belt. The only difference with the 1950s is that current policy attempts to tie the resuscitation of cocoa production with rural development and poverty alleviation. But there is no explicit or implicit commitment to investigating the role of non-farm activities in rural livelihoods. This is clearly a serious gap in the policy formulation process, especially if poverty alleviation is to be seriously tackled.

In the light of this study, it is necessary to re-evaluate this policy with the aim of taking account of the important shift towards non-farm incomes within the farming community. Cocoa cultivation should certainly be promoted, but this should not be to the exclusion of other economic activities within the rural community. If the youth and women are to be adequately catered for, the non-farm dimension of rural economic life should receive more attention than is currently the case. This does not mean that agricultural activities should get less attention. In Alade, the agricultural sector is vital as a source of capital and effective demand for non-farm enterprises. What it means, however is that a more balanced approach - implicit in the incorporation of poverty alleviation as official policy in rural areas - should emphasise rural livelihoods and not just export promotion.

Within this shift in policy emphasis, attention should be placed on the groups in the rural community most involved in non-farm activities, particularly women, the youth and the relatively weaker households. Macro-level policy should aim to improve the rural infrastructure needed by these groups; roads, electricity and water. There is a lot of positive movement in these fields under the Obasanjo administration. Furthermore, organs like the Family Economic Advancement Programme and the People's Bank should also develop programmes for getting credit, training and market information to these rural groups. The Obasanjo administration has just commissioned a study of various poverty alleviation programmes with a view to bringing them together under a single control. It is hoped that this new body will give the necessary leadership in the evolution of rural non-farm enterprises. Ultimately, it is only through a two-tract policy of supporting both agriculture and non-farm enterprises that rural communities like Alade can conceivably generate the sorts of long-term human and material resources necessary for sustaining both their agriculture and their livelihoods, thus alleviating rural poverty.

## References

- Balogun, E.D. 1992, Report on Bendel State, in CBN/NISER, *The Impact of SAP on Nigerian Agriculture and Rural Life*, CBN/NISER
- Beckman, B. 1987, 'Public Investment and Agrarian Transformation in Northern Nigeria', in M. Watts (ed.), *State, Oil, and Agriculture in Nigeria*, Berkeley, University of California Press
- Beer, C. and G. Williams 1976, 'The Politics of the Ibadan Peasantry', in G. Williams (ed.), *Nigeria: Economy and Society*, London, Rex Collins
- Beer, C. 1976, *The Politics of Peasant Groups in Western Nigeria*, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press
- Berry, S. 1975, *Cocoa, Custom, and Socio-Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*, Oxford, Clarendon
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1985, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility, and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley, University of California Press
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1987, 'Oil and the Disappearing Peasantry: Accumulation, Differentiation, and Underdevelopment in Western Nigeria', in M. Watts (ed.), *State, Oil, and Agriculture in Nigeria*, Berkeley, University of California Press
- Bienen, H. 1985, *Political Conflict and Economic Change in Nigeria*, London, Frank Cass
- CBN/NISER, 1992, *The Impact of SAP on Nigerian Agriculture and Rural Life*, Central Bank of Nigeria/Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research
- Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), *Annual Report*, Various issues, 1989-1992
- Cocoa Market Report (CMR)*, various issues, London, E.D. and F. Mann
- Deutsch, J-G. 1990, 'Cocoa Marketing Without Statutory Boards: The Nigerian Example, 1936 and 1986', Conference of the African Studies Association, (UK), Birmingham
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1990b, 'Educating the Middlemen: A Political and Economic History of Statutory Cocoa Marketing in Nigeria, 1936-1947', SOAS, University of London, PhD Thesis
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1991, 'Nigeria', in R. Hanisch and C. Jakobeit (eds), *Der Kakao Weltmarkt Vol: II Africa*, Hamburg, Deutsches Ubersee-Institut
- Dittoh, S. and A. Adegeye 1988, 'Is there a Structurally Adjusted Induced Boom in the Nigerian Cocoa Industry?', in *Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy*, Nigerian Economic Society Annual Conference, Ile-Ife
- Dorosh, P. and B. Akanji 1988, *Impacts of Exchange Rate Changes on the Cocoa-Food Crop Farming Systems of Southwest Nigeria*, Ibadan, International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA)
- Economist Intelligence Unit*, 1988, 1
- Galletti, R., K. Baldwin and I. Dina 1956, *Nigerian Cocoa Farmers, An Economic Survey of Yoruba Cocoa Farming Families*, London, Oxford University Press

- Gibbon, P., K. Havnevik and K. Hermele 1992, 'A Blighted Harvest?: The World Bank and African Agriculture in the 1980s', mimeo
- Guyer, J. and O. Idowu 1991, 'Women's Agricultural Work in a Multimodal Rural Economy: Ibarapa District, Oyo State, Nigeria', in C. Gladwin (ed.), *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers*, Gainesville, University of Florida Press
- Helleiner, G. 1966, *Peasant Agriculture, Government, and Economic Growth in Nigeria*, Richard Irwin, Homewood, Ill
- Igue, J. 1977, *Le Commerce de Contrebande et les Problèmes Monétaires en Afrique Occidentale*, CEFAP, Université Nationale du Benin
- ILO, 1981, *First Things First: Meeting the Basic Needs of the People of Nigeria*, Addis Ababa, JASPA
- Lass, R.A. 1987, 'Diseases', in G.A.R. Wood and R.A. Lass, *Cocoa*, Harlow, Longman Scientific and Technical
- Meagher, K. 1989, 'A Vent For Shortage: The Development of Parallel Trade in Northern Nigeria', IDS, Brighton, MPhil Thesis
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1991, 'Priced Out of the Market: The Effect of Parallel Trade and Market Liberalisation on Smallholder Incomes in Northern Nigeria', mimeo
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1994, 'Regional Complementarities or Policy Disparities?: Cross-Border Trade and Food Security Among Nigeria and her Sahelian and Coastal Neighbours', in G. Obiozor, A. Olukoshi and C. Obi (eds), *West African Regional Economic Integration: Nigerian Policy Perspectives for the 1990s*, Lagos, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1995, 'Parallel Trade and Powerless Places: Research Traditions and Local Realities in Rural Northern Nigeria', *Africa Development*, Vol. XX, No. 2, Dakar
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1995b, 'Better Life for Hausa Women? Gender, Structural Adjustment and Deagrarianisation in Nigerian Hausaland', International Congress on Agrarian Questions Anno 1995, Wageningen, Holland
- Meagher, K. and M-B. Yunusa 1993, 'Informalization and its Discontents: Coping with Structural Adjustment in the Nigerian Urban Informal Sector', Research Report for UNRISD, Geneva
- Meagher, K. and S. Ogunwale 1994, 'The Grain Drain: The Impact of Cross-Border Grain Trade on Agricultural Production in Northern Nigeria', Research Report for IRAM/INRA/LARES Project on the Eastern Sub-Market (Nigeria and her Neighbours)
- Monthly Business and Economic Digest (BED)* United Bank for Africa Plc., Lagos, Various issues, 1985-1994
- Mustapha, A.R. and K. Meagher 1994, 'Stress, Adaptation, and Resilience in Rural Kano', *CNS*, 5,2, Santa Cruz
- Mustapha, A.R. 1993, 'Structural Adjustment and Agrarian Change in Nigeria', in A. Olukhoshi (ed.), *The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*, London, James Curry

- Ojo, M. 1988, 'Agricultural Performance and Policy under the Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria', in *Structural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Economy*, The Nigerian Economic Society Annual Conference, Ile-Ife
- Olatoye, S.T. and J.A. Williams 1986, 'Problems of Cocoa Production and Supply in Nigeria and their Implications for Export', in *Report on the Proceedings of the National Conference on Cocoa Trade in Nigeria*, ANE
- Oloko, O. 1964, 'A Study of Socio-Economic Factors Affecting Agricultural Productivity in Parts of Ondo Province of Western Nigeria', National Archives Ibadan, PS/06
- Oni, S.A. 1992, Report on Ondo State, in CBN/NISER, *op cit.*
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1993, 'Policy Inputs for Agriculture in the Third Republic', *Vanguard*, January 7
- Opeke, L.K. 1986, 'Strategies for Cocoa Production and Marketing', in *Report on the Proceedings of the National Conference on Cocoa Trade in Nigeria*, ANE
- Usoro, E. 1987, 'Development of the Nigerian Agricultural Sector within the Framework of the Structural Adjustment Programme', in A. Phillips and E. Ndekwu (eds), *Structural Adjustment in a Developing Economy: The Case of Nigeria*, Ibadan, NISER
- Watts, M. (ed.) 1987, *State, Oil, and Agriculture in Nigeria*, Berkeley, University of California Press
- Williams, G. 1980, *State and Society in Nigeria*, Idanre, Afrografika
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1981, *Inequality in Rural Nigeria*, University of East Anglia, Development Studies Occasional Paper, 16,
- World Bank, 1994, 'Nigeria, The Past Is Prologue: What Role Have Oil Prices Played? What Role Have Policies Played?', Washington D.C.

### ***Newspapers & Magazines***

- African Concord*, February 5 1990
- Business Concord*, (Lagos) Various issues, 1987-1988
- Business Times*, (Lagos) September 14 1981
- Daily Sketch*, (Ibadan) Various issues, 1967, 1978 & 1987
- Daily Times*, (Lagos) Various issues, October 1987 and February 1995
- Guardian Financial Weekly (GFW)*, (Lagos) Various issues
- Guardian*, (Lagos) May 27 1989, February 19 1993
- Morning Post*, (Lagos) July 11 1969
- New Nigerian*, (Kaduna) February 20 1991
- Nigerian Tribune*, (Ibadan) September 23 1978
- Sunday Times*, (Lagos) July 15 1984
- Sunday Vanguard*, (Lagos) October 7 1990
- Today*, (Kaduna) January 24 1993
- West Africa*; August 3-9 1992



## ASC Working Papers

1	Laurens van der Laan	Modern inland transport and the European trading firms in colonial West Africa 1980	Dfl. 2.50
2	Klaas de Jonge	Relations paysans, pêcheurs, capitalisme, état. Une étude d'une lutte de classe en Casamance (Sud Sénégal) 1980	out of print
3	Gerti Hesseling	Etat et langue en Afrique. Esquisse d'une étude juridique comparative 1981	Dfl. 2.50
4	Els van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal-Baerends & Emile van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal	Conciliation et la qualité des relations sociales chez les Anufim du NordTogo en Afrique de l'Ouest 1981	out of print
5	Piet Konings	Peasantry and state in Ghana. The example of the Veia Irrigation Project in the Upper Region of Ghana 1981	out of print
6	C.A. Muntjewerff	The producers' price system and the coffee and cocoa trade at village level in West Africa 1982	Dfl. 2.50
7	C.A. Muntjewerff	Produce marketing cooperatives in West Africa 1982	Dfl. 2.50
8	Emile van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal & Els van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal-Baerends	La Parcelle du Gendre comploteur. Manières coutumières et modernes d'acquérir des droits sur la terre, à N'zara (Nord Togo) 1982	Dfl. 3.50
9	B. Merx	Zonder bloed geen vliegen 1985	out of print
10	Laurens van der Laan	Cameroon's main marketing board: History and scope of the ONCPB 1987	Dfl. 5.00
11	Laurens van der Laan	Cocoa and coffee buying in Cameroon: The role of the marketing board in the South-West and North-West Provinces, 1978-1987 1988	Dfl. 5.00
12	Cyprien F. Fisiy	Palm tree justice in the Bertoua Court of Appeal: The witchcraft cases 1990	Dfl. 5.00

13	Laurens van der Laan & Wim van Haaren	African marketing boards under structural adjustment: The experience of Sub-Saharan Africa during the 1980s 1990	Dfl 5.00
14	Rob Buijtenhuijs	The revolutionary potential of African peasantries: Some tentative remarks 1991	Dfl 5.00
15	Deborah Fahy Bryceson & John Howe	Rural household transport in Africa: Reducing the burden on women? 1993	Dfl 5.00
16	Deborah Fahy Bryceson	Easing rural women's working day in Sub-Saharan Africa 1993	Dfl 5.00
17	Rob Buijtenhuijs & Elly Rijnierse	Demokratisering in Afrika ten zuiden van de Sahara (1989-1992). Deel 1: Een becommentarieerd overzicht van de literatuur. Deel 2: Onderzoekscapaciteiten in Afrika en in het Westen 1993	out of print
18*	Nina Tellegen	Rural employment in Sub-Saharan Africa. A bibliography 1993	out of print
19*	Deborah Fahy Bryceson	De-agrarianization and rural employment generation in sub-Saharan Africa: Process and prospects 1993	Dfl 5.00
20*	Deborah Fahy Bryceson & Corine van der Laan	De-agrarianization and rural employment in Africa. Proceedings of the "De-agrarianization and Rural Employment" Workshop held at the Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden, May 1994 1994	Dfl. 5.00
21	Deborah Fahy Bryceson & Michael McCall	Lightening the load: Women's labour and appropriate rural techology in Sub-Saharan Africa 1994	Dfl. 5.00
22	Tjalling Dijkstra	Food trade and urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa: From the early Stone Age to the structural adjustment era 1995	Dfl 5.00
23*	Patricia Paravano	Working for the future: Elite women's strategies in Brazzaville 1997	Dfl. 5.00
24*	Ronald J.A. Berkvens	Backing two horses: Interaction of agricultural and non-agricultural household activities in a Zimbabwean communal area 1997	Dfl. 5.00
25*	Mulat Demeke	Rural non-farm activities in impoverished communities: The case of North Shoa, Ethiopia 1997	Dfl. 5.00

26*	Claude G. Mung'ong'o	Coming full circle: Agriculture, non-farm activities and the resurgence of out-migration in Njombe District, Tanzania 1998	Dfl. 5.00
27*	Ndalahwa F. Madulu	Changing lifestyles in farming societies of Sukumaland: Kwimba District, Tanzania 1998	Dfl. 5.00
28*	George Jambiya	The dynamics of population, land scarcity, agriculture and non-agricultural activities: West Usambara Mountains, Lushoto District, Tanzania 1998	Dfl. 5.00
29*	Davis Mwamfupe	Changing village land, labour and livelihoods: Rungwe and Kyela Districts, Tanzania 1998	Dfl. 5.00
30	Dick Foeken & Alice Mboganie Mwangi	Farming in the City of Nairobi 1998	Dfl. 5.00
31	Wijnand Klaver & Robert Mwadime	Food consumption and nutrition in the Kenya Coast 1998	Dfl. 5.00
32*	Cecil Manona	De-agrarianisation and the urbanisation of a rural economy: Agrarian patterns in Melani Village in the Eastern Cape 1999	Dfl. 10.00
33*	Pat McAllister	Agriculture and co-operative labour in Shixini, Transkei, South Africa 1999	Dfl. 10.00
34*	Leslie Bank	No visible means of subsistence: Rural livelihoods, gender and de-agrarianisation in the Eastern Cape 1999	Dfl. 10.00
35*	Deborah Fahy Bryceson	African Rural Labour, Income Diversification and Livelihood Approaches: A Long-term Development Perspective 1999	Dfl. 10.00
36	Ellie Rijnierse	The Politics of Survival: Towards a Global, Long-term and Reflexive Interpretation of the African Contemporary Experience 1999	Dfl. 10.00
37*	Barth Chukwuezi	De-agrarianisation and Rural Employment in Rural Igboland, South-eastern Nigeria 1999	Dfl 10.00
38*	Mohammed-Bello Yunusa	Not Farms Alone: A Study of Rural Livelihoods in the Middle Belt of Nigeria 1999	Dfl. 10.00
39*	Mohammed A. Iliya	Income Diversification in the Semi-arid Zone of Nigeria: A Study of Gigane, Sokoto, North-west Nigeria 1999	Dfl. 10.00

- |     |                       |  |            |
|-----|-----------------------|--|------------|
| 40* | Kate Meagher          | If the Drumming Changes. the Dance Also Changes:<br>De-agrarianisation and Rural Non-farm Employment<br>in the Nigerian Savannah<br>1999 | Dfl. 10.00 |
| 41  | Jan Abbink            | The Total Somali Clan Genealogy: A Preliminary<br>Sketch<br>1999   | Dfl. 10.00 |
| 42* | Abdul Raufu Mustapha  | Cocoa Farming and Income Diversification in South-<br>western Nigeria<br>1999  | Dfl. 10.00 |
| 43* | Deborah Fahy Bryceson | Sub-Saharan Africa Betwixt and Between: Rural<br>Livelihood Practices and Policies<br>1999   | Dfl. 10.00 |

**\* These Working Papers are all publications of the DARE Research Programme**

Copies can be ordered from: African Studies Centre  
attn. Karl Dorrepaal  
P.O. Box 9555  
2300 RB Leiden  
The Netherlands

Tel: +31 71 5273490  
Fax: +31 71 5273344  
E-mail [asc@fsw.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:asc@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

## **Books**

The following books have recently been published by the DARE Research Programme:

Bryceson, D.F. and V. Jamal (eds) 1997  
*Farewell to Farms: De-Agrarianisation and Employment in Africa*  
Aldershot: Ashgate, 265 pp., Price: £16.50

Tellegen, N. 1997  
*Rural Enterprises in Malawi: Necessity or Opportunity?*  
Aldershot: Ashgate, 249 pp., Price: £22.50

If you are interested in purchasing any of our books, place your order with:  
Ashgate Publishing Ltd,  
Gower House,  
Croft Road,  
Aldershot,  
Hampshire GU11 3HR,  
England

Fax: +44 1252 317446  
E-mail: [ashgate@cityscape.co.uk](mailto:ashgate@cityscape.co.uk)

*(Please include a £2.50 postal charge per copy on an order of less than 3 books.)*