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De-agrarianisation and rural employment in Igboland, south-eastern Nigeria

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DE-AGRARIANISATION AND RURAL EMPLOYMENT NETWORK

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



De-agrarianisation and Rural Employment in Igboland, South-eastern Nigeria

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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 Barth Chukwuezi 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

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De-agrarianisation and Rural Employment in Igboland, South-eastern Nigeria

Introduction

There is a definite need to study the various socio-economic activities that sustain life in rural societies in Nigeria. The specific aim in this study is to focus on the process of de-agrarianisation and rural employment (DARE), a form of diversification away from agriculture within rural society. This emphasis stems from the fact that most earlier development paradigms or policies focused on agricultural development and industrialisation without fully understanding what was really happening in rural areas. Consequently both policies failed to deliver the desired development. This study places movement and change at the centre of the analysis and tries to show what changes are occurring in rural areas today.

The study is based in a rural community of Igboland which provides a well-defined geopolitical/social context for the various forms of income diversification and rural dynamics. The selected village is representative of the south-east zone of Nigeria and may reflect some more generalised forms of the entire zone. De-agrarianisation is to be found in several areas of the south-eastern zone and the research attempts to capture some aspects of this process. The research report is divided into the following sections: a literature review, a definition of the concepts, a background assessment of the Nigerian economy, the research analysis and discussion, the major research findings and policy recommendations.

The study recognises the impact of assets which are categorised as natural, physical, financial, human and social capital, the influence of the nature of diversification or strategies of diversification and finally the macroeconomic policies which influence income diversification away from farming.

Literature Review

Issues concerning the development of Sub-Saharan African countries have always been a problem both in colonial and post-colonial periods. Consequently different approaches have been proposed which run through various development concepts and activities. The colonial government had economic development policies which did not actually seek real development. The economies of Sub-Saharan African countries were meant to be dependent economies producing raw materials for colonising countries and were not based on the development of the technological and economic well-being of the colonised. Writers like Myrdal (1963), Rodney

(1976) and Todaro (1966) have commented on the under-development of Africa.

The colonial economic model was couched in the form of developing urban areas with mineral resources while the rest was left untouched. This would ensure the continuous production of raw materials for export. Rural areas were confined to agricultural development while import-substituted industries were left in urban areas. At independence, post-colonial states failed to carve out a more rewarding path for economic development and have instead followed the colonial path. Bryceson (1996) has noted the failure of this form of development. Some scholars have argued that African leaders, rather than pursuing economic development which would guarantee individual capacity and groups to identify with opportunities for development to strengthen infrastructure and institutions, went for economic growth based on capital intensity and borrowing to launch themselves into industrial growth. Bryceson (1996) has equally noted that this form of development model has failed to deliver the desired development for Sub-Saharan Africa and has brought about economic crises which ushered in Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). The emerging informal sector or social services sector was seen as a red herring and considered not to fall into the shape of the required formal sector.

Some conventional economists like Nafziger (1997) continue to view informal sector activities as a transient phenomenon, a kind of way station between farm livelihood and urban industrial livelihoods. The same is true for the official collection of statistics which is oriented towards counting and classifying a full-time job as a person's main occupation and not seeing informal income-diversification activities as distinct sectoral economic activities. Though it could be argued that a large industrial sector with the right production capabilities is a good option but not feasible, and needs another strategy based on economic reality. It is becoming evident that Sub-Saharan African economies are depending less on agriculture, rural labour and the formal industrial economy. Meagher and Yunusa (1996) have shown that the informal sector is becoming a vibrant economic sector in the Nigerian economy especially in these SAP periods. Bagachwa (1997) in Tanzania reported that the informal sector offers employment for more than 70 per cent of the people.

When industrial growth did not develop as expected, the Integrated Rural Development (IRD) policy was introduced. The idea was conceived to develop agricultural-based integrated amenities in rural areas. In many Sub-Saharan African countries, policy designers on rural development see agricultural development as the *sine qua non* of development. Ijere (1996) has argued loudly for agricultural development when talking of rural development in Nigeria. In 1986 the Nigerian government set up the DFRRRI (Directorate for Food Road and Rural Infrastructure), the MAMSER (Mass Mobilisation For Social Economic Recovery) and Better

Life For Rural Women Programme (BLP) as ways of opening up rural areas. However it is common knowledge that the programmes were bedevilled with inconsistencies, poor management and corruption which made them ineffective. According to Bale and Pedersen (1992) rural development requires more than rural infrastructure and good policies.

Development approaches to date have failed to usher in economic development and Sub-Saharan Africa has been engulfed in debt, internal strife, drought, declining terms of trade, agricultural decline, falling real incomes, unemployment and increasing poverty. This is part of the reason for the introduction of SAP which may have worsened the economic situation in many African countries. According to Gibbon and Bangwra (1992) the differential impact of SAP has hit those in employment, the poor urban classes, the middle class, school leavers and the rural poor.

Though SAP has brought stringent economic hardship, people were not passive. On the contrary, Sub-Saharan African people have reacted by engaging in various forms of income diversification. Income diversification, the informal sector, and de-agrarianisation are some of the terms used to describe the various activities of informal-sector operations. Ellis (1998) has tried to conceptualise income diversification by noting its various meanings and its differing forms. Bryceson (1997) has argued that since the earlier paradigms including SAP have not produced the desired result it is now necessary to look again at the concept of the de-agrarianisation process to see if we can understand the various economic activities criss-crossing Sub-Saharan Africa. This thinking has revived the non-farm linkages debate which was earlier described by Hirschman (1958) and Resnick and Hymer (1969).

Contributors after Resnick like Mellor (1989), Kilby (1986), and Chuta and Leidholm (1979) have argued for a strong positive correlation between non-farm and farm activities. They feel that agriculture should fuel the growth of non-farm activities. Studies have also shown that at times agriculture may not be a function of non-farm activity. Ho (1986) has argued that agriculture did not evolve in this direction for Taiwan while Tsefeye (1994) argues that in areas where poor agricultural resources are evident people engage in non-farm activities, but where there are agricultural resources people do not engage in non-farm activities. He is of the view that non-farm activities remove agricultural labour from the farm causing agricultural stagnation. However Evans and Ngau (1991) state that non-farm income labour shortage could be compensated for by people hiring farm labour. Enoch (1997) has argued for the industrialisation of rural areas in Nigeria as a way of improving them. From a review of the literature it is obvious that there are divergent views on the interaction between farm and non-farm activities within rural areas. Nonetheless non-farm activities have continued to be crucial for many rural areas in Sub-Saharan Africa.

1985). The GDP in the period from 1980 to 1990 was 1.6 per cent. Between 1990 and 1994 it was 2.4 per cent; 2.1 per cent in 1995 and 3.2 per cent in 1996. GNP for Nigeria decreased from US\$300 in 1995 to US\$200 in 1996. Nigeria is currently ranked among the poorest countries in a list of 133 countries behind Ghana, Ivory Coast, and Kenya. The economic depression is affecting the urban unemployed and the rural poor (see Jamal and Weeks 1993). Those in employment are trying different ways of surviving including straddling occupations. In the rural areas farming is no longer attractive to those who have poor agricultural resources. In many rural areas of Igboland there is an acute shortage of farm land, poor soil, and an increasing population. Non-farm activities are easily discernible and various forms of income diversification have enabled the people to cope with the difficult economic environment.

South-eastern Nigeria

Location

South-eastern Nigeria borders the middle belt region of Nigeria to the north, the river Niger to the west, Cameroon to the east and the Atlantic Ocean (Gulf of Guinea and Gulf of Biafra) to the south. It lies between longitude 7°E and latitude 6°10N. The area consists of 8 states namely Abia, Anambra, Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo.

The area is situated in the forest region of Nigeria. Its geographical location tends to influence its agricultural activities depending on the density of forest. The region is marked by three differing types of vegetation. There is the mangrove forest in the south near the coast, the main forest region located inland of the mangrove forest and the derived Savannah north of the forest region. However, Uzozie (in Afigbo 1992), Afigbo (1992) and Bob-Duru (in Afigbo 1992) all speculate that the derived Savannah was once part of the forest region but due to intense human exploitation, it has been reduced to derived Savannah. This area is found near Nsukka and Abakiliki.

The rainfall is heaviest in the south of the region near the coast and decreases further inland. In the southern parts, rainfall can be about 2,550 mm per annum while in the north around the Nsukka area it can be about 1,734 mm. There are two seasons: the rainy season lasts from April to November, and the dry season is from November to April. In parts of south-eastern Nigeria, gully erosion caused by floods is noticeable.

Economic Activities

In the mangrove forest, agricultural production is difficult and people engage in fishing and trading. Agriculture is possible in the forest zone north of the mangrove forest. The main crops are root crops including cassava and yam as well as oil palm, palm kernels, beans, plantain,

banana, fluted pumpkin, melon, maize and a variety of vegetables. Trees of economic value include coconuts, kola nuts, bitter kola nuts, breadfruit trees and raffia palms which are found in the south of eastern Nigeria. Other cultigens are tobacco and cotton. In many parts of south-eastern Nigeria agriculture is mainly rain fed.

In parts of south-eastern Nigeria where there are large expanses of land, shifting cultivation is desirable and in areas of land scarcity, like Igboland, crop rotation is encouraged. However the amount of time for fallowing and for shifting cultivation is now being reduced due to increasing land scarcity. What is more applicable now is rotational bush fallow and permanent cultivation with crop rotation. In areas like Abakiliki and Ehamufu where there is a wide expanse of farmland, shifting cultivation involving the periodic movement of settlements is still discernible.

Livestock is kept including fowl, goats, sheep and the indigenous dwarf cattle in some areas like Nsukka, Abakiliki, etc. in the derived Savannah. Other parts of Igboland have records of cattle keeping in the recent past but this is no longer the case. The droppings from these animals are used for manure.

Fishing as a source of income for some is practised in rivers like the Anambra and the Cross, and along southern parts of the coast.

Hunting which used to be practised in the south-east regions is now declining although it can still be found in areas like Abakiliki. Grass cutter is usually the favourite though other wild animals like antelope, etc. are also hunted. Bush meat from hunting is monopolised by hoteliers who make the popular pepper soup in some urban areas.

Social Structure

The people of the south-east are generally patrilineal with kinship descent traced through the male lines, though some scholars, like Nsugbe (1974), have discussed the matrilineal lineage structure in Abiriba and Ohafia areas of Igboland. Forde and Jones (1950) also documented a double descent system for the Yako in Cross River State. Ottenberg (1971) talked about the double descent system for the Afikpo Igbo in the south-east of Igbo land. They practise virilocal residence and after marriage a woman joins her husband's family.

There are varying forms of socio-political structure among the groups that inhabit this region and commonalties of practice such as communal ownership of land, although nowadays individual ownership is increasing. Due to communal ownership, members of a particular group reside where their land allocation is designated. The household is the unit of social organisation and also the unit for farm labour. It comprises a man, his wife or wives and children and other relatives.

There are various groups within the regions but the predominant one is the Igbo who

constitute more than half the population of this zone (see Table 1). The other groups are the Akwa Ibom (Ibibios), the Efiks, and the Ekoi in Cross River State, the Kalabaris in Bayelsa, and the Ikwere and the Ogonis in Rivers State. These ethnic groups have tried to maintain their various distinct ethnic identities even through there is cultural contact between them. Some people in the border areas speak each other's languages.

Table 1: People of the South-east Zone and Populations, 1991

State	Ethnic group	Population	Density (persons per km ²)
Abia	Igbo	2,297,978	364
Akwa Ibom	Ibibio	2,369,736	333
Anambra	Igbo	2,376,903	571
Cross River	Efiks Ekoi	1,865,604	93
Enugu	(Dominant) Igbo	3,161,295	246
Imo	Igbo	2,485,499	449
Rivers	Ijaw, Kalabari Ogoni, Ikwere	3,983,704	182

Source: FOS Annual Abstract, Statistics 1994

Note: This was before the recent state creation in 1991. Both newly created Bayelsa and Ebonyi States were originally part of Rivers State and Enugu State respectively.

The Study Area

The study area of Osumenyi in Nnewi South was chosen as representative of the main characteristics of the south-east zone. It is located in the Igbo heartland in forest region and not on the peripheral fringes of the region which have been influenced by the derived savannah or mangrove forest. The area has a small but growing population. Land scarcity and out-migration are noticeable. It is an area of land degradation caused by heavy flooding which has left gully erosion. The soil is poor but agricultural production and non-farm activities are both practised.

There are increasing incidences of commercialisation of rural life and the area has some basic infrastructure such as a tarred road (in bad condition), electricity, a market centre and potable water (owned by individuals and for which people pay).

The social structure of Osumenyi is rooted in a patrilineal kinship organisation which is predominant in the south-east. The area is a rural town about 15 km from Nnewi town. It is about 10 km off the tarred road which links Nnewi to Ozubulu through Ukpor, the local government headquarters. It had a population of 15,730 in 1996 (Source: the primary health

care census list). There is a rural health centre and civic recreational facilities. The town has a four-day-cycle market where traders from the neighbouring towns of Nnewi and Onitsha come to buy agricultural products and also sell their wares.

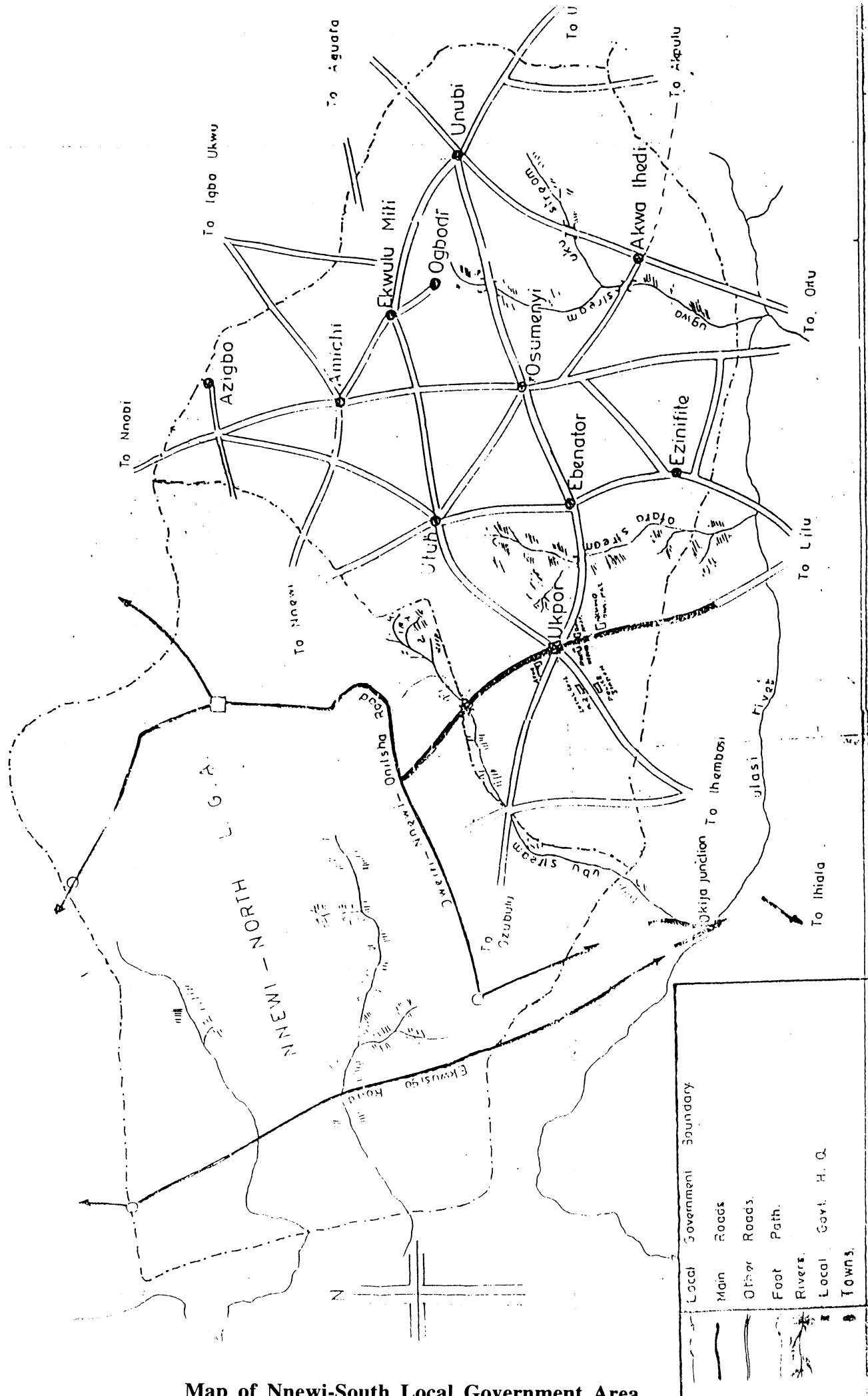
The community is one of ten which make up Nnewi South Local Government (see Map). The other villages in the area are Umuka, Obiuno, Obiofia, Akabu, Umu-omam, Odikopi, Amakom Okofia, Amihie and Umu-Umeugo. There is no traditional ruler and the community's affairs are run by elected members of the town union called the Osumeny Development Union.

Population and Demographic Characteristics

The community has a high population density and large families with the average size being about 7 children per family. Igbo areas are known to have high population densities, a fact which has been reinforced by a high birth rate since children are seen as a blessing and any attempt to limit their number is frowned on from a socio-cultural perspective. The household structure is usually composed of a man, his wife/wives, children, unmarried brothers and other relatives. It is the basic unit of social organisation and at times can be seen as an extended family incorporating more relatives such as married sons and brothers of the head of the household.

The traditional family structure can be referred to as the minimal lineage where members see themselves as brothers and sisters. They organise their agricultural activities together and eat from the same pot. Land holding is a reflection of the extended family structure where the adult males basically own the land and then lease it to their wives. The extended family was readily accepted, including large families in the traditional Igbo society, because it guaranteed an increased agricultural labour force which was required for agricultural production. Njoku (in Afigbo 1992) explained that Igbo social organisation was influenced by their agricultural system. Agriculture was the main hub around which various activities revolved. The entire family was oriented towards agriculture, with men, women, children and dependants all involved. The head of the household was the patriarch and he commanded a great deal of authority in the household.

However, in the study area, domestic groups have thinned down usually to a man, his wife/wives and dependants and aged parents. Also there is a striking decrease in household numbers because of changing patterns of economic pursuits. Agricultural production is no longer the focus it once was in economic production.



Map of Nnewi-South Local Government Area

Agricultural Activities

One of the objectives of this research project was to see how agricultural activity has been able to adapt within the community in terms of agricultural production and its relationship to non-farm activities. Agricultural activity is important and in fact about 74 per cent of those interviewed in the general questionnaire claim that farming is their primary occupation even though they engage in non-farm activities.

Many are involved in small-scale farming for subsistence but there are also a few farmers who engage in large-scale farming in combination with oil processing, and who enjoy high incomes. The area produces yams, cassava, cocoyams, maize, banana, plantain, fluted pumpkin, melons etc. Agricultural production is surprisingly high in view of the area's poor agricultural resources. Livestock such as goats, sheep and fowl are also kept (see Table 3).

Table 2: Crop Production and Sales in 40 Households (monitored in three 4-month periods over a total period of one year)

1st Monitoring			
Crops produced	Quantity produced (kg)	Quantity sold (kg)	Price (in Naira)
Maize	214	46.5	341.7
Cocoyam	1,271	41.2	241.7
Plantain	22.3	5	277
Cassava	3,055.5	1,011	2,620
Melon	16.3	7.1	313
Yam	1,972	515	4,275
Banana	4	1.4	177
Palm nut	346.6	100	203
Pumpkin	58.9	25.6	81
Okra	.8	.5	300
Vegetables	28	8.6	100

2nd Monitoring			
Crops produced	Quantity produced (kg)	Quantity sold (kg)	Price (in Naira)
Maize	9.3	2.6	350
Cocoyam	4	30	220
Plantain	4.8	-	-
Cassava	11	65	364
Melon	6.7	-	-
Yam	4.2	50	730
Banana	5.8	-	-
Palm nut	3.7	1.3	150
Pumpkin	4.9	13	90
Okra	9.4	-	-
Vegetables	9	-	-

3rd Monitoring			
Crops produced	Quantity produced (kg)	Quantity sold (kg)	Price (in Naira)
Maize	12	-	-
Cocoyam	6.6	-	-
Plantain	8	-	160
Cassava	6.4	9.4	297
Melon	-	-	-
Yam	6.5	12	533
Banana	8	-	-
Palm nut	7	-	-
Pumpkin	7.3	-	-
Okra	-	-	-
Vegetables	9	-	-

Table 3: Livestock Produced and Sold (monitored in three 4-month periods over a total period of one year)

Livestock	Quantity produced	Quantity sold	Price (in Naira)
1st Monitoring			
Sheep	2,500	0.3	434
Goats	3.5	0.5	579.6
Fowl	3,776	4,069	263
Cats	0.04	-	-
Dogs	1,27	-	-
2nd Monitoring			
Sheep	1,56	0,123	873
Goats	3,017	0,193	468,12
Fowl	20,549	1,54	273,769
Dogs	0.1	0,017	200
3rd Monitoring			
Sheep	1,612	0,112	504,786
Goats	3,112	0,129	456,667
Fowl	18	0,448	221,857
Cats	0.3	-	-
Dog	0.1	0,009	125

Source: Household survey data

Interaction between farm and non-farm activities was evident. Many who farm use the income from agriculture to support their non-farm activities and equally income from non-farm activities is used to improve agricultural production. When asked about the best option for income generation in the community, about 52 per cent of the respondents felt that agriculture

should be combined with non-farm activities.

The study found that older people tend to practise farming while the youth are more reluctant to engage in agriculture. For the older generation there is an emotional attachment to agriculture. Most of the household heads resident in town practise farming. They see it mainly as a source of subsistence but sell any extra produce for money.

Agriculture is practised both in the rainy and dry seasons but the major farm activity is during the wet season. Fertiliser is used for farming especially by those who can afford the high costs involved. The farming implements are hoes and cutlasses and there is no mechanised farming in the area.

The sexual division of labour is becoming blurred and may be difficult to put in water-tight categories. In the past, men did the clearing and digging, while women planted all crops except yams. These days women or men clear, dig and plant the various crops. Even cocoyam which is regarded as a woman's crop is being planted by some men in the study area. Most of the farm work is done by members of the household resident at home.

However some urban migrants maintain their farms and many heads of urban-based households send their wives home during the farming season to work on the farm. There are also migrant agricultural wage labourers who come to work in the area during the farm season. Dry season farming is not popular in this area although some plant vegetables near streams where water is available. Most of the dry-farm income is derived from harvesting palm nuts, livestock and other crops like banana, plantain etc.

In order to further examine the quantitative data gathered in the study area, an analysis of the monitored households was carried out on the 40 households selected from the original 100 households. The 40 households had 116 members. The interpretation of the data is as follows.

Table 4: Farm Sizes by Asset-holding Groups

Asset-holding level	Total acreage	Mean per household	No. of respondents
Low assets	47.9	1.1	41
Medium assets	18.7	1.0	19
High assets	76.9	1.5	52
Male	88.1	1.5	60
Female	54.4	1.0	53

Source: Household survey data

The Asset stratification method gave three levels of stratification namely, the low, middle and high asset-holding groups.

The land size is relatively low in this community and there is not much difference between the acreage figures of those in the high stratum and the low stratum. In the community, ownership of land does not generally reflect wealth. Land is more or less inherited and some people with a low level of assets may inherit more land than those in the higher group depending on what they inherited from their fathers. A rich man's wealth does not necessarily rest in his farm land. In the past, land was highly valued in an agrarian society but now the community places more value on buildings, cars, business capital and growth. People are more oriented towards non-farm activities. However, it is fairly common for wealthy people to buy more land and one notices that people in the high-income group have relatively more land than those in the low-income group.

Men have more land than women and in this society the men are the owners of the land and the women only hold land in trust for them. Women own their land through marriage. Men decide how its use is organised or they sell it when there is the need to do so.

Table 5: Leasing of Farm Land by Asset-holding Groups

Asset-holding level	Total acreage	Mean per household	No. of respondents
Low	47.9	1.1	44
Medium	19.7	1.0	20
High	65.7	1.3	52
Female	43.2	.814	61
Male	89.1	1.5	52

Source: Household survey data

The leasing of farms is evident in this community. People who want to farm can borrow, rent or have land leased to them. The number of farms leased for the three strata is roughly the same which demonstrates that land is not a significant indicator of social differentiation. It is also a symptom of the fact that many young males do not farm much. Men have leased far more land than women. Usually it is the males who sell, rent or lease their land. There is much migration and unused land can be leased out to someone who wants to farm. Similarly leased land is returned, creating only temporary land loss.

Overall among the Igbo core group (Igbo heartland, Awka-Overri-Nnewi area), an

increasing population and land scarcity coupled with poor farmlands have made extensive farming difficult, and at times, unprofitable for many people. Rapid population growth among the Igbo has resulted in land holdings which are too small and fragmented. Fogg (1971) noticed that this was an impediment to agricultural growth. Stevenson (1968) noted: 'The Igbo constitute one of the greatest nodes of rural population density in all Sub-Saharan Africa. The population pattern may indeed be the major node because of the overall size of the population and the density which is second highest after Rwanda and Burundi.'

The study area faces high-density population and decreasing land use for agriculture. In one of the areas, Ofoegbu (in Afigbo 1992) described a population density of over 400-500 people per square kilometre. It is difficult for many households to own up to 2 acres (.81 ha) of farmland. The general measurement of farm land showed 40 households with 116 members having a total of 144.5 acres (54.9 ha) of farmland.

From the general questionnaire it appeared that 41 per cent of respondents cultivate barely 3 farm plots, 24 per cent cultivate more than 4 farm plots while 5 per cent cultivate more than 4 farm plots and only 5 per cent cultivate 10-20 farm plots (a plot is about 100' by 60'). This decrease in farm plots has been rising progressively. About 51 per cent claimed that they have much less farm land than their fathers had. With an increasing population growth of nearly 3 per cent annually, land availability is a major cause for concern. The area also has gully erosion which continuously threatens farm land. In fact it has caused some lineages of Akwa/Hedi and Utuh to migrate to other places and Odikpi village is equally threatened. About 64 per cent of those in the general household sample expressed the opinion that farming lacks prospects in the area while 17 per cent claimed the opposite. The Osumenyi case is moderate in terms of land holding when compared with some parts of Mbaise and Mbaitoli in Imo State where agricultural lands are less available and the population density can be more than 500 persons per sq. km (see Ofoegbu in Afigbo 1992).

Dry -season Farming

Dry-season farming is not common in the study area, except among women. They mainly grow vegetables near the river banks. The other major agricultural activity during the dry season is the harvesting of palm nuts and kernels, banana and plantain which do not have specially defined seasons. Trees like bitter kola and palm wine also yield income in the dry season.

Table 6: Mean Agricultural Income by Asset-holding Group

Asset-holding group	Dry-season income (Naira)	Livestock income (Naira)	Wet-season income (Naira)	Total agric'l income (Naira)	No. of respondents
Low	3,095	4,460	14,127	21,682	44
Medium	532	1,673	9,449	11,674	20
High	13,646	1,976	15,301	30,924	52
Male	2,116	3,927	17,553	23,599	61
Female	13,731	1,736	9,549	25,018	53

Source: Household survey data

Note: Total agricultural production income was N2,795,598 for the 116 members of 40 households.

Dry-season farming is quite marked for all the strata. Those in the middle stratum do not do much dry-season farming while those in the highest stratum were engaged in dry-season farming and had some income from the activity. Women had the greater income from this and there is a preponderance of women in the activity.

Wet -season Farming

Wet-season farming involves the planting of crops during the farming season, a major activity for the area. Agricultural activity is seen to cut across all the three levels of the strata, including males and females. However the middle strata are not very involved in agriculture. They are engaged more in non-farm activities. Their income from agriculture is quite low when compared to the high- and low-income strata. The women participate more in agriculture than the males but their income from wet-season crops is lower than that of the men. The major male farm activity is planting yams though some plant cassava and cocoyams. The men receive a lot of income from the sale of yams which are expensive. However the women make more from crop sales. When the total income from agriculture is calculated, the women have a higher income. Igbo women are much more agriculturally oriented than their menfolk and it is normal practice for a woman to have a farm in the village even when she is living outside the village. She may return periodically to work on her farm or she appoints someone to work the land for her.

Livestock

Livestock are kept equally by the three strata. The highest income was from the lowest stratum who kept various kinds of livestock as discussed earlier. The men earned more money from livestock by keeping large numbers of sheep, goats and poultry. On the whole, however, the community does not keep many ruminants.

Migration Patterns

Migration is one of the indices noticed in this area which has had an impact on de-agrarianisation.

Nigeria has generally agriculturally rich land and before the discovery of oil in large commercial quantities in the 1960s, agriculture was the mainstay of the economy engaging over 80 per cent of the population in rural areas. With the discovery and production of oil wealth, an economic boom began in the early 1970s and agriculture began to decline. Many people left rural villages to live in cities in search of industrial wage labour in the then-booming industries. Agricultural activities, held in low esteem by the youth, were left to old people in the villages. Yesufu (1996) and Phillips (1987) have tried to analyse some of the economic problems of this period, during and after the oil boom. As a result of the oil crisis and the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the cities no longer have as many jobs and this has caused a return to agriculture.

The Igbo are known to be aggressive competitors for material and economic benefits which are also overtly used as an assessment of personal worth. According to Levine (1966), the Igbo are enterprising and engage successfully in various economic ventures. In traditional Igboland, there is an elaborate cult for personal achievement and success called *Ikenga* (the cult of the right hand) which is widespread. Chukwuezi (1985) described how traditional Igbo society revered this cult which guarantees success in any chosen field of endeavour and showed how deeply rooted this concept of achievement is in Igbo social structure and organisation.

The urge to succeed drives the Igbo into various economic activities and pursuits which require them to leave rural areas and migrate to other areas within Nigeria and beyond to seek their economic fortune. The Igbo in recent times have entered into broad economic ventures spreading from Nigeria to Cameroon, Togo, Benin, Ghana, Gambia, Brazil, Britain, USA, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Germany and the Netherlands in search of economic well-being.

Forest (1996) describes the various trade links and the entrepreneurial spirit of some resilient Igbo traders who pioneered modern indigenous industries and large commercial ventures. Migration is in-built in Igbo society and many move to improve their well-being and to accumulate capital and credit.

There is even the tendency for various family or household heads to encourage their members to migrate. They feel that staying in a rural village will not bring the financial success they cherish. Increasing education means that the youth find their villages and village life unattractive and they see the city as a way of escaping rural drudgery.

One can interpret the above reasons for migration in the light of the 'push' and 'pull' factors with the internal factors in the village generating the 'push' while the external factors of the city generate the 'pull'. Ellis (1998) has tried to capture the various reasons for migration and income diversification including some of the reasons discussed above.

Table 7: Levels of Migration within 100 Households

Type of migrant	Percentage
Out migrants	65
Non migrants	35
Male temporary migrants	35
Female temporary migrants	34
Male returned migrants	21
Female returned migrants	15
Total	100

Source: Household survey data

In the study area, there are various reasons for migration which can be summarised as follows: lack of sufficient farmland, the need to obtain money or capital, farming is not profitable, and the desire to join relatives in the city. The level of migration out of the community is high. About 65 per cent of households have migrants living outside the community. Many of these migrants engage in various forms of non-farm activity where they are, while some also send remittances home and others invest in their home communities. Migration serves as a means of coping with a household's inability to provide enough income for the household within the rural society. It is seen as a vital means of generating much-needed income. Some who have migrated are engaged in small-, medium- and large-scale trading, including apprenticeships. This decreases the number involved in agricultural labour but it adds to the increase of non-farm activity in rural areas. Some of the migrants invest in rural areas especially in non-farm activities with capital and credit.

Shops and other non-farm activities are owned by some of the migrants. Adams (1993) and Stark (1980) explained how migrant remittances have helped to improve non-farm activities

and incomes in rural societies. One of the biggest shops in the study area is owned by an out-migrant. There are petrol stations owned by migrants who are big traders or who are engaged in non-farm activities in the cities. This in turn creates rural employment.

Some of the wealthy migrants have large residential building activities in the villages which employ villagers at various levels. This also encroaches on the labour force for agriculture as well as generating income for the families who are working there. A quick survey of Igbo rural areas will reveal how some of these migrants have established transport networks, petrol stations and other non-farm activities in their areas. Their role in community development will be looked at later.

Berkvens (1998) observed that some Zimbabwean migrants forget their homes and their wives. Igbo migrants on the other hand have deep-seated roots in the rural villages and they maintain constant interaction with their rural households. They return periodically to visit their homes especially during festivals, and if they want to find a wife. They also come home to encourage other relatives to join them in business if their non-farm activity is expanding and they require extra labour. Furthermore, migrants have strong town union associations in many places and they receive information from home through others.

It should be noted that not all migrants in the study area are successful. Urban Nigeria has been adversely affected by the economic recession. Jobs and opportunities have contracted and many urban dwellers are experiencing hard times. In the study it was noticed that migrants' remittances to their rural households have decreased. About 25 per cent said they receive remittances from urban dwellers and many of the rural households and migrants themselves say there has been a cutback in remittances.

The economic hardship in the cities and the poor economy have forced some urban migrants to move back to their villages. About 35 per cent of households have migrants, both male and female, who have come home. Many have acquired skills in urban centres and some of them decide to operate in the village setting after their return.

However, in spite of the contracting job market in urban areas, many of the youth are still desperate to leave and are being encouraged to do so by their parents. In the study area many head for the cities as soon as they finish elementary or secondary school.

Non-farm Activities

Non-farm activities are critical survival strategies offering some form of income to supplement the agricultural income of families. They are also a deliberate effort by some to accumulate capital. Non-farm activities can be categorised into three types: (1) traditional crafts which include collecting wild produce, blacksmithing and the processing of agricultural produce; (2) modern crafts which include auto mechanics, plumbers, furniture makers etc.; and (3) modern services including traders, hair salon operators and hoteliers.

Traditional activities are regarded as low status occupations. Local crafts like blacksmithing are not in high demand and people prefer modern crafts and services. In addition, these traditional crafts do not generate much income. Modern crafts and service operators can make a reasonable income if they are good at their job. The most common non-farm activity is trading various types of wares ranging from locally produced articles, foodstuffs, imported articles like vehicles and motor cycle spare parts, textiles, building materials and provision stores. There are large- medium- and small-scale traders.

Supplementing agricultural income with various forms of non-farm activities such as indigenous manufacturing activities and trading is common. According to Afigbo (1992), Njoku (in Afigbo 1992), Forde and Jones (1966) and Udo (1978), this zone was known for early indigenous manufacturing activities like zinc, iron works, wood works and also for its trading activities. Smiths have long been observed in areas like Awka, Nkwere and Udi. Various forms of wood carving are seen among the Ibibio and the Efiks. They produce the popular Efik and Ibibio masquerading costumes and also pottery and textiles. The women usually excel in these and generally they are their domain of activity.

There are diverse economic links over the entire zone and Ekejuba (in Afigbo 1992) has shown how the Aro carried out various trading activities in the south-east zone before and during colonial rule.

Various forms of non-farm activities were being carried out before colonial intrusions. The activities of the colonial government tried to hinder their growth and some have barely survived. Those non-farm activities were carried out alongside agricultural production and in the pre-colonial period it was unheard of to meet anyone not engaged in agriculture (Njoku in Afigbo 1992).

From the study sample it is evident that there is a high level of non-farm activity in the area. About 56 per cent of the 100-household sample engage in some form of non-farm activity. The activities range from agricultural wage labour to owner enterprises or personal enterprises including traditional healing, tailoring, block moulding, plumbing, electrician etc. Traders form about 34 per cent of the total.

Table 8: Non-farm Activities

Activity	Percentage
Agricultural wage labourer	10
Herbalist	1
Palm oil producer	1
Grinder of food items	1
Restaurant keeper	1
Tailor	1
Block moulder	1
Plumber	1
Auto mechanic	1
Small trader	2
Civil servant	2
Food trader	1
Trader of agricultural produce	1
Furniture maker	1
Electrical goods trader	1
Small-scale trader	15
Large-scale trader	15
Total	56

Source: Household survey data

Note: The total number of respondents was 100.

Table 9 shows a range of non-farm activities which have been categorised into traditional activities, modern services and modern crafts.

Table 9: Non-farm Activities of 50 Non-farm Activity Operators

Activity	Total	Male	Female
<i>Traditional Occupations</i>			
Agricultural wage labourer	4	2	2
Akara seller	1	—	F
Blacksmith	1	M	—
Quarrying	2	—	F
Wild produce gatherer	1	—	F
Palm wine tapper	1	M	—
Herbalist	1	M	—
<i>Modern Services</i>			
Banking	1	M	—
Barber	1	M	—
Dry cleaner	1	M	—
Grinding machine operator	1	M	—
Sales lady	1	—	F
Hotelier	1	M	—
Restaurant	1	—	F
Civil servant	1	M	—
Plaiting	1	—	F
Post master	1	M	—
Liquor seller	1	M	—
Medicine seller	1	M	—
Nursing	1	M	—
Insurance	1	—	F
Hair dresser	1	—	F
<i>Modern Crafts</i>			
Motor cycle mechanic	3	M	—
Furniture maker	2	M	—
Block maker	1	M	—
Builder	1	M	—
Electrician	1	M	—
Fine artist	1	M	—
House repairer	1	M	—
Oil processor	2	M	—
Plumber	1	M	—
Radio/TV repairer	1	M	—
Shoe maker	1	M	—
Tailor	1	M	—
Tinker	1	M	—
Trader	2	M	—
Transporter	1	M	—
Vulcaniser	1	M	—
Welder	1	M	—

Source: Non-farm activity survey data

In the monitored in-depth questionnaire sample of 40 households, non-farm activities also featured prominently with 116 people being involved when wives and dependants are also included in the figure.

Table 10: Non-farm Activities of 40 Monitored Households (116 members)

Activity	Number	Percentage
Wild produce gatherer	2	1.7
Herbalist	1	0.9
Food + beverages (palm wine tapping, food grinding)	4	3.6
Agricultural produce (palm oil) processing	4	3.6
Clothing (tailor)	1	0.9
Carpentry, building and furniture making	4	3.6
Mechanic, electrical, radio/TV	3	2.6
Small-scale trader	13	11.2
Large-scale trader	2	1.7
Formal employee	9	7.8
Agricultural wage labourer	6	5.3
General trader	52	44.8
Education	2	1.7
Contractor	1	0.9
No occupation indicated	13	11.2
Total	116	100

Source: Household survey data

A total of 103 people were engaged in one non-farm activity or another, while 13 were not engaged in any.

The exact date when a non-farm activity started is difficult to establish. It is evident that non-farm activities have been an age-long affair in Igboland. Njoku (in Afigbo 1992), Ekejiuba (in Afigbo 1992), Ijeoma (in Afigbo 1992), and Onwuejeogwu (1986) have remarked on various economic activities of the Igbo people which predate the colonial period by many years. They used to engage in various economic activities like indigenous manufacturing and salt, zinc and copper mining. Chikwendu (in Afigbo 1992) confirms the view that some of these minerals are found in the present Igboland and were vigorously mined in earlier days. The Igbo also engaged in short- and long-distance trading activities.

One could also imagine that the Igbo people may have engaged in various forms of non-farm activity before their settlement in the area. In the pre-colonial period, the Arochukwu and NriAwka traders were common in parts of Igboland and even beyond their domain extending into neighbouring areas of Ibibio, Efik, Igala, Kolabari, etc.

Modern non-farm activities started to appear during the colonial period when European

influence brought changes to the existing non-farm activities. The colonial period witnessed missionary activities and the British political and socio-economic influence was evident. The British traders and missionaries were useful in inculcating early skills like carpentry, education and block making. The British opened up communication through transport and trade which was aided by their control of the area. A lot of Igbo middlemen enjoyed the advantages of British influence and some became agents of British merchant companies. Njoku (in Afigbo 1992) and Bohannon (1966) have explained how *Pax Britannica* was able to accentuate trade within Igboland and beyond to Tivland.

Some prominent Igbo traders and entrepreneurs like Akachukwu of Nnewi, Sir Odumegwa and Ojukwu of Nnewi started trading businesses in the early 1930s. The influence of Onitsha was profound and many of the early modern commercial activities centred around it. Forest (1996) has explained how Igbo entrepreneurs made a remarkable impact on business activities through their Onitsha connections. Onitsha is close to Nnewi and many of the commercial activities affected both towns. Nnewi people were noticeable in transport businesses and various types of trade. Many other Igbo groups also joined in these economic activities.

In the study area many of the older generation engaged in some form of non-farm activity before retiring to the village due to old age. Non-farm activities, according to the respondents, date back beyond the 1940s. Trading is a popular business in the area and many of the youth leave home after primary school to go to Onitsha and Nnewi towns, northern parts of the country and Lagos to engage in trade.

Modes of Recruitment for Non-farm Activities

Most of the non-farm activities are individually owned. More than 74 per cent indicated that their businesses are owner enterprises. This reflects the trend in Igboland where most businesses operate as owner enterprises. They are often started as a personal or family venture and because of distrust for combined business, people prefer self-owner ventures. The nature of businesses in the study area is such that if the business is not owned by the manager, then the manager is managing it for the owner or he is an apprentice. The ownership of non-farm activities is generally rooted in the family, especially the nuclear family. Extended family members are not excluded from business operations but the real business is in the hands of the nuclear family especially when the owner wants his son to succeed him. Owners of businesses see members of the extended family as relations and usually give them responsible positions in the business depending on its turnover.

The apprenticeship system is another important aspect the Igbo consider when setting up a

new business venture. Some may argue that certain individualised or personalised non-farm activities do not require much money to start and may not need any apprenticeship, but in the study area, the people regard apprenticeship as a prerequisite to starting any non-farm activity. Honest, hard-working and committed apprentices who will not defraud the business are much sought after. From the study, three levels of apprenticeship may be discerned: formal apprenticeship, informal apprenticeship and family apprenticeship.

In formal apprenticeships, an agreement is drawn up stipulating the terms and nature of the work and the conditions. It may require written formal agreement which will expire at the end of the contract period. An informal apprenticeship is when the apprentice is not a family relation and the activity is taught without any formal agreement being signed. The apprentice stays for a certain period of time in order to learn the trade.

Family apprenticeship is rooted in the kinship structure of the family line. The person learning the trade is a member of the extended family of the proprietor and he stays with the proprietor for a period of time to learn the activity, also without any written agreement. The family apprenticeship system is common in the study area and through this system many members of the community have learnt skills required in non-farm business ventures.

The apprentice system in some cases goes beyond learning a trade and leads to a personal relationship. The apprentice is incorporated into the family of the operator and he becomes a member of that household during his apprenticeship. In many cases if the apprentice serves his master well he will be rewarded with capital and the necessary facilities to start his own business. Many successful traders and businessmen in the community were former apprentices and, having received a good start in business, have acquired a large capital of their own.

Labour and Time Allocation for Non-farm Activities

The amount of labour allocated to non-farm activities *vis-à-vis* that to agriculture was also analysed to ascertain the level of involvement of labour time in non-farm activities and agriculture. From the in-depth questionnaire of 40 households and their dependants, the following results were noted for labour time allocation.

Table 11: Allocation of Farm and Non-farm Labour Time (Mean Average Hours per Person per Week)

Type of work Mean average hours	Wet season	Harvest season	Dry season
Household farm	4.3	3.6	3.5
	2.4	1.9	1.5
Owner's farm (hours per week)	1.9	1.7	1.8
	1.1	1.0	0.9
Non-farm activities (hours per day)	5.4	5.4	5.5
Non-farm activities (days per week)	3.6	3.6	3.5
Domestic work (hours per day)	2.3	2.3	2.3
Domestic work (days per week)	2.6	2.58	2.5
Agricultural labour (per day)	0.4	0.3	0.3
Agricultural labour (per week)	0.3	0.24	0.2

Source: Field data

Note: Data were collected after monitoring various activities for a period of one year.

The in-depth questionnaire revealed interesting incidents of non-farm activity. Household heads spent 19.8 hours a week on non-farm activities while farm activities took less time, 10.1 hours a week respectively and domestic work comprised only 6 hours per week. Many of the household dependants are engaged in non-farm activities thereby reducing the time for farm work for the household.

Despite the relative importance of non-farm work, the amount of time devoted to non-farm activities has been declining rather than increasing over the last five years. When the average amount of non-agricultural labour time for harvest, dry and rainy season work from 5 years ago and now is compared, the time invested in non-farm activities was more than in 1996/97 (see Table 12).

Table 12: Non-agricultural Labour Time for 50 Non-Farm Activity Operators (Mean Average Hours per Person per Week)

Seasons	Now			Five years ago		
	Harvest	Dry	Rainy	Harvest	Dry	Rainy
Hours/week	3.2	4.9	5.1	3.4	5.3	5.9
Days/week	3.0	3.4	3.0	3.5	3.5	3.3

By 1996, the economic recession was worse than it had been 5 years previously. In Nigeria, economic fortunes seem to be progressively declining, with increasing prices and deteriorating economic conditions. The previous year always seems better economically than the one after it.

In the review of the macroeconomic analysis earlier in this paper, it was noted that after 1992, the economic decline became worse and has continued in a downward spiral. There is increasing poverty and disenchantment among many groups and the poor are the worst hit. This must have affected some non-farm activity operators and has reduced the time for non-farm activities compared to 5 years ago. The operation of some non-farm activities in rural areas has added a little more time to farming, or did people just not feel like working?

This situation equally affected the number of operations, employers and apprentices in 1996/97 when compared with the numbers in 1991. There were then also more operators, employees and apprentices.

Incomes from Non-farm Activities

Table 13: Average Income from Non-farm Activities

Asset-holding group	Sum (Naira)	Naira (mean)	No. of respondents
Low	3,635,100	83,753	44
Medium	2,657,200	130,860	20
High	4,860,966	93,480	52
Sex			
Male	5,499,991	90,164	61
Female	5,679,565	107,162	53

Source: Household survey data

Table 14: Total Income from Agricultural and Non-farm Activities

Asset-holding group	Sum (Naira)	Naira (mean)	Number of respondents
Low	4,639,196	105,435	44
Medium	2,890,697	144,534	20
High	6,449,019	124,404	52
Sex			
Male	6,939,550	113,763	61
Female	7,005,578	132,179	53

Note: Total income for agricultural and non-farm activities is N13,998,844

Non-farm activities represent the major source of income for the community with women being as active as men. The total income from non-farm activities for the entire 40 households is N11,203,266 and the mean average is N96,579. This represents over 80 per cent of the total household income and is a high figure considering the increasing economic hardship in the country. It is also above average for a rural community in Nigeria.

The middle strata seem to be doing very well. They have the highest non-farm income and are mostly into non-farm activities especially trading. The women are doing well, often better than their male colleagues, and are earning substantial incomes. Part of the explanation could be that the women are more industrious when engaging in both farm and non-farm activities alongside their menfolk. However if some of the activities in the household are jointly owned, it may be difficult to speak of a sharp division between male and female incomes in the household unit.

Table 15: Regression Analysis for Correlation between Farm Size, Labour Ratio Personal Income

Dependent Variable Total Income (TOTINC)

Independent variables	R Square
Labour ratio	.01871
Farm size	.01018
Personal income	.16646

From the regression analysis, farm size and labour ratio did not make any significant contribution to the total income showing that non-farm activities tend to generate most of the

total income. The calculation was inputted from R Square which shows a low degree of significance as opposed to personal income which shows a high correlation with the total income. This also explains the preference for non-farm activity income in the 40 households.

Non-farm Expansion

The economic recession has affected the expansion of non-farm operators, for example those engaged in manufacturing and other activities that require a certain level of imports. In some rural Igbo areas, industries are being cited by private entrepreneurs as examples of businesses facing hard times. Their activities require large capital investment and a guaranteed supply of imported spare parts which are not reaching them. In fact one biscuit factory located near the study village has stopped production altogether. Increasing prices of motor vehicles and spare parts have affected transport operations and big businesses that require many customers are facing hard times since people cannot afford to patronise them regularly.

The traders of luxury items and other utility articles are equally constrained. Many people are cutting back on essentials since their purchasing power is low. The building of village houses has slowed down and only very few can afford such investment these days.

However, in spite of the hard times, some non-farm activity operators are thriving. It might be referred to as the case of winners and losers. The winners are those who managed to look inwards and have tried to exploit locally sourced materials for their production. They also include some importers who have experienced a boom in used items. They import used items from overseas and sell them to people who are prepared to pay as much for them as they would for a new one. These groups of importers of used motor cycles and car spare parts, vehicle and motor cycle mechanics etc. are experiencing good times financially. Many people have become accustomed to using motor cycles (*Okada*) for transportation and a booming trade has developed both in rural and urban areas.

Small businesses that deal with cooked and raw food are also managing to survive. In fact the food business is on the increase because most Nigerians spend more than 80 per cent of their income on food. From the study it appeared that more than 80 per cent of income realised is used for staple food purchases and the maintenance of the family. Some operators like those in food processing now buy large quantities of locally produced grain for the production of corn flour etc.

About 42 per cent of those questioned regarding their non-farm activities claimed that their business was doing well. Forty-four per cent felt that their business was doing badly. Structural adjustment policies have affected this group adversely. About 18 per cent said that the money they realise is used to expand their business. More than 50 per cent expressed the

feeling that people are turning to their businesses because of economic hardship, and others because of profit which suggests that some operators are doing well.

This may depend on the nature of the business. More people could be turning to businesses that concentrate on food items and which require small amounts of capital, but many will not be getting involved in activities that require a large capital outlay at the start, like vehicle transportation.

On the whole however, the impact of SAP has generally affected every aspect of socio-economic life within the community and people feel trepidation about the situation.

Capital for Starting Non-farm Activities

In the discussion on income diversification, asset holdings are recognised as being important. According to Ellis (1998), assets can be categorised into natural, physical, financial and social groups. In this discussion we have to look at financial and social capital.

The types of non-farm activities in the study area can be categorised in terms of capital requirement into three groups, namely the small-scale, medium-scale and large-scale non-farm activities.

Small-scale activities are those like wild produce collecting, agricultural wage labour, palm wine tapping etc. Such non-farm activities do not require much capital. About 20 per cent of the respondents claimed that their capital for non-farm activities was in the range of N200. Such non-farm activities include selling for someone or becoming an apprentice. Agricultural wage labour demands buying a hoe and cutlass which may require an investment of between N200-500. Selling for someone only involves contracting your time, and when becoming an apprentice you just sign up your labour, although in some cases you may be required to pay a minimal fee to learn the trade. The medium-scale non-farm activities require some reasonable capital to start. These include activities like starting an auto mechanic workshop which may require more than N10,000. A large-scale non-farm activity may require large sums, for example over N100,000, for such businesses as motor vehicle transportation and big shops. There are other big businesses like the block-moulding industry and petrol stations which require similarly large sums of capital.

Other Sources for Starting Non-farm Activities

This section deals with the social capital for starting non-farm activities.

Remittances

Remittances can be categorised in two ways: (1) money which migrants bring home to set up non-farm activities; and (2) that sent to the rural family. The remittance is usually put down as a form of investment to generate capital. The non-farm activity is set up and someone, probably a close relative, looks after the business. In this way some people have set up hotel services offering accommodation, others have opened up different kinds of enterprises by investing remittances or used the money sent home to construct a residential home.

Remittances sent to families in the village serve as an up-keep allowance or may be given to set up a non-farm activity that would be of help to them. Many people in the villages depend on their ward outside the community to engage in various forms of non-farm activity through their remittances. Some of the non-farm activities in the community were set up through remittances of out-migrants. In the study area about 34 per cent started non-farm activities with the help of remittances from their migrant relations.

Rotating Credit Schemes

Some people belong to rotating credit schemes which entitle them to money from the group at periodic intervals. In some cases it could be referred to as a 'contributions' group. Members contribute money regularly for their members in turn. Some use their own money to invest in non-farm activities. In the study area about 30 per cent belong to a rotating credit group and benefit from it by starting their own non-farm activities or by helping to invest more in other non-farm activities.

Social clubs also help their members to raise capital by organising contributions for them when they are in dire need. Others give contributions for the upkeep of a dead colleague's family and the money may be used by the family to start a form of non-farm activity.

Property Sales

Another source of income for starting non-farm activities is the sale of property or land.

Social Networks

From the monitored household data it is obvious that there are various ways of sourcing capital for non-farm activities. Social networks are an important way to gain access to capital. Sourcing capital from relatives is recorded at over 40 per cent. The informal apprenticeship system which is part of the social network system softens the ground for access to capital if one

has served an apprenticeship well. About 7 per cent of people get their capital from the bank. It also shows the advanced nature of some of the non-farm activities here because it is not easy to borrow money from the bank as it requires collateral. Agriculture as a source of income for starting a non-farm activity accounts for about 4 per cent of the total, implying that many people do not depend on farm activities for their capital. Rotating credit is another source of acquiring capital. This is a form of monthly contribution to which people contribute in turn, as mentioned above.

Linkages between Farm and Non-farm Activities

Both farming and non-farm activities are practised by households and when the units of the households are put together we find that within the household some engage in farming while others engage in non-farm activities and still others engage in both.

There are no strong linkages between agriculture and non-farm activities, and agriculture has not given rise to any industrial linkage. For example, most of the commercial inputs to agriculture like fertiliser are imported and a biscuit factory located near the study area which used raw materials like maize has shut due to the difficult economic situation. Traders from nearby towns like Nnewi and Onitsha come to the area to purchase food items and also sell their wares during the four-day market cycle. This has helped to boost some measure of food production.

Social Stratification

The community is quite materialistic and attaches a high premium to wealth. The level of wealth in the community is apparent from the size of some of the big residential homes to be seen throughout the ten villages that make up the town, although most of these buildings were built prior to the recent economic downturn. The community expresses its wealth by the size of its houses and the type and number of cars owned by residents.

A few of the buildings have satellite dishes or other modern comforts such as a private electricity generating plant which they can use when the national electricity supply fails. Generally the Igbo place high value on owning a residential house in their home town. Someone who has wealth but no house to show for it is not highly regarded. A magnificent building with modern furnishings tends to elevate one's status and is a mark of social status in Igboland. Also people owning big cars like a Mercedes Benz or a jeep are respected and envied as they drive around the community.

In the villages, wealth is redefining the status symbols of the community. People with these material symbols are honoured at every social function in the community and they are

invited to make donations to various activities. Most of the young men dream of how they will be able to accomplish such tasks and many are prepared to work hard to fulfil their ambitions. Some youth do not finish primary school because they feel that getting an education is too time-consuming. They look for a short cut to enable them to jump into business as soon as possible. Wholesale trading in various items after leaving primary school is especially popular. The youth usually start as apprentices.

High levels of education have lost the social status they earned during colonial and post-colonial periods before the economic crisis. University graduates are regarded as poor people who are paid very badly and cannot generate reasonable material comfort for themselves. Now many graduates go into some form of non-farm activity at the end of their university career. In this community attending university is not a goal for many and most of the wealthy people in the area did not continue their education after primary school. More than 50 per cent have no more than primary school education, but they mostly have over 2-plot buildings, 20 per cent have 3 to 10-plot houses scattered all over the federations, 35 per cent have cars and about 9 per cent have 2 cars or more.

Table 16: Asset Ownership of 100 Household Heads

Type of assets owned Number of:	% of household heads
Houses/plots	
1	79
2	50
3	20
Cars/trucks	
1	26
2	9
3	2
5	1
Motor cycles	
1	35
2	4
3	1
5	1
Bicycles	
1	21
2	4
3	1
Electricity generators	
1	8

The influence of the rich has noticeably affected some social ceremonies such as traditional weddings (*Igbankwu*). For example the cost of a traditional wedding ceremony has gone up, partly because of the display of wealth being encouraged by the rich. They want to use the opportunity to exhibit their wealth. People who are not as well off equally try to impress the public by spending a lot of money on such ceremonies, probably to avoid public ridicule. However, the incidences of lavish spending on public occasions have decreased because of the government crackdown on those suspected of being '419' (involved in fraud). The worsening economic situation in the last two years has also affected such practices.

Community Development

This paper would not be complete without some mention of rural Igbo income diversification in the role of community development. Various forms of income diversification in Igboland have positively influenced community development both in the study area and in Igboland generally. Community development is popular among the Igbo and is in evidence in the study area. Before colonial rule, according to Egboh (1987), community development was the means

through which various groups provided for their needs. With colonialism and the advent of modernity, community development has been further reinvigorated among the Igbo. Smock (1971), Owuamalan (1981), Afigbo (1992), and Njoku (in Afigbo 1992) have demonstrated the importance of community development in Igboland. Through town unions, associations, and other communal groups, the Igbo have spearheaded the development of their towns.

Before the introduction of SAP, the rate of community development among the Igbo was high as groups and unions contributed generously towards the building of schools, hospitals, roads, bridges, potable water and electricity supplies and recreation halls. Contributions to community development funds were shared between migrants and rural dwellers with the migrants contributing more.

The study area has a very strong community development association which has allowed the building of a social civic centre, a big hotel and a town hall. It has been able to extend the electricity poles, bringing electricity into virtually every home. They have also built two high schools, a primary health care centre, two big Catholic cathedrals and one big Anglican cathedral. The association's secretary has a full-time function based in the town, which is also paid for by the community. The association runs on local democratic principles and allows individuals to express their opinions on vital issues within the general assembly. This is part of the Igbo traditional method of governance which some people refer to as Igbo village democracy (see Olisa in Afigbo 1992; Green 1964).

It should also be added that the concept of community development as a wholly communal effort may be questioned because in some cases wealthy people engage in various activities alone, developing areas without the support of any particular group or organisation. This form of activity is changing the concept of community development as a purely communal effort. In the study area, some wealthy individuals have helped their community in one way or another through the financing of certain projects or by donating money for a particular project. Some migrants have sunk boreholes for the community, tarred a few kilometres of road or contributed to the building of cathedrals and extensions to the electricity supply. They have opened up various forms of non-farm activity in the village, like petrol filling stations, block industries and supermarkets which employ local residents. There is also a modern biscuit factory close to the study village and an oil processing mill including a block moulding enterprise. These activities enhance community development and have improved social amenities. It would have been impossible to acquire such facilities if communities had had to wait for government financial support.

These activities have contributed towards rural income diversification. It should be mentioned that the spirit of community development and enterprise has helped the development

of rural communities in Igboland significantly. Nnewi town is a shining example of what enterprising spirit and collective effort can achieve. After the civil war many Igbo entrepreneurs from around Nnewi decided to invest in the town and various forms of income diversification were pursued especially the trade in motor vehicle spare parts and spare parts for other machinery for medium-sized rural industries.

Coupled with the effects of SAP which has generated a market for locally manufactured goods, various manufacturing enterprises were initiated (see Snrech 1995). The town expanded as people came to take advantage of the booming expansion of trade and other non-farm activities. Nnewi has grown from a rural town to a thriving urban centre. The West African Long Term Study perspective of 1996 has documented the rapid growth of the Nnewi-Aba area and its impact on increased income diversification on a large-scale in Igboland. The study mentions the booming economic activity in Nnewi and commends it as a good example of a grassroots approach to development.

Role of Infrastructure

The development of infrastructure such as roads, electricity, potable water, commercial centres and local government headquarters has generated non-farm activities and income diversification. Skilled workers like auto mechanics and auto electricians, welders, and hairdressers all need electricity to function. Good road networks link communities by improving the movement of goods and services which aid business as well as the development of agriculture.

Some of the youths are attracted to stay in the villages or at least come home periodically if there is a reasonable degree of infrastructure. Some work in barbers' salons or motor cycle transportation (*Okada*), both of which are becoming a new source of income diversification in the study area and in many parts of rural Igboland.

Infrastructure also attracts immigrants into the area who come to take advantage of the facilities and growing non-farm activities. They equally increase the tempo of non-farm activities since they come with skills to engage in economic activities and to seek their economic fortunes in the area. Some of the respondents admitted that the area's major attraction was the availability of infrastructure but there are also some who come to take up agricultural wage labour as well.

Main Findings of the Research

1. Outward migration serves as a way for households to adapt to the problem of meeting household requirements as well as generating the needed capital and credit that is so highly valued in the community.
2. Outward migration is highly prevalent in Igboland which has to deal with problems of increasing population pressure, depleting agricultural resources (which includes land depravation due to soil erosion) and also a lack of interest in farming, especially among the youth.
3. The desire to generate material well-being and become a successful person within the community encourages people to diversify their income.
4. Income from non-farm activities was high in the study area and accounted for over 80 per cent of the total income of the community showing the strong influence of non-farm activities. Non-farm activity was dominated by trading activities. Incidences of traditional crafts are quite low.
5. Income diversification is generating new forms of social stratification based on modern types of wealth which can be divided into the rich, the middle stratum and the lower stratum.
6. Rural infrastructure such as roads, water, electricity, commercial centres, local government headquarters, waterways and railroads are all generating increased income diversification into non-farm activities.
7. Immigrants generally come to rural areas where there are good infrastructure facilities which encourage non-farm activity or income diversification. There are very few immigrants in rural communities where there is a low level of non-farm activity.
8. Wealthy out-migrants who are established outside the community send remittances to their home village for further income diversification.
9. Out-migrants still maintain their farms and contribute money for farm work. Some come home periodically to farm and they contribute to community development efforts.
10. Social networks are built through town unions, the extended family, the apprentice system, rotating credit schemes and other local groups through which the Igbo try to help one another in income diversification and also to develop facilities in their villages.
11. Igbo doggedness, flexibility, resilience and social networking are added forces for socio-economic diversification and development in rural areas.
12. In spite of the proliferation of non-farm activities, agricultural production is still cherished and patronised. It supplements income and provides some form of food security and an occupational fallback. It has a symbiotic relationship with most non-farm activities.
13. Non-farm income far outweighs agricultural income.

14. Women are active in the community engaging in both farm and non-farm activities and their various activities give them a higher income in some activities than men. However it should be noted that women were part of the household and usually in this community men and women have joint incomes as members of the same family. The women also invest more labour time both in agricultural work and non-farm activities.

15. Economic activity and community development activities have declined following the economic recession affecting Nigeria. Since 1995 the situation has been getting worse for many people and they are looking to provide food for their families rather than making large financial contributions to community development. There have been cutbacks on various essentials like meat, clothing, buildings and other luxury items.

Policy Implications

The Nigerian government through its various economic policies is still under the impression that rural development is synonymous with agricultural development. Economic development theorists in Nigeria see agricultural development rather than non-farm activities as having a multiplier effect on rural development (see IJere 1996; Oyikami 1995). This position is championed by agricultural scientists who feel that agriculture should be the main approach to development. The government has not come to grips with the need for improved non-farm activities in rural communities. Rural communities are purposely neglected and marginalised and usually left on their own to produce food for local inhabitants without the necessary incentives. The Nigerian government has tried various forms of agricultural development, for example programmes such as: Operators, Feed the Nation, Green Revolution, Nigeria's Agricultural Cooperative Bank, Nigeria's Agricultural Development Projects. All were paraded without serious thought regarding non-farm income diversification. These policies fail because there is no serious attempt to critically appraise the sources of failure. Instead, new slogans for development are churned out continuously. Nigeria's agricultural practice remains largely rudimentary, using very poor implants which are energy sapping and discouraging for those who might be interested in farming.

The government may have good intentions on paper, but in practice it often displays mismanagement, poor project execution, a lack of commitment, overriding corruption and an apathy towards the people who need help. Corruption stifles most Nigerian projects and economic development policies and is one of the main reasons for failure. The issue needs to be addressed seriously in any policy programme.

The Nigerian government tends to consider the problem of rural income diversification from a narrow policy perspective, if they even acknowledge the problem. For example, there

was a programme to improve rural life but it was not seriously articulated nor was rural income diversification given any serious consideration. The People's Bank and the Community Bank were assigned to address poverty through the FEAP (Family Economic Advancement Programme) but again no concrete policy was formulated to diversify rural incomes.

At the regional level, the south-eastern zone of Nigeria is a deprived area both in terms of federal allocations of resources and depleting agricultural resources. The area is not abundant in agricultural resources but it is blessed with petroleum resources which sustain the economy of the nation as a whole. The pollution as a result of petroleum extraction activities generates further land degradation and ecological pollution, which in turn undermine the economic agricultural resources of already deprived people.

The region was ravaged by civil war (1967-1970) which increased economic hardship. The people have been shouldering their own self-development through community development efforts without much assistance from any level of government. It would have been worse if not for the enterprising nature of the people, their flexibility and resilience which have helped them to survive and even to thrive.

Depleting agricultural resources including a high population density make farming unattractive for many people without the necessary farm inputs and other incentives. Land degradation through soil erosion is obvious and the people watch helplessly as their scarce farmlands are washed away. The government has not even taken quick or effective steps to stop this. Areas like Oweni-Awka-Mbaitoliaxis are saturated with people and no farmland. Farming alone is extremely difficult in such areas so there should be economic policies that recognise the need for income diversification and encourage it.

Policy Recommendations

1. Areas with increasing land shortages, increasing populations and poor agricultural resources should be encouraged by various levels of government to diversify their incomes as a matter of priority.
2. Rural areas in Nigeria should be provided with infrastructure like roads, water, electricity, markets, rural banks etc. to encourage income diversification rather than leaving the community to provide new infrastructural facilities for themselves which will only encourage economically strong communities to leave behind poorer and weaker communities.
3. There should be a strong commitment on the part of the government to implement policies that will benefit rural people and Nigerians in general. Action needs to be seen.
4. Corruption, which has eaten deep into the nation's fabric, needs to be fought vigorously because of its adverse negative effect on Nigeria's development.

5. There should be good governance at all levels of government and the people should be allowed to develop through freedom of expression and association. This approach enhances mobilisation for community development and establishes better initiatives.

6. Agricultural development should also be encouraged rather than neglected, as it is now. This would help to provide food security and an occupational fallback for many in rural areas who may not be able to engage in successful non-farm activities. New strategies for agricultural growth should be devised such as improving the quality of agricultural seeds, making fertiliser available, developing farm technology that will require simple mechanised implements rather than the present use of the hoe and cutlass which frustrates agricultural practice. Ownership of small ruminants like sheep, goats, poultry, pigs, rabbits etc. should be encouraged. Fish farming could also be developed. These activities will help to generate income for those interested in agriculture. Forestry projects should be initiated as part of the ecological rehabilitation and revenue generation schemes.

7. The issues surrounding economic diversification and the development of rural areas are diverse and complex. One factor alone does not cut across the various disciplines. There should be more collaborative intersectoral and multidisciplinary studies aimed at an understanding of the rural dynamics in Nigeria and in Sub-Saharan Africa.

8. Another study is needed to look specifically at how non-farm activities have helped to improve local communities. This should be strictly tied to the various forms and processes of non-farm activities in a particular community and explore the range of non-farm activities in an area. For example, a study of Nnewi Urban Community could be pursued and could provide some interesting insights into the economic development of the region.

Conclusion

The study has tried to show the process of rural income diversification away from agriculture, a form of de-agrarianisation in a particular community of Igboland in south-eastern Nigeria. The concepts of de-agrarianisation and rural income diversification have become popular with scholars wanting to understand the economic activities going on in rural communities and at a national level.

The various processes of income diversification have been seen in rural Igboland. They affect the nature of migration and the pursuit of non-agricultural activities like social development and other forms of income generation within the rural community. In addition, the influence of these activities was also discussed including their contributions towards community development, social mobility and the provision of sources of community development infrastructure.

The evident wealth in the community was also seen as a result of income diversification and the way the people have tried to be resilient and flexible in their pursuit of economic ventures. Income diversification is one of the ways a community or household members may try to adapt to meet the ever-increasing needs of the household. The paper also looked at the various policy implications and made recommendations for policy makers regarding de-agrarianisation.

Finally it was evident that in spite of the de-agrarianisation process, agriculture continues and will continue to be relevant in Igbo society. There is, therefore, the need to encourage both non-farm activities and agricultural development in rural areas of Nigeria.

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Appendix

The article entitled 'Ukpor: A New Horizon in Rural Development' was published in the *Community News* after the research report had been compiled and analysed. The *Community News* is a local newspaper published in Ukpor, the local government headquarters in Nnewi South Local Government Area. The opinions given in the article capture the general thinking of the people in the study area and also the nature of things happening in Igboland generally and in the study area in particular.

NEGLECTED TOWN

UKPOR: A NEW HORIZON IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

- Nnamdi Nwosu

A first hand feature of this promising town situated in Anambra State is the existence of hills, shrines, forests e.t.c. On enquiry, one is told of the seeming neglect of the people by the Government over the years. Their socio-economic and political life are typically rural in setting.

Politically, the town could be said to have gotten a relief when on August 27 1991, four hundred and four-nine new local government Areas were created in the county by the former President, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida.

Among the four carved out of Anambra State was Nnewi South Local Government, comprising of ten historical towns namely Ukpokor, Amichi, Osumenyi, Ezinifite, Akwa Ihedi, Unubi, Ekwulu Mmiri, Ebenator, Utuh and Azuigbo. The local Government seat of Government was subsequently situated at Ukpokor.

Since then, Ukpokor which had hitherto been a sleeping giant suddenly woke up from her slumber.

A lot of transformation and development has started unfolding and most importantly those who had before dissociated themselves from the aspirations of the community started to associate themselves with the development project in the town.

These wealthy millionaires of the town are now emulating the worthy examples of their colleagues from the neighbouring Nnewi by establishing industries and other development projects. It is hoped that with time and God being on their side,

Ukpokor will come to surpass Nnewi in the area of industrialisation.

The outstanding contributions of the following indigenes of the town to the town's rapid socio-economic and political development is worth mentioning. Chief Mbazulike Amechi established the first industry in Ukpokor which specialises in road construction and other allied ventures. Chief Amechi also built the Ukpokor Police Station. Chief Alexander Ojiaku, established the first oil processing company in the town. Chief J.O. Obi,

manitarian ventures he had instituted, Chief Emerah had singlehandedly constructed and tarred some major roads in the town which had hitherto become completely unmotorable.

Chief Ngozi C.L. Anapusi, Chief J. Asuzu, Chief Mike Agbasi (Marco West Africa) and Chief Mike Emerah (Micmerah) have all established filling station each in the town. Chief Asuzu also provided an electric transformer for some villages in the town

In the health sector, Madonna Eye

Specialist Hospital in the town ranks among the best eye hospitals in Nigeria. This hospital was established by late Dr. Theodore Okechukwu.

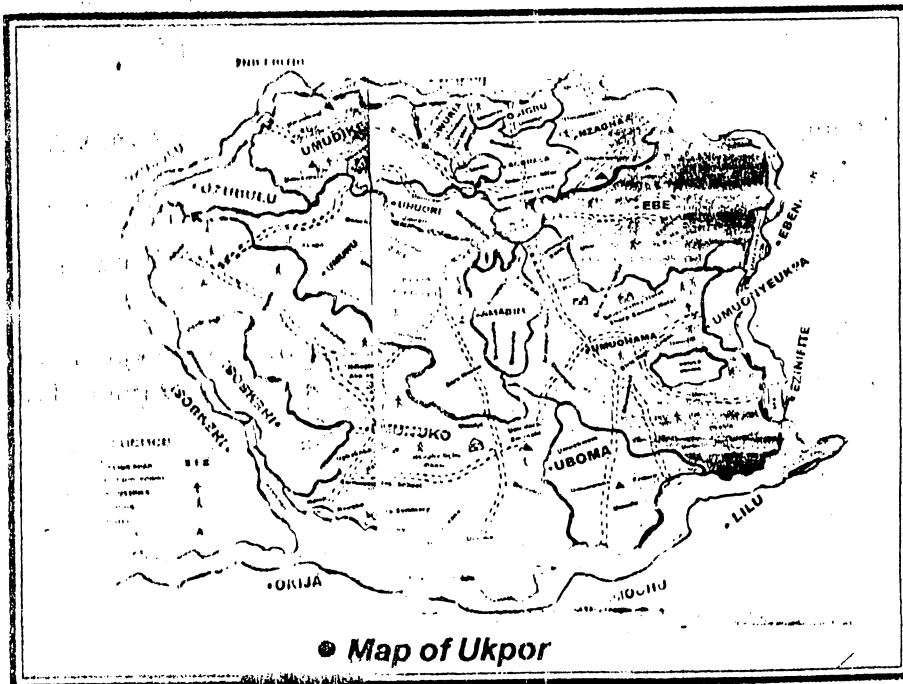
In the Sports development, Chief J. I. Nduka ranks tall among other contemporaries. He had donated a golden cup for football and other sporting competitions in the town. This competitions comes up yearly during the Christmas period since 1985 when he donated the trophy.

Also on the list is Ansem O. Ugwunne a.k.a Sherry, Chairman/CEO intra-link. He has provided good drinking pipe-borne water for some people in the town. The list is indeed endless.

However, Ukpokor, which became the headquarter of Nnewi South L.G.A. on August 27th 1991 could not boast of some viable social infrastructure which should besit its current status as local government headquarter.

instituted a scholarship Scheme for indigent students of Ukpokor origin. He has equally constructed some sections of roads in Ukpokor, especially those leading to his palace. Chief Obi had also demonstrated his love for the town by the provision/building of shades at the various bus/stops in the town. Presently, he is building a model School/College in the town which experts say will surpass the Ighionedion Nursery, Primary and Secondary School at Benin in Edo State.

There is equally Chief P.N. Emerah, the president General of Ukpokor Improvement Union. Apart from the various hu-



• Map of Ukpokor

UKPOR: A NEW HORIZON IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Apart from a branch of United Bank for Africa (UBA) and a Community Bank, there is no other financial institution in the town. Other social infrastructures which enhance development such as industries, four-star hotels, Business Centres, Finance and Insurance Companies, Textile Manufacturing Industries, Publishing Companies, Pharmaceutical companies, Food processing factories, Shoe-making industries are all lacking in Ukpok. There is equally no good and modern

drainage facility and public utility of any sort.

There is also no modern market in the town. It is clear that almost all parts of the town boasts of electric supply. However YCN gathered that light is hardly enjoyed by the indigenes of the town.

No federal road passed through the town. Most of the roads in the town are local and of feeder roads which are in urgent need for repair and maintenance.

Although Ukpok people are law abiding, peace loving, and above all pay their taxes and rates as and when due, the

truth is that despite the people's contributions to the general development of Nigerian economy, they have suffered an outstanding record of deprivation, neglect and humiliation from the government.

At this modern age, the people still fetch streams for their drinking water. Some even go in search of water as early as 4.00am in the morning at the risk of snake bite and other dangerous animals.

There is no telephone facilities in the town and the two secondary schools and General Hospital are all in shamble.

NEWI - SETTING THE PACE IN RURAL INDUSTRIALISATION

YCN recently toured Nnewi the Headquarters of Nnewi North Local Government Area in Anambra State and their reports:

A lot has been written and said about Nnewi as regards the industrial activities in the town. The ingenuity and intellectual potentials of Nnewi people must be commended. This has resulted in the clusters of both small and medium scale industries operating in the town and owned mainly by indigenes of Nnewi.

Nnewi stands out as the 'Chief' town among the other three towns (Oraifite, Ozubulu and Ichi) which formerly made up the Nnewi North Local Government Area but now in Ekwusigo L. G. A. A first hand impression on arrival at Nnewi smacks of pity. The roads in the town are nothing to write home about, whereas the impression Nnewi gets outside its shore is that of 'small London'. Indeed, in spite of Nnewi's commercial importance, its financial and economic contributions to not only Anambra State but Nigeria as a whole, technological and industrial development of the country, the town has always been left out of the scheme of things. The little the town gets from government is not commensurate with what government expects from it.

In terms of revenue yielding in Anambra State, Nnewi is second, closely behind Onitsha, yet she lacks social amenities and it is even more surprising that the Government might have forgotten the town which today is one of the most industrial towns in the country, given the clusters of industries in various parts of the town. A case of selfhelp, development effort and ingenuity of the people. There is at present no government owned industry. All the industries, operating in the town are privately owned.

Education is a basic need, yet the few Secondary Schools in the town are built by Local Community efforts and voluntary agencies. The Primary Schools are also not left out. Until recently, when a campus of Nnamdi Azikiwe University was set up in the town, there was no higher institution in Nnewi.

Indeed, all the development and infrastructural facilities in the town including market developments, road construction, provision of clean drinking water, electricity, banks, telephones, transformers, libraries, hotels, Business Centre, Finance and Insurance Companies are all as a result of the intellectual ingenuity of an Nnewi man. No Government assistance whatsoever was provided for the people. All these little amenities in the town are through a self-help of the people.

The Police Station and the Department of Post and Telecommunications (Post Office) are not being maintained by the Authorities (Government) giving an impression that Nnewi might have been forgotten by the Government. The people are yet to know whether these agencies are serving themselves or the people that they were established to serve.

Nnewi is made up of four historical villages as follows: OTOLO, URUAGU, UMUDIM and NNEWIACHI. Nnewi has witnessed significant landmarks in the history of her growth and development. Easily one of the largest commercial towns in Anambra State, Nnewi today is known for involvement in motor spare parts and transportation. The town shares boundary with Ichi, Ozubulu, Utu, Nnobi, Awkaetiti, Aзуigbo, Amichi and Ukpok.

From the time of MAKU, who was the grandfather of Nnewi, the people of the town have been known for their hardwork and total commitment to commerce and business. I wish to commend the ingenuity of Nnewi people in business and commercial activities, including transportation and industrial wizardry of the people. The late Chief Louis Ojukwu, J.C. Ulasi, Onyemelukwe and many other Nnewi people made their landmarks in their time and this has been handed over to the present generation, that hardly today can you see any Nnewi man that is not doing very well in business.

Chief L.P. Ojukwu, one of the richest

Nigerians in his own time, hailed from Umudim Nnewi. Late J.C. Ulasi hailed from Otolo Nnewi while Late D. Onyemelukwe was from Nnewichi. The legacy left behind by these great men has been well taken care of by the younger generations. Today, people may not be seeing Ojukwu Transport or J.C. Ulasi, or Onyemelukwe Transport, but they are indeed a source of inspiration to such transport giants like Ijeoma Transport Ltd, Jenkoma Transport Ltd, Ekene Dili Chukwu (Nig) Ltd, Chidiebere Transport Ltd, Izuchukwu Transport Ltd, Ekessons Transport Ltd among others.

It is an undisputable fact that Nnewi has the largest concentration of motor spare parts business in Africa. For people like the late L.P. Ojukwu, Late J.C. Ulasi and Onyemelukwe, the idea of establishing motor spare parts business was above all to enable them keep their numerous vehicles on the road. Today, we have giant names in motor parts business who themselves have no transport business.

Nnewi has gradually graduated from spare parts business and transportation to giants in industries. Today clusters of industries and factories can be found in all nooks and crannies of the town. Indeed the era of industrial development in Nnewi has arrived at last since industrial fever is now gripping most of the successful businessmen who instead of going industrial before now decided to invest their money in building of residential houses all over the Federation.

For several years, Nnewi has been the major supplier of motor spare parts throughout the country. No industry was established in Nnewi until 1983 when the Chairman of Cento International Limited, Mr. Innocent Okafor, decided to take a plunge into the industrial world. Today Cento is a household name. The company situated at Umudim Nnewi produces rear light covers for motor cars, motor cycles and other accessories. Cento also manufactures electric light cover, plastic crate for parking bottles, rubber shoe soles, batteries of motor cycles,

LANDMARK

mirror for motor cycles, and fender for motor cycles.

There is also the Ibeto Group of Companies owned by Chief Cletus Ibeto, also an indigine of Nnewi. Ibeto Group of Companies manufactures batteries, Ceramics, various motor and motorcycle spare parts, Chief Ibeto is also the proud owner of Ibeto Hotels located in different parts of the state and Ibeto Community Bank (The Ancestor).

There is also the Uru Industries solely financed by Chief Ofodeme. Uru Industry manufactures assorted trolleys, crush and break cables for Autobikes (Motors and Motor Cycles).

GOD industries produces automobile Iron and rubber spare parts.

John Whyte Industry is owned by Chief John Anaekwe. This factory manufactures automobile and industrial fan belts. It also manufactures foot mats for automobiles, home and office use.

There is also the Eddison Industry which engages in the manufacture of automobile break pads and linings.

Christomax Industries Limited manufactures motor and motorcycles seat and also engages in the production of mechanised blocks for building construction.

O.C.E. Industries owned by Chief Mathias Onwugbenu (Omata) manufactures oil filters for Automobiles and Industrial oil filter. An agriculturist, Chief Onwugbenu also produces rice for household consumption.

There is also a Nail, Bolt and Nuts manufacturing company owned by Chief Ndefo located at the back of Nnewi Police Station.

Life Vegetable oil Industry is also located at Nnewi. The town equally boast of other food processing factories too numerous to mention.

Mr. James Edokwe also owns Jimex Industries which specialise in the manufacture of Aluminium products e.g. Spoon, Pot, etc.

There is also the Adtec Limited, Cutix and Adswitch. These produce finished (N.E.P.A.) Cables, wire and Switch boxes for (N.E.P.A.) respectively.

Nnewi Indigines also own industries outside the town. These industries include Coscharis Industries owned by Chief Cosmas Maduka, Izu industries

owned by Chief Dan Ubajiaka (Okaku Anaedo) Ekene Dili Chukwu Group of Companies, manufacturers of trailer coaches. This is owned by Chief (Dr) A. E. Ilodibe (Eze Onwanaciliora Nnewi) and Niri industries, manufacturers of plug wire and battery wires.

When YCN visited Nnewi recently to sample opinion of the people on the industrial development in Nnewi and her contributions to the industrial growth of Nigeria generally, a good percentage of the people interviewed agreed that the era of industrial development in Nnewi has indeed come at last. While the older generations have been scrambling for Chieftancy titles and squandering their wealth, the young ones are busy establishing industries and mapping out plans for new ones. Hear Mr. Goddy Odiegwu, an indigine of the town; "I am ready to buy land at any rate in Nnewi. However he says he cannot acquire land which is outside Nnewi. The land no doubt is for the establishment of industry no more no less. There is no doubt that these industries have increased the economic and commercial viability of Nnewi.

But the question now is whether the new and enterprising ones are ready to pick up the challenge thrown to them by these industries and companies or let the industries die like that. Mr. Goddy Chukwudile, a Lagos based businessman describes the industrial take off in Nnewi as a thing of great joy for every Nnewi man. According to him, the competition is already here and very healthy too.

The Chairman Auto Spare Parts and Machinery Dealers Association, Idumotu Lagos Mt. Charles Ages Okeke who is also an indigine of Nnewi, described the exercise as a welcome one and call on the Nnewi Community to embrace industrial development. There lies our technological ingenuity, he said.

Mr. Pius C. Odiegwu, Managing Director C. Parker International Group of Companies described the exercise as one of the finest thing in living memories while Mr. A Daniel Ohaka, a Lagos based business executive and a small scale industrialist described the industrial take off as a new dimension in modern business in Nnewi.

No country is ever great through massive importation of finished products

from other countries. This is why most of our respondent described the industrial take off as new dimension in business and one of the greatest achievements of Nnewi. They all were synonymous in calling on the Local Government Authorities and Anambra State Government to map out a comprehensive development plan for Nnewi while condemning the scattered buildings springing up everywhere and call for planning and construction of good access roads. Presently Nnewi roads are in a state of disrepair.

This is bringing the deplorable state of the roads in Nnewi to the notice of Federal and Anambra State Government. The Government should come to the aid of Nnewi people by ensuring that such roads as Nnewi-Oba-Onitsha road and that of Okigwe-Nnewi-Onitsha roads are urgently given a face lift before more harm is done on the vehicle and commuters that ply these roads.

In fact the rehabilitation of these Federal Highways should be now! The deplorable condition of these roads is very serious most especially the Nnewi-Oba-Onitsha road. YCN Correspondent in Nnewi reported that anybody who has seen this road will just sympathise with the people. Of course these roads are very important to the people of Nnewi and the entire people of the former Eastern region due to all these important industries clustering all over the town. In addition, the entire citizenry of this area pay their taxes regularly and remain law-abiding. The question now is: Why can't Government give Nnewi people good roads despite the huge revenue they generate from the area?

Meanwhile, for a more radical coordinated industrial revolution to make a headway, the village heads should help the intending investors and industrialists by leasing out land to them at reasonable prices rather than the present-day inflated prices these land are placed. That is if you are able to see one!

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