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INSTITUTIONS AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA:
A CASE STUDY OF LAND TENURE

Draft report of the Nigerian Productivity Study

by
W.P. Huth

U.S. Department of Agriculture
Economic Research Service
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FOREWORD

To provide better knowledge for planning and implementing country development programs in the less-developed countries, the Agency for International Development asked the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture to conduct research on a project entitled "Factors Associated With Differences and Changes in Agricultural Production in Underdeveloped Countries." Phase 1 of the research has been completed, and was reported in Changes in Agriculture in 26 Developing Nations, 1948-63 (Foreign Agr. Econ. Rpt. No. 27, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, November 1965). That report made a comparative analysis of rates of growth in agricultural output and factors affecting them.

Phase 2 of the research, a part of which is reported here, involves making a detailed analysis for selected countries of the specific relationship between factors and processes of change in agricultural output. The countries selected are Greece, Taiwan, Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, India, and Nigeria. The studies are being conducted by agricultural economists from the Economic Research Service, in cooperation with research organizations in each country.

Due to circumstances resulting directly from the civil crisis in Nigeria, almost all primary data relating to the originally intended Nigerian study are either lost or destroyed. This study would have basically paralleled the other country studies as regards format and content.

Consequently, a different type of study based on personal experiences and available secondary source materials has been prepared by the Economic Research Service agricultural economist.

This study begins with a consideration of factors relating to overall agricultural development in Nigeria in broad terms. This is followed by a general discussion of the role of institutions, particularly indigenous institutions, in development. Because of its crucial importance to sustained economic development and its fundamental relationships to indigenous society, land tenure has been selected for detailed analysis. Questions regarding land tenure and its reform in Nigeria involve issues of far reaching importance beyond considerations of economic development per se. Indeed, they are profoundly involved in the very configuration of the future society in which Nigerians will live and this fundamental fact ought never be ignored, especially when actual implementation of reform measures is under consideration.

DIRECTOR, AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICE
OFFICE OF THE WAR ON HUNGER

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although many individuals and organizations have contributed in one way or another to the ultimate preparation of this report; the author would like to single out specifically those two individuals who, each in his own way, made particularly significant and direct contributions to its preparation.

This author is very grateful to Wade F. Gregory, formerly Branch Chief of the Economic Development Branch in the United States Department of Agriculture, for allowing him to develop this type of study and to devote almost full-time efforts to its preparation once it became apparent that the original study data would not be forthcoming. Without his sympathetic cooperation this study would not have been possible.

Kenneth H. Parsons, Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Wisconsin, was particularly helpful with regards to the use of John R. Commons' conceptual ideas and the analysis and significance of tenure questions in an African context. His contributions are deeply appreciated.

At the same time, any inadequacies on these or other matters considered in this report are the sole property of the author.

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CHAPTER I--INTRODUCTION

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The best-laid schemes o' Mice an' Men
Gang aft a-gley
Robert Burns--To a Mouse--'on turning her up in her nest with the plough November, 1785'

The Intended Study

The author, a United States Department of Agriculture economist, was in Nigeria from October 1965 until August, 1967. While there, he was co-project leader of the Nigerian Agricultural Productivity Study along with Mr. Herbert C. Kriesel. The central core of the Nigerian study was to consist of analysis of statistical data and institutional information collected in a survey of peasant farmers in selected villages throughout Nigeria. There are no data for Nigeria on the production and consumption activities of farm families as complete or detailed as those that were being collected under this project.

From the very beginning, field work was delayed and the project was plagued with difficulties stemming to a considerable degree from the civil crisis. Nevertheless, approximately twelve months of data had been obtained by the middle of 1967 for certain villages in Southern Nigeria.

On May 30, 1967, while the author was in Washington concerning the study and while the other co-project leader was also temporarily in the United States, the Eastern Region seceded and proclaimed itself the independent Republic of Biafra.

The actual tabulation of the field survey data was nearing completion at the Economic Development Institute in Enugu when the civil war broke out. With the subsequent fighting in Enugu, followed by its capture by Federal troops, all contacts with those responsible for tabulating the data were severed. From reports of the U.S. consul who left the Eastern Region in October 1967, the evacuation of Enugu was orderly and thorough and the data may have been removed to safekeeping somewhere within the heartland of the former Eastern Region. Nevertheless, at present (fall of 1968) fighting continues between Nigeria and its former Eastern Region. Because of this situation, there is no information regarding the whereabouts--indeed the very existence--of the study data.

The Actual Study

Under the circumstances, the only reasonable assumption is to consider the data permanently lost until such time as a definite determination becomes possible. This is not likely to occur prior to a formal end to present hostilities and there is no clear indication how soon that might take place.

Consequently, a decision was made to prepare a report based on the author's personal experiences as well as on secondary data. It was determined to direct the analysis towards important institutional aspects of Nigerian agricultural development. Land tenure was chosen as the focal point for the research since it is conceded to be a serious limiting factor, potentially if not actually, to agricultural development throughout Africa.

Since most of the author's time in Nigeria was spent in Ibo areas, this is the group with whom he is most familiar and basically accounts for its selection for study. In addition, much of the apparently lost village

survey data relate to Ibo villages; hence, the present work on Ibo land tenure and the village survey data, should they become available, would be specifically and mutually complementary.

The author wishes to state explicitly and emphatically that political factors played no role whatsoever in the choice of the Ibos for intensive study as opposed to any other tribal group. Similarily, the use of currently outdated political and administrative internal boundaries is solely a matter of convenience and necessity and implies no political connotations whatsoever.

Nigeria became independent in 1960 after sixty years as a British Colony. Unfortunately, political disturbances within the country have plagued its development from the beginning and consequently, internal political boundaries have changed from time to time. For this report it will be most convenient to refer to the former Northern, Western and/or Mid-western and Eastern Regions because almost all available information refers to these political sub-divisions.

The Report: A Thumbnail Sketch

The salient features of the overall Nigerian agricultural economy and its potential future development are discussed first after which attention is directed more specifically to the role of traditional institutions in development. The agriculture of the former Eastern Region is then considered in greater detail to provide the necessary background information and setting for the analysis of the Ibo tenure system.

The heart of the report attempts to relate the Ibo land tenure system to the traditional institutions of Ibo society and to indicate the effects

of the modern world--via colonialism and concomitant factors--on this relationship, particularly on the incentives of the individual farmers. Based on this analysis, some suggestions are made regarding the roles traditional institutions or appropriate new ones as well as the government might play in bringing the tenure system in line with the technological and economic requirements of modern agriculture.

The report is based on the premise that appropriate changes, however rapid or extensive, will be effected by essentially evolutionary methods carried out with the cooperation of the villagers rather than by revolutionary methods imposed from above.

Nigeria's Peoples

There is considerable controversy over the validity of Nigerian census figures (3)[1/]; however, according to the most recent census taken in 1963 the population of Nigeria was 55.67 million people(69). While nine major tribes made up 74.9 percent of the native population composed of several hundred tribes in 1952/53, the three major groups are the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo concentrated in the Northern, Western, and Eastern Regions respectively. Together, they made up 62.8 percent of the native population in 1952/53(69). Most of the political turmoil in Nigeria today revolves around the interrelationships of these three groups. The Hausa-Fulani are predominately Moslem, the Ibos Christian and the Yorubas are well represented in both religious groups.

1/ Numbers in parentheses refer to cited materials, p.195.

Between the heavy population centers of these three groups, lies a vast middle belt sparsely populated by relatively backward minor tribes who have preserved their native religions and customs (see Map 3, p.194). Until recently they lived only in isolated groups in inaccessible terrain, probably as a protection against slave raids. This area has vast agricultural potential but at present is infested with the tsetse fly.

The Physical Environment (8)

Nigeria covers 356,669 square miles of tropical West Africa, located between 4° and 14° North latitude and borders on the Gulf of Guinea in the South.[2/] The vast Niger-Benue river system cuts the country roughly in half in the north-south direction and then separates the Eastern Region from the West and Midwest while flowing down to the Atlantic Ocean. Roughly, about one-half of the land area, principally along the coast and the great river valleys, is less than 1,000 feet in elevation. Most of the rest lies between 1,000 and 2,000 feet while the Jos plateau in the center of the Northern region and the Eastern Border areas associated with the Cameroon mountains lie between 2,000 and 4,000 feet for the most part.

Climatically, the year may be broadly divided into a rainy season lasting from approximately April until November and a dry season from November through March. The rainy season is characterized in a typical year as two peaked with a relative diminution of rainfall in August in the South and as single peaked with the peak rainfall occurring in August

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2/ Texas has an area of 267,339 square miles and France 212,736. Approximate latitudes: Maimi, Florida 26° N., Panama Canal, 9° N.

in the North. During the dry season the dry dust laden Harmattan wind blows across Nigeria from the Northeast bringing overcast days and cooler temperatures. Its effects are progressively diminished from North to South.

Mean rainfall for the approximately seven month rainy season varies from over 140 to between 20 and 40 inches, as one moves from South to North. In the five month dry season it varies from more than 20 to zero inches respectively. It is important to note that roughly the top one-third of the country has four to five months with no rainfall at all.

Temperatures and humidity vary as one would expect with the coastal areas having a hot, humid climate with less variation than the North which has both higher and lower temperatures and lower humidity. Annual mean humidity varies South to North from over 80 to under 30 percent. Highest and lowest monthly mean temperatures vary from about 90° and 70° Fahrenheit in the extreme South to over 105° and under 55° in the extreme North.

Vegetation varies in step with the climate and may be divided into three major zones: the swamp forests of the coastal-belt, the high forests of the humid South and the savanhas of the subhumid Middle Belt and North. Much of the natural vegetation coverage in the high forest zone has been replaced by derived savanha and in particular a large part of the rain forest of Iboland has been replaced by oil-palm. This is the result of the traditional bush fallow agricultural practices associated with population pressure and the development of oil-palm as a cash crop.

Historical Development of Agriculture (26)

The historical development of both the domestic and export sectors of Nigeria's agricultural economy has been conditioned to a large extent by

the variations in the natural environment. The consequences have been fortunate in terms of diversification of the export crop base and unfortunate in terms of nutrition in the South. The Southern subsistence economy exists in tsetse fly infested areas and is based on root as opposed to cereal crops. This results in poorer diets especially as regards animal and vegetable protein content.

As early as the 17th century trade with Western Europe and across the Sahara desert was established by the native peoples of Nigeria. Even prior to the colonial period, spices, ivory and palm-oil were carried by Portuguese and English merchant ships to Western Europe from Nigeria.

In the 18th century, however, slaves were the most important item of export until the slave trade was finally made illegal by Great Britain in 1807. After that, the patrols of the Royal Navy made the slave trade increasingly less profitable and trade in palm-oil became far more important.

Palm-oil exports grew rapidly in the first half of the 19th century and were still the most important export by 1900, when it accounted for 82 percent of total exports. Rubber was of great importance in the latter years of the 19th century reaching a peak in 1895 after which it declined rapidly in importance because of tapping damage to the trees. Thus the 19th century export trade was dominated by oil palm and rubber products obtained from wild trees.

Not until after 1914 when good railway connections from the coast to the Northern Region were completed did the region make a substantial contribution to the export trade. Then groundnuts and to a lesser extent hides and skins became important exports from the North. Cocoa exports

became important about 1920 when cocoa began to replace cotton production in Western Nigeria because it was more profitable. Cotton production shifted to the North.

Thus, the first half of the 20th century saw some major changes in the agricultural export economy take place with the North entering the picture with groundnuts, hides and skins and then cotton. In the meantime, the West was switching from cotton to cocoa and the Midwestern region was again becoming important in rubber. The East remained the center for oil palm production and exports.

By the eve of World War II, palm produce, cocoa and groundnuts had come to dominate Nigerian exports accounting for a little over 69 percent of total value of exports for the years 1937 and 1938 combined. The rest of the exports were other agricultural products and mineral raw materials such as coal and tin. In the 1960's the relative importance of agricultural exports in Nigerian trade has begun to decline rapidly because of the increasing petroleum production for export.

At the same time, farmers throughout Nigeria were growing most all of their food for their own consumption in a subsistence agriculture which existed side by side with the developing cash economy for export crops. Here again specialization occurred on a regional basis in line with natural conditions with the South growing primarily tuber and root crops while the North raised cereal grains and cattle. The Fulani are the traditional cattle raisers and herders of the North who supply most of the beef eaten in the Southern urban areas.

This has resulted in an agricultural economy that has been described by Buchanan and Pugh (8) as follows. A basic subsistence economy exists

everywhere, being most important in the inaccessible parts of the Middle Belt and least important in the cocoa-growing areas of Yorubaland in the West. An internal exchange economy is based on the contrasting environments of North and South. The North contributes basic food stuffs such as guinea corn, groundnuts (peanuts) and cattle, yams are produced in the Middle Belt and palm-oil, as well as specialized crops such as rice and sugar, come from the South. Finally, a peasant export economy based on annual crops such as groundnuts and cotton in the North and tree crops such as cocoa, rubber and oil palm in the South exists along side the domestic food economy.

An Anatomy of Present Day Nigerian Farms

As indicated, the composition of Nigerian agriculture changes as one moves north. Southern Nigeria produces yams, cocoyams, cassava, maize, melons, beans, rice, some groundnuts and palm oil for domestic consumption. Major export crops are oil palm products, rubber, and cocoa with production concentrated in the Eastern, Midwestern, and Western Regions respectively. In the North, cereals tend to replace tubers in domestic consumption and principal crops are guinea corn, maize, millet, rice and groundnuts. Groundnuts, cotton and hides are important exports from the North. Household goats, sheep and chickens are common in rural areas of both the North and the South while most of Nigeria's cattle are herded by the nomadic Fulani of the North. Donkeys and riding horses are also common in the North. Tables 1 and 2 summarize these regional relationships for the major food items of domestic consumption except for Palm Oil. Most of the Palm Oil produced is from wild trees and it is a very important constituent of the local diet in the South.

Table 1.--Nigeria - farmers growing the crop as percentage of total farmers in the region: 1963/64

Crops	North	East	West 1/
Guinea Corn	71.2	--	3.7
Millet	55.1	--	0.1
Groundnut	27.2	6.7	2.3
Yams	20.5	83.6	53.6
Maize	5.0	56.3	51.0
Cassava	18.5	73.6	54.9
Beans	48.1	4.0	5.8
Cocoyam	--	50.4	10.6
Melon	2.3	16.1	6.9

1/ Includes Mid-West.

Source: Rural Economic Survey, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 2.--Nigeria - households having livestock as percentage of total rural households in the regions, June 1963

Kind of livestock	North	East	West[1/]
Any kind	85.8	77.8	74.8
Poultry	69.0	66.7	63.7
Goats	57.4	48.9	39.4
Sheep	25.7	12.7	18.6
Cattle	14.8[2/]	2.7	1.3
Pigs	1.7	1.2	3.3
Horses	6.2	--	--
Donkeys	21.9	--	--
Camels	0.3	--	--

1/ Includes Mid-West.

2/ Does not include nomadic Fulani cattle herders. Thus the perponderance of the Northern Region in cattle is grossly understated in the table. Buchanan and Pugh (op. cit.) state on page 121 that 90% of Nigeria's cattle are found in the North and that 95% of these probably belong to nomadic Fulani.

Source: Same as Table 1.

The size of farms is substantially larger for the North than for the other regions as can be seen by comparing the figures in the last row of Table 3. One basic explanation for this is generally higher population density in the South resulting in more pressure on the land. Another important factor is the much greater difficulty in clearing the land for "bush fallow" agriculture in the South. This is associated with interplanting of several crops in the same field as opposed to the more extensive monoculture pattern prevalent in the North.

Peasant Smallholder and Commercial Production

Commercialized agriculture occurs on a considerable number of larger farms in the North producing guinea corn, maize, millet, rice, groundnuts or cotton. In the South there are some oil palm, rubber, and cocoa plantations.

By far the largest part of Nigerian agricultural production comes from so called "peasant"[3/] as opposed to commercial farming operations. This can be seen by inspection in Table 4 below where any acreage listed as under improved planting conditions is arbitrarily considered to be non-peasant. Of course, virtually all the other crops produced primarily for domestic consumption are produced by peasant farmers.

3/ Peasant is defined in The American College Dictionary, 1962 edition as: "one of a class of persons, as in European countries, of inferior social rank, living in the country and engaged usually in agricultural labor." For purposes of this report it is used simply to indicate a way of life based on traditional farming practices as opposed to agriculture conducted as part of a government farm settlement or modern plantation. Nevertheless, most practitioners would be as appropriately described by the definition in Nigeria as in Europe.

Table 3.--Farmers and acres farmed by size as percentages of regional class totals: 1963

Size of farm in acres[1] (upper limits excluded)	North	East	West[2]	North	East	West[2]
	Percentage Total Farmers			Percentage Total Area Farmed		
Under .25	1.0	21.4	6.2	--	2.4	1.5
.25 to .50	3.1	20.9	13.9	.3	6.1	5.0
.50 to 1.00	8.7	20.8	24.6	1.5	12.0	12.5
1.00 to 2.5	28.1	24.5	33.3	11.3	31.7	29.3
2.50 to 5.00	27.9	8.1	16.9	22.3	21.9	29.2
5.00 to 10.00	21.9	3.8	4.4	35.7	20.5	16.2
10.00 and over	9.3	0.5	0.7	28.8	5.4	6.2
Under 2.50	40.9	87.6	78.0	13.1	52.2	48.3

1/ Size of farm refers to the total land area actually under cultivation.

2/ Includes Mid-West.

Source: Compiled from Tables 2-3, 2-4, and 2-5, in Economic Indicators Vol. 2, No. 11, November 1966, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 4.--Areas of major export crops: Total (un-improved peasant plus improved) and under improved conditions by regions and totals in 1961/62

Region	Cocoa		Oil-palm		Rubber		Cotton		Groundnut 1/	
	Total	Improved	Total	Improved	Total	Improved	Total	Improved	Total	Improved
	1,000 acres									
North							970	17	2,908	0
East	37	3	2,808	8	34	13				
West	1,415	7	1,811	11	18	15				
Mid-west	39	0	514	14	413	13				
Total	1,591	10	5,133	33	465	41	970	17	2,908	0

1/ 1962/63. Also, a small amount of groundnut production occurs in the Southern Regions. FAO estimates this at about 2.2% of total production for 1962--see Source this Table, p.161.

Source: Agricultural Development in Nigeria 1965-1980, FAO, U.N. Rome 1966 - compiled from various tables in Part D, appendices and Table Annexes. All figures rounded to nearest thousand.

Table 4 shows the preponderance of each region in the production of each major export crop to which the FAO devoted a full chapter in their comprehensive development report (6)[4/]. Of the total of 11,067 thousand acres planted to the five crops in 1961/62, less than one-percent was planted under improved conditions. For the three tree crops with a total acreage of 7,189 the improved planting percentage is just over one. It is clear that even with a rapid increase in the absolute total acreage under improved conditions, the traditional peasant production will predominate for a long time to come even in the export sector.

Three Important Observations

Three important observations on Nigerian agriculture as a whole can be made. First, Nigeria's agricultural base is well diversified and therefore not overly dependent on the world market situation, diseases, or other factors which might affect a given export crop in a given year. Thus, the overall stability of the economy is much greater than in a country largely dependent on one export crop. Secondly, the entire agricultural economy is based on indigenous African peasant producers both for domestic and export production. This has resulted partly from British colonial land policy which stressed development of agriculture by the native population and probably from the generally inhospitable climate which prevented penetration and establishment by expatriate immigrant farmers.

4/ Agricultural Development in Nigeria, 1965-1980, FAO, Rome 1966. Figures and discussions of overall Nigerian agricultural development in the following chapters are based on this report unless otherwise noted. It contains over 500 eight by eleven inch pages of fine print text and tables. Regarding Nigerian agriculture, it is almost encyclopedic in terms of scope and coverage while understandibly lacking in depth on any particular aspect of the subject.

Thirdly, there is consequently no expatriate farmer problem to take into consideration and the very fact of an agricultural system based on peasant production forces the policy maker to give major attention to the problems and needs of these peasant producers.

While there are significant variations in all aspects of the environment throughout Nigeria, the basic facts of rapid population growth, high dependence on agriculture for a living, and generally low incomes are common to all parts. The effects of agricultural development on the lives of every individual will be very important, either directly or indirectly.

CHAPTER II--NIGERIA'S AGRICULTURE: ITS PERFORMANCE IN THE RECENT PAST

We now turn to an examination of Nigerian agriculture's performance in the recent past. The objective is to provide a brief general review of Nigerian agriculture's performance in the economy as a basis for the discussion of future development to follow.

Contribution to Gross Domestic Product

One important measure of performance is agriculture's overall contribution to the economy and its growth rate. Table 5 indicates that, however defined, agriculture contributes over sixty percent of the value of gross domestic product (GDP) and that its share had decreased only a few percentage points over the decade or so up to 1963. The dominance of the agricultural sector in the economy is indicated by its contribution of over sixty percent of GDP both at the beginning and at the end of the ten year span.

> As W. Arthur Lewis (51) states, the official statistical series are not comparable for periods before respective periods after 1957. He shows annual growth rates of GDP at 4.1 between 1950 and 1957 and of 4.5 between 1958 and 1962. For Agriculture between 1950 and 1962 he gives growth rates of only 2.5 for the domestic use sector and 5.0 for the export sector. In 1963/64, the export sector accounted for only about 14 percent of agriculture's contribution to GDP (Table 16, pp.39-40).

If we accept 3.5 percent (3) as a reasonable estimate of annual population increase from 1952/53 to 1963, then while agricultural output may be growing well enough to prevent a serious deterioration in standards of living, it is not a satisfactory rate of growth if agriculture is to contribute its share to sustained economic growth for the economy as a whole. For example, FAO uses a 4.2 percent annual growth rate for agriculture over the 1963/64 - 1979/80 period for its economic growth model.

Table 5.--Gross and agricultural domestic product, 1951-52 and 1961-63 averages

(Values in constant 1957 Nigerian Pounds)

	Gross domestic product[1/]	Agricultural domestic product			
		Including forestry and fishing		Excluding forestry and fishing	
		Value	Percentage of GDP	Value	Percentage of GDP
	Million pounds	Million pounds	Percent	Million pounds	Percent
1951-53 ...	782.2	514.5	65.8	493.4	63.1
1961-63 ...	1,069.3	692.7	64.8	663.5	62.0

1/ At factor cost.

Source: Economic Indicators, Vol. 2, No. 11, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, November 1966. Table 10.1.

FAO lists the tasks facing the agricultural sector as providing: the food requirements of a rapidly growing population, the agricultural raw materials for Nigeria's developing industries, the volume of exports needed to pay for the import of capital goods, employment for the additional agricultural working population, and a substantial share of the capital to finance the development of the whole economy.

Let us briefly examine how agriculture has been fulfilling these roles in the recent past.

Feeding the Population

Some idea of how well rural Nigerians are managing to feed themselves and their urban fellows while contributing to the country's development may be gained by looking at consumption and nutritional levels, food prices, and food imports.

Table 6.--Estimated regional per caput food supplies 1963/64

	Calories	Protein	Fat
	Per day	Grams per day	Grams per day
North	2,719	79.9	43.5
East	1,774	33.2	40.5
West[1/]	1,909	39.6	41.8
NRC-USA allowance adult males[2/]	2,500	70	20

1/ Includes Mid-West and Lagos.

2/ The Present Nutritional Situation in Nigeria, Halverson, USAID Consultant Report No. C-4, Sept. 1961, Table 5, appendix.

Source: Agricultural Development in Nigeria 1965-1980, FAO, U.N., Rome, 1966. Tables 11-4, 11-5, and 11-6 except as otherwise noted.

As indicated in Table 6 the North is substantially better off as regards food than the South. While there is room for improvement as regards the quantity of food intake, especially in the South, actual starvation is not a serious problem under normal circumstances.

As Halverson(37) indicates, the greatest nutritional deficiency is protein, especially in the South. Only the areas along the coast and Lake Chad in Nigeria's north-eastern corner have adequate protein diets in terms of quantity and quality. These are the areas with a high consumption of fish. Vitamin C, riboflavin which is associated with protein foods and calcium are widely, but usually not seriously, deficient. The Vitamin B-complex vitamins and iodine are also deficient in some areas. Where malnutrition does occur, especially in children and expectant or nursing mothers, it is often as much a result of ignorance as of poverty (97) (89).

Table 7.--Consumer price indices for food and for all items in capital cities: 1955-57 and 1963-65 averages

	Lagos		Kaduna		Enugu		Ibadan	
	Food	All items	Food	All items	Food	All items	Food	All items
1955-57[1/]	124	116	104	104	114	110	121	113
1963-65[2/]	108	113	109	111	120	122	107	110

1/ Base 1953 = 100, except for Kaduna where base 1957 = 100 and where index numbers shown are for 1958. Food is "food and drink" combined except for Kaduna which is food only. Based on samples of laborers, artisans , and clerical workers with basic earnings not greater than £350 except for Kaduna where figures is £400.

2/ Base 1960 = 100, weights used for index numbers based on weights obtained for sample surveys indicated in footnote above. Food means "food and drink" except for Kaduna.

Sources: Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1960, FOS, Lagos. Tables 75, 76, 77, and 78.

Economic Indicators, Vol. 2, No. 11, November 1966, FOS, Lagos, Table 6-2.

The relative movement of consumer food price indices compared with indices for all items is another indication of the adequacy of the food supply. This is shown in Table 7, for the Capitals of the Country and of the Northern, Eastern, and Western Regions respectively.

The price of food and drink to urban consumers was relatively higher during 1955-57 than during 1963-65 when compared to the price for all items. Since food makes up a large part of "all items", it must have moderated the effects of rising prices of non-food items in the index numbers. Therefore, the change from relatively higher food index number values when compared to all items in the earlier period to relatively lower values in the latter period indicates that the prices of non-food items alone must have been rising considerably more rapidly than food prices.[1/]

1/ It is worth noting that the index numbers are described as representing the lower income group and so refer to food items appropriate

Table 8.--Value of food imports as a percentage of total imports and as a percentage of gross domestic product in agriculture 1954-55, 1961-63 and 1964-65 averages

	Food imports[1]			
	Percentage of total imports		Percentage of value of agricultural production[2]	
	Including beverage & tobacco	Excluding beverage & tobacco	Including beverage & tobacco	Excluding beverage & tobacco
1954-55	10.0	13.8	2.5	3.4
1961-63	10.8	13.0	3.4	4.1
1964-65	8.3	9.2	--	--

1/ Food, live animals, animal and vegetable oils and fats.

2/ Agriculture, Livestock and Fishing, average at current prices for respective time periods as a portion of Gross Domestic Product at factor cots.

Source: Same as Table 7 above; Table 20 and Tables 4.4, 10.2 respectively.

Finally, insight into how well a country is feeding itself may be gained by looking at the changes in the value of food imports and agricultural production.

Table 8 shows that imported "Food" has apparently declined somewhat as a proportion of total value of imports while having increased slightly relative to agriculture's contribution to Gross Domestic Product.

In view of the very rough nature of the statistics and the relationships discussed, the most reasonable conclusion is that Nigeria is basically self-sufficient in food production and that imports of food items appear to have grown roughly at the same pace as the rest of the economy. Of course, all the more expensive foods which are normally purchased by the expatriate and well-to-do Nigerian community would be included here. Major potential

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to most Nigerians and are not influenced by a-typical expensive foods purchased by upper class Nigerians and expatriates.

improvements are the further reduction in the percentage of food imported particularly to save scarce foreign exchange and higher quality diets, especially as regards protein content.

Besides feeding the domestic population, the agricultural sector is a major source of foreign exchange earnings because of large exports of agricultural products.

Exports

Turning to the Export Sector, we can compare, through time, agriculture's share in exports as a percentage of total exports and as a percentage of value of agricultural production (Table 9).

It can be seen that agriculture's share in value of exports is declining fairly rapidly. This results primarily from two factors, a less favorable price situation in the world markets for these products, especially since

Table 9.--Agricultural exports as a percentage of total value of exports and of agricultural production, 1954-55, 1961-63 and 1964-65 averages

	Percentage of total exports							
	Cocoa	Palm prod.	Ground-nuts	Raw cotton	Rubber	Three tree crops listed	All five crops listed	All five crops listed: percentage of value of agr. production[1/]
1954-55 ...	23.7	24.8	21.7	6.1	3.1	51.6	79.4	21.6
1961-63 ...	19.2	17.2	24.3	5.1	6.6	43.0	72.3	18.7
1964-65 ...	17.5	15.2	21.1	2.0	4.6	37.3	60.5	--

1/ Agricultural production at factor cost.

Sources: Same as Table 7; Tables 19, 32, 35 and Table 4.1 respectively. Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1964, FOS, Lagos, Table 8.15. Digest of Statistics, Vol. 15, Nos. 3 and 4, July and October, 1966, FOS, Lagos; Table 6.12.

peak years during the Korean War period, and increasing volumes of other exports. Most of the rest of Nigerian exports consist of raw materials such as columbite, tin ore, coal and timber. In particular, exports of petroleum oil which were nil in 1957, grew rapidly to reach almost six million tons by 1964 and jumped to over thirteen million tons in 1965 (72). A third factor is the fact that these agricultural exports are marketed through government marketing boards. Taxes levied by these boards to generate government sponsored economic development have lowered incentives to peasant farmers. Evidence of this can be seen especially in the Eastern Region where exports of oil palm products have fallen off in recent years.

These relationships are indicated in Tables 10 and 11 and the following commentary. Price indices from 1958 to 1963 show considerable year to year variation (Table 10).

Cocoa prices fell steadily during the 1958-63 period while cotton prices rose somewhat. The other products listed showed no clear trend in either direction. It must be remembered, however, that cocoa prices were "abnormally" high in 1954, the index base year (33).[2/]

Table 10.--High, low, and six-year average price indices for principal export crops, 1958-1963; 1954 = 100

	Cocoa	Palm kernels	Palm oil	Ground-nuts	Ground-nut oil	Cotton	Rubber
High	77	123	125	95	93	89	177
Low	43	94	112	75	77	70	133
Six year average ...	56	106	117	86	83	81	149

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, FOS, Lagos, 1964, Table 8.24.

2/ "While the volumes of Nigeria's cocoa exports have shown a steeply rising trend since the mid-1950's, prices have been declining, with only

Table 11.--Volume and value indices for principal export crops, 1955-57, 1958-61, and 1962-64 averages; 1954 = 100

	Cocoa	Palm kernels	Palm oil	Ground-nuts	Ground-nut oil	Cotton	Rubber
	Volume						
1955-57 ...	116	93	86	89	114	110	172
1958-61 ...	145	92	85	107	148	139	244
1962-64 ...	193	83	61	131	336	113	300
	Value						
1955-57 ...	65	84	104	79	105	104	218
1958-61 ...	87	101	99	92	125	110	383
1962-64 ...	90	86	72	115	185	97	392

Source: "Trade and the National Economy of Nigeria," by Enyinna Chuta, unpublished B.Sc. thesis, Dept. of Economics, Univ. of Nigeria, June, 1966. Tables IVB and IVC.

It can be seen that for cocoa, although volume almost doubled, value of exports never again reached the 1954 level because of falling prices (Table 12). The effect of low producer prices on palm produce is indicated particularly by the relatively more rapid fall in the volume of palm oil which unlike the kernels is used for domestic food consumption. Indeed the export price of palm oil held up the best of all the products listed in Table 11 except for rubber with palm kernels being the only other product to maintain an average export price, in current terms, above the 1954 level. Groundnuts and especially groundnut oil increased in value in current terms over the period in spite of somewhat lower prices because of increased volume. Rubber prices, value and volume increased most rapidly of all while

temporary recoveries in 1958 and 1964, from the peak attained in 1954." Page 126 of The First Six-Year Plan of Nigeria, GATT Development Plan Studies, Geneva 1966.

Table 12.--Nigeria's position in world trade of her chief agricultural exports; volume, value and ranking among exporting nations, average 1962-64

1962-64 average	Volume				Value			
	World	Nigeria			World	Nigeria		
	1,000 metric tons	1,000 metric tons	Percentage world trade	Rank world trade	Million U.S. dollars	Million U.S. dollars	Percentage world trade	Rank world trade
Cocoa	1,048	192	18.3	2	502	99	19.7	2
Palm kernels ...	674	392	58.3	1	87	55	62.6	1
Palm oil	543	128	23.6	2	106	26	25.0	1
Groundnuts	1,437	575	39.6	1	251	96	38.3	1
Groundnut oil ..	385	72	18.6	2	120	19	16.2	2
Cotton	3,652	30	0.8	21	2,220	20	0.9	18
Rubber	2,503	62	2.5	5	1,272	33	2.6	5

Source: Trade Yearbook, Vol. 19, 1965 FAO, U.N., Rome, Tables 60, 86, 114, 82, 109, 99 and 94.

cotton increased volume enough to more than offset about a twenty percent average drop on prices for the 1955 to 1964 period as a whole.

Thus, taken all together, the figures in Tables 9, 10, and 11 indicate that the export sector of agriculture is not maintaining its share of the export market primarily because of the increasing importance of other exports especially petroleum oil.

In particular, the two major tree crops, cocoa and palm oil, failed to keep up, the former due to falling world prices and the latter strongly influenced by falling volumes going into export channels through the marketing boards. This, undoubtedly, reflects the effects of lower prices to producers on incentives to harvest, process, and market produce from wild oil palm trees through the marketing boards.

Table 12 shows the importance of Nigeria in the world trade of her chief agricultural exports. For cocoa, oil palm and groundnut products, Nigeria is one of the most significant world suppliers while her percentage of the world cotton and rubber markets is much smaller. It will be recalled from Table 9, that these products bear a similar relationship to each other in terms of their contribution to Nigeria's foreign exchange and balance of payments.

The importance of agriculture's export sector for development is highlighted when it is set against developments in the import sector of the economy and the overall trade balance.

Imports and Trade Balance

While agricultural products have been falling as a percentage of the value of total exports, imports have also been undergoing significant changes in composition in recent years (Table 13).

Table 13.--Value of total imports and percentages of value for major categories 1960-64 annual figures

Year	Value of total imports in millions of pounds	Percentage of value total imports				
		Non-durable consumer goods	Durable consumer goods	Capital goods	Raw materials	All other
1960	215.9	48.1	12.4	22.4	16.9	0.2
1961	222.3	48.6	11.6	21.8	17.8	0.2
1962	203.7	44.8	11.6	23.8	19.5	0.3
1963	207.5	44.6	8.6	24.1	22.2	0.5
1964	253.9	40.2	7.5	28.4	23.6	0.3

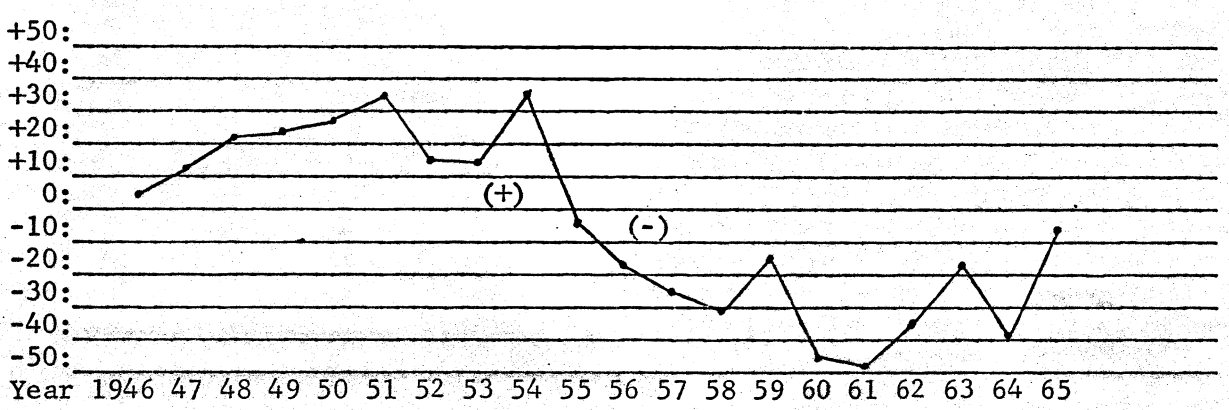
Source: Same as Table 11; Tables IIA and IIB.

The share of imports for consumption goods, both durable and non-durable, has decreased considerably while that of capital goods and raw materials has risen substantially. Some major items within groups have changed in relative importance between 1960 and 1964. Imports of cement fell substantially as a result of the establishment of domestic plants while petroleum products increased greatly. The rapid rise in imports of petroleum products should be blunted by the recent establishment of a refinery at Port Harcourt. The increase in capital goods is mainly accounted for by imports of heavy equipment and machinery while raw materials consisted of such items as paper and cloth materials, glass, iron bars, fertilizer and chemicals. These shifts away from consumption goods towards production capital and raw materials are indicative of increased emphasis on economic development.

The effect of Nigeria's efforts to develop combined with falling real prices for her primary exports on her trading position has been to change a positive balance position for each year going back at least as far as 1937 to a negative position for every year since 1954 through 1965. This can be seen on the graph below for 1946-1965.

Thus, for the years shown in Figure 1, with regard to her visible balance on total external trade, from 1946 through 1954 Nigeria accumulated £191.4 millions and from 1955 through 1965 lost £286.1 millions for a net balance for the entire twenty-year period of minus 94.7 million pounds. As a result, trade surpluses accumulated prior to 1955 have been exhausted and their place must be filled by some combination of increased foreign aid and increased exports if the projected pace of the development effort is not to be scaled down (see (51), pp.64-65).

Visible balance, total external trade, 1946-1965 in £ millions



Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, FOS, Lagos 1960 and 1964, Table 19 and Table 8.1 respectively.
Economic Indicators, Vol. 2, No. 11, FOS, Lagos, Nov. 1966 Table 4.1

Figure 1

Thus Agriculture has played a crucial role in supplying foreign exchange via exports of primary crops. The importance of this role is emphasized when one remembers that although petroleum production is increasing rapidly, a large share of the earnings are retained overseas.

The supplying of foreign exchange is one aspect of agriculture's role in providing the means of achieving the necessary capital accumulation for economic development.

Capital Formation

Agriculture contributed to capital formation by direct formation of capital within its sector of the economy, by taxes on individual incomes, marketing board taxes on its export crops and by producing raw materials to substitute for imported goods. Table 14 below gives a rough idea of agriculture's share of gross fixed capital formation from 1957 to 1963.

The share of real capital formation attributed to land, agriculture and mining development as a sector rose from the 1957-59 period to the 1961-63 period. The total economy's private sector continued to contribute

Table 14.--Gross fixed capital formation in Nigeria at 1957 prices 1957-1963 annual figures

	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Land, agriculture & mining development sector in million pounds.....	10.8	14.1	12.0	10.9	27.4	22.4	29.7
Total all sectors in million pounds	99.3	108.6	127.2	126.9	140.2	137.2	153.0
Land, agriculture & mining development as a percentage of total	10.9	13.0	9.4	8.6	19.5	16.3	19.4
Total private as a percentage of total for economy	61.5	54.3	49.9	51.0	60.3	59.8	64.2

Source: Economic Indicators, Vol. 2, No. 11, FOS, Lagos, November 1966, Table 10.3.

well over one-half the total capital formation over the entire period as indicated in the botton row of Table 14. At the same time, this clearly indicates the importance of the public sector as well.

The magnitude of agriculture's contribution to the public sector can be indicated by marketing board withdrawals and individual direct taxes paid. For the period 1958/59 through 1961/62, the combined total current revenue of the federal, regional, and local governments amounted to £502.9 millions of which individual direct taxes contributed £64.8 millions or 12.9 percent (69).

Since most Nigerians live in rural areas and engage in agriculture, their portion of individual direct taxes is no doubt very substantial. The contribution through marketing boards is indicated in Table 15.

Table 15.--Government withdrawals from major components of marketing boards from 1947 to 1961 in (£) millions

	Cocoa	Ground-nuts	Palm kernels	Palm oil	Cotton	Total withdrawals for five crops listed
Total withdrawals in millions of pounds 1947-1961[1/]	115.7	61.9	68.3	32.4	14.5	292.8
Withdrawals as a percentage of potential producer's income	31.9	24.0	28.1	21.0	22.1	27.3

1/ For Cocoa 1947/48 to 1961/62; Groundnuts 47/50 to 60/61; Palm kernels and Palm oil 47-61 and Cotton 49/50 to 60/61.

Source: The Fiscal Role of the Marketing Boards in Nigerian Economic Development, 1947-61, by G.K. Helleiner, Center Paper No. 50; Yale University Growth Center, New Haven, 1964; Table II, see article for exact definitions of "potential producer income" and various inclusions and exclusions for particular crops and years.

Table 15 clearly shows the impact of marketing board withdrawals on the peasant producer's income with an average of over one-quarter of his potential income taxed away in one manner or another for the entire period. The total withdrawals of 292.8 million pounds for the entire period represent almost exactly one-third the combined Federal and Regional Government revenue for the decade 1951-61 of 879.2 million pounds.[3/]

For the 1962/63 - 1963/64 two-year period, receipts from marketing boards were about 15 million for the finance of development (73). However, the level of government revenue has been sharply higher in recent years and this level of marketing board revenue represents only 5.2 percent of the combined federal and regional government revenue of 286.9 million for the

3/ Compiled from Annual Abstract of Statistics, Nigeria, FOS, Lagos Various issues.

two years 1963 and 1964(69). Thus, the importance of marketing board receipts as a portion of government revenues is decreasing in relative terms.

Nevertheless, the Nigerian peasant farmers' contribution to current revenue of Nigerian governments at all levels through direct taxes on their incomes and levies on their export crops alone are very substantial and obviously represent only a part of agriculture's true contribution to capital formation in the economy.

No attempt shall be made here to "guesstimate" the amount of private capital formation taking place within the agricultural sector itself. However, Okigbo (80) imputes to peasant investment in agriculture 8.2 million pounds or 7.3 percent of his figure for total gross fixed investment of 113.0 million pounds for 1957.

Another aspect to be touched on briefly is agriculture's supplying raw materials to the manufacturing sector and substituting domestic for imported consumer goods. The exported products already mentioned all have potential industrial applications of one degree or another. There are opportunities for processing industries to be developed as in the case of palm kernels which might have the palm kernel oil extracted before being exported. Sugar could be refined to a greater extent domestically. Many rubber, cloth, and leather items of clothing are imported which could be manufactured locally using local materials. Milk, fish and tobacco imports could be replaced by domestic products. Local materials could be used more extensively in manufacturing fertilizer. Any additional industrial raw materials or consumption goods which are produced domestically instead of imported save foreign exchange and help provide more jobs and higher incomes for indigenous Nigerians.

A Market for Domestic Goods and Services

Agriculture at present has potential as a market for items which are cheap and represent an improvement over the traditional situation. Thus, rubber sandles, plastic pails, soap powder, and similar consumer items find a market in the rural areas even when incomes are low. The market for commercial fertilizer is growing and there is always a need for more and better hand tools and other production items which are within reach of the farmer's pocketbook. Modern machinery such as tractors might be brought into the picture on a limited scale under some sort of cooperative arrangement.

Population and Labor Force

In the proceding sections, we have covered some of the major aspects of agriculture's role in and contributions to the overall Nigerian economy during the recent past. It remains to indicate the proportion of the total population who have been engaged in performing these tasks.

Ultimately, for sustained economic development to take place, the proportion of the labor force necessary to feed the total population must decrease which implies that productivity per agricultural worker will increase. However, the agricultural sector must provide employment for the majority of the population until the other sectors can absorb an increasing proportion. Otherwise, an increasingly difficult problem of urban un-or under-employment develops. This results in political and civil disturbances, growing slums and increasing pressure on the government to neglect development priorities in favor of palative measures to improve urban living conditions.

The only satisfactory way out of this dilemma is to try and balance productivity gains within agriculture against employment considerations. This can best be achieved by getting maximum increases in productivity within the agricultural sector by means of relatively labor intensive as opposed to capital intensive measures. Ideally, development of the non-agricultural sector should attract rural people to the urban sector at about the rate it can gainfully employ them. In actual fact, certainly in Nigeria, there is already a substantial unemployment problem in the urban areas.

The 1952/53 census gives a total of 603,054; 454,967; and 1,770,870 inhabitants for the North, East and West (including the Mid-West) respectively as living in towns larger than 20,000(69). This gives 3.6, 6.3, and 29.1 percent of the respective regions population in "urban" areas. Applying these percentages to the 1963 census figures(69), we have 28.71, 11.61, and 9.09 million people left in the "rural" sector in 1963 for each region respectively, giving an 88.8 percentage for Nigeria as a whole. Most all Nigerians outside the larger cities live in villages and farm to one degree or another as soon as they are old enough to work.

Still another measure is the proportion of Nigerians of both sexes classified as having agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fishing and hunting as their primary occupation. According to the 1952/53 census, out of an occupational classification total of 14,498 thousand, 11,336 thousand were so classified(69). This gives a "labor force" percentage for the economy as a whole of about 47.7 of which "agriculture" represents 78.2 percent.

Combining the above estimated percentages, we have nine out of ten Nigerians living in rural areas, and of the five out of ten Nigerians who make up the labor force, four are engaged in agriculture. Insofar as the urban sector may have grown more rapidly than the rural sector since 1952/53, these percentages overestimate both the proportion of Nigerians living in the rural sector and the proportion of the labor force accounted for by agriculture in 1963.

FAO, using 1963 census data estimates the potential labor force of people aged 15 to 60 as 30.6 million or about 55 percent and with participation rates of 98 percent and 66 percent respectively for males and females. From these figures, they derive an economically active population of 25.1 million or about 45 percent, of which agriculture accounts for 80 percent. Thus, curiously enough, either method results in an active labor force of something less than one-half the population, four-fifths of whom are engaged in agriculture and one can infer that neither the proportion of working Nigerians nor agriculture's share of them has changed greatly between 1952 and 1963.

It is however appropriate here to point out that nearly all data on Nigerian agriculture depend on entire series of estimates that have little factual foundation. Some data are based on little more than conjecture. All agregative data concerning agriculture with the exception of export figures are unreliable and are only intended here to be indicative of gross relationships.

Summary of Performance

Several major conclusions can be drawn from the above material. First, agriculture seems to be feeding the population fairly adequately except for certain nutritional deficiencies, especially protein. There is no reason to predict a serious shortage of basic domestic foodstuffs in the next couple of decades. However, if incomes rise and agriculture is not prepared to supply the increased demand for superior products a higher expenditure for imported foods could arise. This would put additional strain on foreign exchange earnings and deprive the domestic producers of potential increased incomes.

In the export sector, agriculture has been performing fairly well in terms of increasing volumes of exports. However, rapidly falling prices for cocao and depressed producer prices for oil palm products have substantially decreased foreign exchange earnings from this sector.

Finally, agriculture seems to be employing about four-fifths of the labor force and this does not seem to have changed much over the last decade. Since there is already substantial underemployment in urban areas, this employment function is probably more important at present than supplying members to the urban labor force.

In general then, while Nigeria's agriculture so far has been performing fairly well in maintaining current standards of living in the face of a rapidly rising population, it has not been increasing its productivity and output at a rate sufficient to play its expected role in establishing sustained economic growth in the Nigerian economy as a whole.

Having discussed the long term development of agriculture very briefly and the recent past in more detail, we move ahead to consider the role Nigerian agriculture is expected to play in the next decade or so.

CHAPTER III.--AGRICULTURE AND NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENT: 1963-1980

The discussion of future prospects is based on the comprehensive FAO agricultural development report(28) and does not take account of the political and military hostilities. It is thus unfortunately a discussion of what might have been rather than of a currently realistic possibility. Nevertheless, it does indicate the dimensions of the realistically feasible under favorable circumstances, as well as the development strategy and some major attendant problems to its realization. Although the present hostilities undoubtedly make the quantitative achievements anticipated impossible of accomplishment according to the timetable of pre-war expectations; they do not affect the ultimate soundness of the basic strategy nor the existence of the obstacles to its fulfillment. The difficulties are not eliminated by the war--only exacerbated.

The Development Model

FAO starts by accepting as "givens" the objectives of the National Development Plan of 1962-68 which reflect a set of political decisions. The primary objectives are: to attain an annual growth rate for the economy of at least 4 percent per annum, to achieve self-sustained growth not later than the end of the third or fourth National Plan and a more equitable distribution of income. FAO comes to the conclusion that the first objective is a minimum and that by 1968 the growth rate must be substantially higher. FAO doubts that self-sustained growth can be achieved by 1980 except through sacrifices that would exceed what the people could bear.

The major income discrepancy according to FAO is between persons engaged in agriculture and in other occupations. Because of relatively low income elasticities for agricultural products and the necessity for the agricultural sector to absorb a large part of the population increase, FAO sees little likelihood that this disparity will decrease before 1980 and it could even grow larger.

The overall aggregate model is a two-sector one divided into agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. By taking a look at the economy at the beginning and at the end of the time period involved, we can see the change in the absolute level of economic activity that is to have occurred. Then by looking at some of the rates of growth and magnitudes of change of some of the key variables, we can see the relative contributions each made and the structural changes the economy underwent in moving from the earlier to the later position. Finally if we look at some of the key factors on a per capita basis we can get an idea of the change in terms of work productivity and consumption that the development effort is to bring about in the lives of individual Nigerians.

For this purpose Table 16 was developed based on figures available in the FAO report. It is divided into three basic sections which can be represented schematically as follows:

Section A: Output 1963/64 increases to Output 1979/80 as a result of;

Section B: the increase in Level of Inputs from 1963/64 to 1979/80
and
the increasing Productivity of these Inputs which allows:

Section C: the average Nigerian to increase his Level of Consumption and change the Composition of his Expenditures at the same time.

Table 16.--Agriculture and Nigerian economic development, 1963/64-1979/80

Economic Variable	Unit column	1963/64	1979/80	Change, 1963/64-1979/80 Annual growth rate	Change, 1963/64-1979/80 Percentage increase
				------- Percent -------	
Total population	Millions	55.6	86.2	2.8	55
A. Output:					
Gross domestic production (GDP)[1]	Million ₤[2]	1,394	3,275	5.6	135
Per capita	₤[2]	25	38	2.7	52
Non-agricultural	Million ₤	587	1,720	6.95	193
Agricultural	do.	807	1,555	4.2	93
Food	do.	691	1,319	4.1	91
Raw materials (domestic use)	do.	3	10	7.8	233
Exports	do.	113	226	4.4	100
Percentage of GDP ...	Percent	57.9	47.5		
B. Inputs:					
Total investment	Million ₤	172	642	8.6	273
Percentage private	Percent	60	54		
Percentage of GDP	do.	12	20		
Agricultural investment .	Million ₤	30	135		350
Percentage private	Percent	67	55		
Percentage of total ...	do.	17	21		
Domestic savings	Million ₤	139	524	8.7	277
Percentage of total investment	Percent	80.8	81.6		
Percentage of GDP	do.	10	16		
Foreign sources	Million ₤	33	188		258
Labor					
Economically active population[3]	Millions	25.1	36.1		44
Percentage of total population	Percent	45	42		
In agriculture	Millions	20.1	26.0		29
Percentage of total active	Percent	80	72		
Productivity					
Output per capita econ. active population					
Non-agricultural ...	₤	117.4	170.3	2.4	45
Agricultural	do.	40.1	59.8	2.5	49
Percentage of non agricultural ..	Percent	34.2	35.1		

(continued)

Table 16.--Agriculture and Nigerian economic development, 1963/64-1979/80 (continued)

	1963/64 to 1967/68	1967/68 to 1973/74	1973/74 to 1979/80	1963/64 to 1979/80
	(Capital:Output ratios)[4]			
Productivity of capital				
Total economy	4:1	3.5:1	3.25:1	3.47:1
Non-agricultural				4.63:1
Agricultural[5]				1.72:1

Economic Variable	Unit column	1963/64	1979/80	Change, 1963/64-1979/80: Annual growth rate	Change, 1963/64-1979/80: Percentage increase
				Percent	
C. Private consumption:					
Private consumption	Million Ł	1,160	2,421	4.7	109
Percentage of total	Percent	92.4	88.0		
Per capita	Ł	20.9	28.1	1.9	34
Food expenditure as percentage of private	Percent	62	56		
Food imports as percentage of food expenditure	Percent	3.5	1.9		

1/ At factor cost.

2/ One Ł Nigerian = $2.80

3/ The potential labor force is defined as all persons between the ages of 15 and 60 and assumed to be composed equally of males and females. Using participation rates in 1963/64 of 98 percent and 66 percent and 1979/80 of 95 percent and 63 percent for males and females respectively, the economically active population is determined. For example, for 1963/64, a potential labor force of 30.6 million yields (15.3 x .98 + 15.3 x .66) an economically active population of 25.1 million. For 1979/80 the potential labor force is estimated at 45.7 million.

4/ Capital:Output ratio apparently is defined as: the absolute difference in the level of Gross Domestic Product in constant terms between 1963/64 and 1979/80 divided into the cumulative total of all investment during the corresponding time period. For example, Total Investment 1963/64-1979/80 inclusive of million Ł6532 divided by the difference in GDP in 1963/64 and 1979/80 (3275 - 1394 = million Ł1881) yields a ratio of 3.47 to 1 for the economy as a whole.

5/ The low ratio is somewhat misleading because of the definition of agricultural investment. It excludes "all investment on housing, roads and other service amenities on land or farm settlement schemes, rural areas, etc." - FAO, Development in Nigeria, p. 385.

Source: Food and Agricultural Organization, United Nations, Agricultural Development in Nigeria 1965-1980 (Rome: FAO, 1965), Appendix 1 of Chapter I, pp. 381-385, and manipulation of figures contained therein.

If we compare the output of the economy in 1979/80 with that of 1963/64 the value of total production in real terms will have increased by over one and one-third times. The value of agricultural production will only have risen by something less than one fold while that of the non-agricultural sector will have increased by almost two fold over its 1963/64 level. The lower magnitude of increase for agriculture results from a much lower growth rate, (4.2) as opposed to the non-agricultural sector (6.95), for the sixteen-year period. The overall economy will undergo a major structural change with agriculture's share of gross domestic product falling to below fifty percent before 1980.

The composition of agriculture's contribution will not be greatly altered with the value of exports doubling and increasing slightly more rapidly than the value of food for domestic consumption. This will occur along with a much more rapid increase in value of raw materials for domestic use from a very small base. But together, these developments will only reduce the proportion of agricultural gross domestic product contributed by food for domestic consumption from 85.6 to 84.8

Increasing gross-domestic product by 135 percent in sixteen years will require substantial increases in labor and capital inputs. The magnitude of effort required is described below in the discussion of changes in levels and productivity of inputs.

Labor and Capital: Productivity and Employment

Total investment in the economy will be 273 percent higher in 1979/80 than it was in 1963/64. If this is achieved, investment as a percentage of gross domestic product will have risen from 12 to 20 percent, a very

substantial increase indeed. To make this possible, domestic savings must rise slightly faster than total investment, (8.7 percent per annum as opposed to 8.6) and this assumes that investment funds from foreign sources increase by over two and one half times the 1963/64 level.

This will require domestic savings as a percentage of gross domestic product to rise from 10 to 16 percent and even this effort would only increase domestic savings share of total investment in the economy from 80.8 to 81.6 percent.

W.A. Lewis (51) discusses this point as follows. The country wishes to invest 16 percent of GDP but private domestic savings is only 8 percent and foreign aid and investment has been running at just over 2 percent. The 6 percent gap was being filled half by current government surpluses and half by running down surpluses accumulated in the first half of the fifties. These surplus are now exhausted leaving Nigeria 3 to 4 percent of GDP short of funds to finance capital formation at the desired rate. By 1970 the situation can be rectified when, partly due to rising oil revenues, the government revenues can be raised to 5 percent of GDP. This combined with a reasonable 4 percent from foreign aid and investment and an unchanged 8 percent private domestic savings will make possible capital formation of 17 percent of GDP. By way of comparison, in the FAO model, foreign investment rises from 2.37 to 2.60 percent of GDP between 1963/64 and 1979/80.

Agriculture's share of total investment will rise from 17 to 21 percent while its percentage of public investment will rise even faster going from 14 to 21 percent. This indicates a shift in emphasis in the government's investment policy towards the agricultural sector.

Here too important structural changes are taking place in the economy with the governments' role in investment growing from 40 to 46 percent in the economy as a whole and from 33 to 45 percent in the agricultural sector. Thus, by 1980 public investment will be just as important in the agricultural sector as in the rest of the economy and will account for almost one-half the economy's total funds invested for capital formation.

Complementing the increased investment and capital formation will be a growing labor force to put it to work producing goods and services. The economically active population[1/] will increase from 25 to 36 millions, an absolute gain of 44 percent while falling as a percentage of total population from 45 to 42 percent. Agriculture's share will fall from 80 to 72 percent of the economically active population. Thus a smaller percentage of the population will be supporting the economy and fewer of these will be working in agriculture. If levels of living are not to decline, the productivity of these workers must increase at least enough to offset this decline in the working force's proportion of total population.

Actually, the productivity of both capital and labor is expected to increase enough to more than maintain present standards of living for the average Nigerian. The capital invested is expected to have a higher return in 1979/80 than it did in 1963/64. The marginal efficiency of capital[2/] for the economy as a whole increases from an annual return of 25 percent to

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1/ See footnote 3, Table 16 for definition.

2/ The marginal efficiency of capital is the inverse of the capital-output ratio. Thus for the economy as a whole the average annual rate of return for a pound invested in the 1963/64--67/68 period is 1/4 or 25 percent while by the 1973/74--79/80 period it has risen to 1/3.25 or 30.8 percent.

over 30 percent by 1979/80. For the entire period it takes on the average 4.63 pounds (£) in the non-agricultural sector to earn an annual return to the economy of one pound while in agriculture it only takes 1.72 pounds.3/ Thus, over the period covered, every pound invested in agriculture contributes 2.7 times as much income as a pound invested in the rest of the economy.

However, it must be kept in mind (besides definitional difficulties) that the ultimate return to the pound invested in the non-agricultural sector may compare much more favorably if the time period considered is extended beyond the period considered here. For example, investment in educating a potential scientist may have no return at all by 1979/80 and a very large return indeed from 1985 through 2015.

The rate of return depends not only on the inherent productivity of each type of investment but also on the proportion of each type that goes into the entire mix of the development effort. In Nigeria, one of the important roles of agriculture in the next decade or so is to support the ongoing economy to a substantially greater extent than that indicated by its relative share of investment. This is indicated by its much lower capital:output ratio and is vital for laying the groundwork and infrastructure for sustained and rapid later growth of the economy as a whole.

The money invested will provide better tools, education, etc., and other requisites to make labor more productive. Labor productivity of the economically active population in agriculture will rise very slightly more rapidly than in the non-agricultural sector (2.5 percent per annum as opposed to 2.4). This is because there is a much higher return to investment

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3/ But, recall the definition of agricultural investment given in footnote 5, Table 16.

in agriculture, as already discussed, and a much smaller relative increase in the size of the economically active population between 1963/64 and 1979/80. The economically active population for the agricultural sector increases by only 29 percent while the non-agricultural sector doubles (102 percent increase). These factors along with the substantial improvement in the relative position of investment per capita as indicated in Table 17 will just about balance out the effects of the much greater absolute per capita investment in the non-agricultural sector. The net result of this will be that productivity per economically active head in agriculture will remain almost constant as a percentage of that in the non-agricultural sector (rising from 34.2 to 35.1 percent).

Table 17.--Investment per economically active member of the population

Sector	Year	
	1963/64	1979/80
	Nigerian £	
Non-agricultural sector	28.4	50.2
Agriculture	1.5	5.2
Total Economy	7.6	17.8
	Percent	
Agriculture as a percentage of non-agriculture	5.3	10.4

Source: Computed from figures in Table 16.

This certainly represents a minimum achievement in light of a second major role of the agricultural sector, namely, providing employment.4/ Unless the substantially greater investment effort in the non-agriculture sector is productive enough to provide for a 5 percent annual growth rate in job opportunities in the rest of the economy as FAO assumes, the pressure on agriculture will be still greater. While the relative position of the worker in the agricultural sector in percentage terms is not worsened, the far greater increase in absolute value of per-capita production (£ 52.9 as against £ 19.7) in the non-agricultural sector insofar as it reflects wage differentials is bound to act as a magnet to the rural unemployed. This is particularly true in a country like Nigeria where the extended family cultural pattern (to be discussed later) facilitates movement of practically indigent individuals from rural to urban areas.

This emphasizes the importance of maintaining, or if possible even improving, the relative parity of agricultural wages with those in the rest of the economy. This can be achieved in part by obtaining the maximum possible return from every pound invested in agriculture. Even assuming an excellent performance in this regard, government fiscal policy should be carefully geared to the employment situation as it develops. Two aspects of fiscal policy lend themselves particularly to this task. First, social amenities can be appropriately weighted in favor of the rural areas.

4/ "Unemployment is Nigeria's most serious social problem, with political as well as economic consequences." W.A. Lewis (51, p.41).

"...Agriculture (including fisheries and forestry) to provide the equivalent of full-time employment for more than 17 million people by 1980 as compared with about 11 million at present. Programmes for improving techniques of production and for opening up little-used areas must, therefore, be measured against this tremendous employment task..." FAO (28, p.XXV).

Secondly, taxation policy can be used to recapture more of the additional gains in productivity in the non-agricultural sector. This second aspect is most important because it not only reduces the gap in real incomes between agriculture and the rest of the economy, but it also provides additional investable funds to the economy for development and this in turn provides jobs. Within the context of recapturing the maximum amount of workers' incomes from all sectors consistent with leaving them adequate incentives, the relative gap between agriculture and the rest of the economy must be balanced off against the urban unemployment problem.

Changes in Consumption Expenditure

If the above results on the supply side of the economy were actually achieved by 1980, the average Nigerian would be better off and have a higher standard of living. The increase, however, would be far less for the individual than for the economy as a whole because of the great increase in population accompaning the development effort.

Population is expected to grow from 55.6 to 86.2 million, an increase of fifty-five percent. When the 135 percent increase in gross domestic product is placed on a per-capita basis, the increase falls to 52 percent. When the portion of gross domestic product re-invested is removed the increase in per-capita private consumption falls still lower to only 34 percent. In other words, the effects of the development effort coupled with population growth will only allow the average Nigerian to increase his personal consumption level by one third from 20.9 to 28.1 pounds ($58.52 to $78.68) over the sixteen year period. This is an annual average rate of growth of only 1.9 percent.

One measure of the sacrifice involved on the part of the average Nigerian can be had by comparing per-capita domestic savings with per-capita consumption. Domestic savings will increase from 2.5 pounds to 6.79 pounds on a per-capita basis. Thus while increasing his consumption level by 7.2 pounds, the average Nigerian is expected to increase his savings by 4.3 pounds. For every extra pound he spends in 1980 over what he spent in 1963, he is expected to increase his savings by approximately six-tenths (59.7 percent) of a pound.

By the time 1980 rolls around, the percentage of consumption expenditure devoted to food will have decreased from 62 to 56 percent and relatively more will be spent for domestically produced than for imported foods. The percentage of food expenditure accounted for by imports is expected to drop from 3.5 to 1.9. Thus, by 1980 the average Nigerian will still be spending well over one-half his income for food but the food he consumes will have increased slightly in quantity and more so in quality. The most important change is illustrated below in Table 18 regarding protein intake which shows not only a substantial gain in quantity but also a relative shift in favor of animal protein which is very desirable from a nutritional standpoint. This is indicative of the great improvement needed in Nigeria's livestock industry. It also illustrates the necessity for Nigerian agriculture to alter its production mix in favor of superior food products with higher income elasticities if, as the model assumes, the country's dependence on imported foods is to undergo a further decrease.

Table 18.--Estimated daily per capita protein intake -- 1980 targets compared to 1963/64

Region	1963/64	1979/80	Percentage improvement
	Grams	Grams	Percent
North			
Total protein	79.9	87.5	10
Animal protein ...	7.2	12.4	72
West			
Total protein	39.6	46.9	18
Animal protein ...	7.6	10.4	37
East			
Total protein	33.2	37.1	12
Animal protein ...	4.9	7.1	45

Source: Same as Table 16: table 3.

Implications of the Model in a Global Context

A frequent discussion topics in development literature is the "gap" in levels of living between the so-called "have" and "have-not" nations. Since we can assume that the FAO model is intended to represent a "maximum feasible effort", it would be instructive to compare its intended performance with that of developed countries. For this purpose, we will use the United States as the representative of the developed countries. Obviously, results can vary depending on what nations and time periods one choses to compare. However, since the United States is generally accepted as the richest nation in the world and since Nigeria has already been doing "remarkably well"

according to a leading development economist, (W.A. Lewis, (51) p.10) it is probably as meaningful a comparison as any other in the above "gap" context.

We will pit the performance expected of the Nigerian economy from 1963/64 through 1979/80 against that of the United States economy from 1950-1963. For the sake of a rough comparison, this period for the United States is the most recent and ends in 1963. Also, (as defined below) it starts in the interval between World War II and the Korean War and ends before the Viet-Nam conflict became a major factor in the United States allocation of resources. In other words, it probably comes as close as any selection of doing the impossible, namely, finding a "normal" peacetime period since World War II on which to base growth rates for the United States economy.

In order to eliminate the effects of year to year variations, three year averages will be used in determining the United States growth rate in real terms from 1950 through 1963, i.e., 1949 through 1951 and 1962 through 1964. By assuming that growth rates for 1963 through 1979 for the U.S. will be the same, we can get an idea of a reasonably likely economic situation for the United States at that time to compare with Nigeria's predicted situation in 1979/80 obtained using the FAO model. Although the footnotes to Table 19 show that the economic indicators used for the two countries are not identical, they are certainly close enough to evaluate the general effects of sixteen years of development at the postulated rates for the two economies on the level of living "gap" between them.

The figures in Table 19 speak for themselves; the value of the increase in per capita output in real terms over the sixteen year period for the United States is almost 27 times that for Nigeria. In terms of real per-capita private expenditure it is over 32 times as great. If the Nigerian

Table 19.--Projected per-capita growth, 1963/64 to 1979/80 United States and Nigeria in real terms[1/]

	Unit	United States	Nigeria
Per-capita gross domestic product:[2/]			
1963-64[1/]	Dollars	3,111	70
1979-80[1/]	do.	4,074	106
Net increase	do.	963	36
Compound annual rate of growth[3/]	Percent	1.7[3/]	2.7
Time needed for Nigeria to reach US 1963 level from 1963/64 base[4/]	Years		143
Per-capita private consumption expenditure:[5/]			
1963/64[1/]	Dollars	1,974	59
1979/80[1/]	do.	2,626	79
Net increase	do.	652	20
Compound annual growth rate[3/]	Percent	1.8[3/]	1.9
Time needed for Nigeria to reach US 1963 level from 1963/64 base[6/]	Years		187

1/ For the U.S., figures for 1963/64 are 1963, and 1979/80 are 1979.

2/ For the U.S., gross national product.

3/ Compound annual growth rate for 1949-51 average to 1962-64 average in 1958 prices. This value is used to extrapolate 1963 figures in current terms to 1979.

4/ At a continuing compound annual growth rate of 2.7 percent.

5/ For the U.S., total personal consumption expenditure.

6/ At a continuing compound annual growth rate of 1.9 percent.

Sources: Nigeria -- Table 16, Nigerian £ converted to U.S. Dollars, 1 £ = $2.80.

United States -- Economic Report of the President, US Gov't. Printing Office, Washington, 1966, Calculated from figures in tables C-2 and C-19.

economy were to continue to grow at these same rates, it would be the year 2106 before per capita output would equal the 1963 United States level. For per capita private expenditure it would be 2150.

It is clear that by 1980, under the above set of realistic assumptions, the "gap" in any meaningful sense will have very greatly increased. The figures regarding how long it would take Nigeria to catch up are of course meant to be illustrative rather than realistic. This is because it is most

unlikely that the key variables underlying the rates of growth predicted for 1963/64 to 1979/80--for example, population--would continue to grow jointly so as to maintain these very same rates.

The importance of the figures in Table 19 is the light they shed on policy decisions on the part of developed countries regarding aid to the developing countries. Let us assume that the "gap" in levels of living must be narrowed or at least not allowed to worsen for the sake of humanitarian reasons and the political and social stability in the world -- or even in terms of selfish national interests on the part of the developed countries themselves. Insofar as policy-makers in developed countries accept this assumption, aid to developing countries must receive a far higher priority compared to other objectives of national policy than it now does. The present effort in the case of Nigeria, one of the most important countries in Africa, is clearly inadequate - even within the context of a strenuous development effort on the part of the Nigerians themselves - to achieve this objective.

CHAPTER IV--THE OVERALL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR AGRICULTURE

The last chapter outlined in the broadest dimensions, the tasks the FAO sets for the Nigerian Agricultural Economy. How it is to be achieved constitutes most of their report but without going into great detail we can touch upon the key elements of strategy. Basically, the objectives are to achieve the maximum increase in output, properly balanced between exports and products for domestic use, as rapidly as possible. But, this must be accomplished within the constraints imposed by feasible resource availabilities on the supply side and probable limitations on effective demand in the domestic and foreign markets.

The Export Sector

The basic objective is to provide £ 300 ($840) millions, at 1957 prices, in export earnings by 1980. FAO makes various estimates of possible world market prices for these crops. Based on these assumptions and the existing production base, they propose regional schemes of rehabilition of old plantings as well as new plantings using improved varieties. These are combined with recommendations on fertilizer and insecticide use etc. as well as training of extension personel to supervise the schemes. Table 20 shows a set of possible changes in acreages devoted to each of five traditional major export crops by 1980 as proposed by FAO. The combination of improved varieties, new techniques and increased fertilizer or spraying etc. would result in increased yields per acre of 35% for cocoa, 69% for

rubber, 56% for oil palm, 29% for ground-nuts and 60% for cotton.[1/] These are average increases for the entire area under production, both yielding and not yet yielding, for each crop.

It must be emphasized that these are only one out of any number of possible sets of acreage and yield figures based on particular sets of assumptions. Nevertheless they do indicate the relative magnitudes of change in total acreages and distribution among the regions. If they were actually to occur the resultant production would look like that shown in Table 21. The most notable change is the great drop in the percentage of rubber acreage and production accounted for by the Mid-west. This is a result of the new planting efforts in the other regions using high-yielding varieties. These efforts would outstrip the developments in the Mid-west even though the percentage of area under unimproved smallholder conditions there will fall from 93 to 28 percent.

Certain observations are in order regarding factors which will have an influence on the actual development of the export crops listed. Tree crops represent a much longer fixed investment of capital and therefore acreages cannot be readily adjusted to changes in world prices once they are planted. Also, all the crops shown except perhaps cocao are already important items of domestic consumption or potentially so. The existence or potential existence of competition from synthetic as well as from other natural substitute products for most uses of these exports further complicates the difficulties in predicting the export potentialities likely to obtain

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1/Computed from figures in Tables 20 and 21.

Table 20.--Export crops: Total acreages and regional percentages of total for 1966/67 and 1979/80

Crop	Year	Nigeria	North	West	Mid-west	East
		1,000 acres		Percentages of total		
Cocoa	1966/67	1,686		92.8	2.8	4.4
	1979/80	1,958		90.4	4.0	5.6
Rubber	1966/67	562		5.8	77.0	17.2
	1979/80	887		15.7	61.7	22.6
Oil-palm	1966/67	5,446	4.6	33.6	9.6	52.2
	1979/80	5,932	4.6	35.2	9.6	50.6
Groundnut[1/] ...	1966/67	3,147,710	100.0			
	1979/80	3,726,650	100.0			
Cotton	1966/67	1,097,480	100.0			
	1979/80	1,512,890	100.0			

1/ Actually there is a small amount of groundnut acreage in the southern regions as well; see footnote 2 of Table 21, this page.

Source: Same as Table 16: See Tables 24, 23, 31, 3 and 2 on pages 78, 116, 159, 164 and 169 respectively.

Table 21.--Export crops: Total production in long tons and regional percentages of total for 1966/67 and 1979/80

Crop	Year	Nigeria	North	West	Mid-west	East
		Long tons		Percentages of total		
Cocoa	1966/67	270,000		93.1	3.9	3.0
	1979/80	425,000		86.3	4.9	8.8
Rubber	1966/67	81,900		5.9	82.3	11.8
	1979/80	218,200		15.1	44.3	40.6
Oil-palm[1/]	1966/67	523,600	4.8	27.0	10.9	57.3
	1979/80	889,000	3.7	23.2	11.1	62.0
Groundnut[2/] ...	1966/67	960,050	100.0			
	1979/80	1,471,520	100.0			
Cotton	1966/67	50,700	100.0			
	1979/80	188,400	100.0			

1/ Excluding palm-kernels.

2/ Actually about 2.2% of total groundnut production apparently occurs in the southern regions--see footnote 1 of Table 4 on page 14.

Source: Same as Table 16: See same tables as for Table 20.

in 1980. Finally, because of anticipated unfavorable price developments in world markets, FAO's export target for 1980 cannot be met without a substantial increase in earnings from other minor agricultural exports such as benniseed, coconuts, cashew nuts, coffee, tea, hides and skins and timber. Of the £ 300 millions (at 1957 prices) hoped for in 1980, only about £ 200 million can be expected from the traditionally important export crops leaving £ 100 million to be earned by other minor crops. This represents an increase of somewhere around 233 to 300 percent over 1963/64 levels.

If developments from 1963/64 to 1979/80 go as indicated in the development model, the share of agriculture's gross domestic product contributed by exports would still only rise from 14.0 to 14.5 percent. This is indicative of the tremendous importance of the domestic sector.

Domestic Food: Supply and Demand

With population and income expected to grow substantially over the next decade or so, the damand for food is expected to rise bringing an increase in both the quality and quantity of food consumed. The FAO, assuming constant prices, projects the situation to 1979/80 as shown in Tables 22 and 23. It is notable that even with Nigeria's low level of income, no food item in Table 22 except milk and butter has an assumed income elasticity of one or greater. The income elasticities for high protein content foods such as meat and vegetables are much higher than for starchy staples. Within the starchy foods there is a strong preference assumed for cereals as opposed to tubers.

Table 22.--Estimated growth in per-capita demand for food from 1963/64 to 1979/80 by regions (assuming constant prices).

	North				West[1/]				East			
	1963/64 (kg. per year)	Assumed income elas-ticity	1979/80 (kg. per year)	% in-crease	1963/64 (kg. per year)	Assumed income elas-ticity	1979/80 (kg. per year)	% in-crease	1963/64 (kg. per year)	Assumed income elas-ticity	1979/80 (kg. per year	% in-crease
Total cereals	186.7	0.2	200.6	7	42.5	0.6	51.7	22	16.7	0.7	20.9	25
Total root crops	175.6	-0.6	127.0	-28	379.8	0.0	379.8	0	461.9	0.0	461.9	0
Grain legumes (mainly cow-peas) ..	14.7	0.2	16.0	09	4.9	0.5	5.8	18	1.0	0.5	1.2	20
Total seeds and nuts .	9.4	0.2	10.2	09	2.9	0.55	3.5	20	3.1	0.55	3.7	19
Total fats and oils ..	4.8	0.8	6.9	43	10.4	0.5	12.5	20	11.3	0.5	13.6	20
Green vegetables	3.7	0.8	5.0	35	4.4	0.8	5.7	30	18.6	0.5	22.0	18
Fruits	1.8	0.85	2.6	44	3.7	0.7	4.8	30	5.6	0.6	7.0	25
Sugar	0.8	0.8	1.1	38	3.8	0.8	5.1	34	2.0	0.8	2.7	35
Kola nuts	2.4	0.4	2.8	17	3.0	0.4	3.4	13	--	--	--	--
Total meat and offal .	12.8	0.75	17.9	40	9.4	0.85	12.8	36	7.0	0.85	9.5	36
Fish	0.8	1.0	1.1	38	15.0	0.7	19.3	29	8.2	0.7	10.6	29
Eggs	0.3	0.75	0.4	33	0.9	0.75	1.2	33	0.4	0.75	0.5	25
Cow mild (incl. camel milk) .	19.3	1.0	30.15	56	2.5	1.0	3.6	44	1.4	1.0	2.0	43
Butter	0.5	1.2	0.85	70	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Per capita income in ₤Nigeria (₤1=$2.80) ..	23.17		36.2	56	27.92		40.1	44	27.92		40:1	44

1/ Includes Mid-west and Lagos. Source: Same as Table 16: Tables II-7, II-8, and II-9.

The better initial position of the North is reflected by its lower income elasticity coefficients for meat, cereals and root crops compared to the other regions. That is, the Northerner will spend less of each additional pound he earns in 1979/80 over what he earned in 1963/64 for these food purchases than his Southern countryman. Nevertheless, Table 23 indicates that, nutritionally, the Northerner will still have a larger and better balance diet. The figures indicate some improvement in two major dietary difficiences: the low amount of protein, especially animal protein, and the high consumption of calories from tubers as opposed to cereals. This second factor is particularly important in the protein difficient areas of the South where most calories come from root crops because cereals have a much higher content of vegetable protein than tubers. Fortunately, the available data on household surveys in Nigeria tend to support the assumption that most Nigerians will improve their diets when increased incomes all of them to do so (91)

These changes in consumption imply certain parallel changes in the composition of production. Using the available data in the FAO Report, we can get some idea of the magnitude and direction of changes necessary if the anticipated changes in effective demand were actually to occur. Again, however, the magnitudes shown are indicative only since the constant price assumptions, income elasticities etc. on which the model is based obviously reflect only one set of many possibilities.

Table 24 shows by regions the expected food availabilities for domestic consumption in 1979/80 under two alternative estimates. The "comparison estimates" indicate what availabilities are needed to just maintain 1963/64 per-capita consumption levels. The "FAO estimates" are based on their per-capita effective demand and population estimates. The "differences" between the two figures show the amounts which must be made

Table 23.--Estimated daily per-capita availability of calories, protein and fat, 1963/64 -- 1979/80 by regions

	North		
	1963/64	1979/80	% increase
Calories per day	2,719	2,854	5
Protein per day (in grams)	79.9	87.5	10
Fat per day (in grams)	43.5	51.8	19
	West[1/]		
	1963/64	1979/80	% increase
Calories per day	1,909	2,107	10
Protein per day (in grams)	39.6	46.9	18
Fat per day (in grams)	41.8	48.8	17
	East		
	1963/64	1979/80	% increase
Calories per day	1,774	1,912	8
Protein per day (in grams)	33.2	37.1	12
Fat per day (in grams)	40.5	48.5	20

1/ Includes Mid-west and Lagos.

Source: Same as Table 16: See Tables II-4, II-5, II-6, II-10, II-11, and II-12.

Table 24.--Estimates of net food availabilities for consumption[1] in 1,000 tons for 1963/64 and 1979/80

	FAO estimate[1] 1963/64	Comparison[2] estimate 1979/80	FAO estimate[3] 1979/80	Difference[4] 1979/80 estimates	Percentage of[5] total supplies available in Nigeria	
					1963/64	1979/80
			NORTHERN REGION			
Cereals	5,463.5	8,470.1	9,267.7	797.6	87.7	86.3
Roots	5,140	7,968.5	5,867.4	-2,101.1	32.6	25.9
Pulses and nuts	777.4	1,205.2	1,339.8	134.6	80.3	78.9
Vegetables	109	169.0	231.0	62.0	27.7	29.9
Fruits	54	83.7	120.1	36.4	31.6	33.9
Sugar	25	38.8	50.8	12.0	25.0	24.3
Meat and offal	376.3	583.4	827.0	243.6	64.3	64.8
Fish	23.0	35.7	50.8	15.1	7.2	7.7
Eggs	8.3	12.9	18.5	5.6	33.1	34.8
Cow and camel milk .	565.1	876.1	1,395.2	519.1	91.8	92.5
Oils and fats	174	269.8	360.4	90.6	38.3	40.9
			WESTERN REGION[6]			
Cereals	559.2	868.0	1,075.4	207.4	9.0	10.0
Roots	5,003.2	7,766.0	7,899.8	133.8	31.7	34.9
Pulses and nuts	141.1	219.0	264.2	45.2	14.6	15.6
Vegetables	59	91.6	188.6	27.0	15.0	15.4
Fruits	49	76.1	99.8	23.7	28.7	28.2
Sugar	50	77.6	106.1	28.5	50.0	50.8
Meat and offal	121.9	189.2	266.2	77.0	20.8	20.9
Fish	198	307.3	401.4	94.1	61.7	61.2
Eggs	12	18.6	25.0	6.4	47.8	47.1
Cow milk	33.4	51.8	74.9	23.1	5.4	5.0
Oils and fats	140	217.3	260.0	42.7	30.8	29.5

(continued)

Table 24.--Estimates of net food availabilities for consumption[1/] in 1,000 tons for 1963/64 and 1979/80 (continued)

	FAO estimate[1/] 1963/64	Comparison[2/] estimate 1979/80	FAO estimate[3/] 1979/80	Difference[4/] 1979/80 estimates	Percentage of[5/] total supplies available in Nigeria	
					1963/64	1979/80
			EASTERN REGION			
Cereals	204.9	317.3	40.1	84.0	3.3	3.7
Roots	5,626	8,711.3	8,868.5	157.2	35.7	39.2
Pulses and nuts	49.3	76.3	94.1	17.8	5.1	5.5
Vegetables	226	349.9	422.4	72.5	57.4	54.7
Fruits	68	105.3	134.4	29.1	39.8	37.9
Sugar	25	38.7	51.8	13.1	25.0	24.8
Meat and offal	86.6	134.1	182.4	48.3	14.8	14.3
Fish	100.0	154.8	203.5	48.7	31.2	31.0
Eggs	4.8	7.4	9.6	2.2	19.1	18.1
Cow milk	17	26.3	38.4	12.1	2.8	2.5
Oils and fats	140	216.8	261.1	44.3	30.8	29.6

1/ Defined as gross production plus net regional trade minus seed, feed, manufacturing or milling loss and waste. See original FAO tables for details of estimating procedures.

2/ FAO 1963/64 estimate expanded by $\frac{1979/80}{1963/64}$ population estimate ratio.

3/ FAO 1979/80 per-capita estimate multiplied by 1979/80 population estimate.

4/ FAO 1979/80 estimate minus the 1979/80 comparison estimate.

5/ FAO estimate for 1979/80.

6/ Includes Mid-west and Lagos.

Source: Same as Table 16: Based on Tables on pages 392 through 399.

available through increased productivity and/or imports over and above the 1963/64 per-capita levels. Insofar as these additional increases are not forthcoming, they will have to be compensated for by increased imports and/or higher prices and poorer diets on the part of the consumers - neither desirable alternatives.

The percentages in the last two columns of Table 24 indicate that the distribution of food availability among the regions will not change greatly. The most prominent change being in roots where consumption in the North is expected to fall substantially and to grow only very slowly in the South.

Table 25 shows the pattern of interregional and international trade in 1963/64 for those items shown in Table 24 for which the FAO report gives figures. It emphasizes the degree of self-sufficiency in domestic food consumption Nigeria enjoys as a whole while outlining the major inter-regional trade patterns. Basic staples (along with beef) from the North are exchanged for fats and oils (mostly palm oil) from the South. The North is clearly the major food surplus area. The West is most dependent on imports; largely because of the importance of cocoa producing areas, the fact that cocoa is not eaten domestically and the inclusion of the city of Lagos and environs in the figures.

The figures in Table 25 emphasize once more the importance of developing the local livestock industry not only from a nutritional standpoint but also to save foreign exchange that may otherwise be spent on imports of high protein foods with high positive income elasticities. Basically, the FAO recommendations are to develop local production of poultry and pork

and expand and improve the Northern beef industry and the marketing system to the high population density areas of the South. The development of permanent mixed crop and livestock farming in the middle belt is also an important factor.

Table 25.--Net inter-regional and foreign trade in certain items of domestic food consumption, 1963/64 in 1,000 tons[1/]

	North	West[2/]	East	All Nigeria	
	Net trade in 1,000 tons			Net trade in 1,000 tons	Percentage of total domestic availability
Cereals	235	-289[3/]	-26	-80	0.1
Roots	403	-403	-[4/]	0	-
Pulses and nuts ..	14	-14	-	0	-
Sugar	-	-50	-25	-75	75.0
Fish	[5/]	-176	-87	-263	81.9
Milk	-	-33	-17	-50	8.1
Oils and fats	-45	35	10	0	-

1/ Negligible ratings indicated for vegetables and fruits while apparently figures are not available for meat.

2/ Includes Mid-west and Lagos.

3/ Minus sign indicates net imports.

4/ None or negligible.

5/ Data not available.

Source: Same as Table 16: Tables II-1, II-2, and II-3.

The Key Element in the Development Strategy

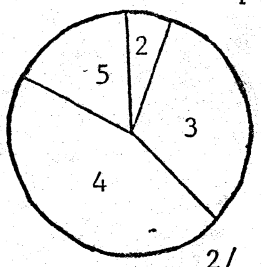
The attaining of these production goals in the export and domestic sectors of the Nigerian agricultural economy would in large part fulfill agriculture's role in what Loerbroks (52, p. 2) called: ". . .a possible course along which the Nigerian economy and its agriculture could develop if its problems are to be solved and if the objectives of national economic and social policy, Nigeria has set for herself, are to be achieved." Looking towards achieving these objectives and even far beyond in terms of basic overall long term development certain key factors are of strategic importance in development policies. Fundamentally, they all relate to one crucial point--the availability of tremendous areas of underutilized potentially productive land.

The bulk of present day production is concentrated principally around the original population nuclei of the three major tribal groups; the Hausas, the Yorubas and the Ibos in the North, West and East, respectively. There are large areas of relatively unused productive land in the riverain provinces, east of the Cross River in Eastern Nigeria and in the vast middle belt of the Northern Region which separates the heavily populated areas of the North from those of the South. These relationships are clearly illustrated on Map 3 (p.194) which shows provincial population densities which approximately parallel the concentrations of the three tribal groups mentioned above.

Necessity of Permanent Systems of Farming

A second critical factor related to the concentration of production is the system of "bush fallow" or shifting cultivation practices. The crucial feature of the system is that it is based on rotating fields between growing crops and fallow periods rather than on continuous cropping on the same piece of land. The fallow period ideally is long enough for the natural vegetation to retake the land and restore it to its original fertility before it is burned and cropped again. The system works satisfactorily until population pressure begins to reduce the fallow period progressively nearer to zero. While this process of ever shortening fallow periods takes place without any significant change in the methods of cultivation, the original high forest or other natural cover has no chance to recover and is replaced by barren grassland subject to annual fires. As a consequence the soil is bare and subject to serious erosion during the rainy season. The final stage is reached when large scale gully erosion sets in. The seriousness of this problem for Nigeria is illustrated in Figures 2 and 3 which contrast the present soil productivity situation with the potential situation.

Figure 2.--Present soil productivity[1/]



Productivity classes[2/]

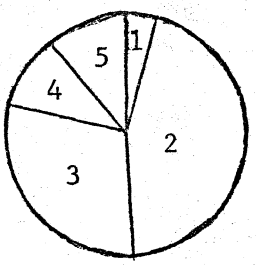
1. very high (-)
2. high (5.52)
3. medium (31.72)
4. low (46.45)
5. very low or none (16.31)

1/Based on natural fertility of soils and on the use of traditional agricultural practices.

2/Figures in brackets are percentages of total.

SOURCE: Same as Table 16: see Maps, between pages 8 and 9 and Table 3 on page 389.

Figure 3.--Potential soil productivity[2/]



Potentiality classes[2/]

1. strong (3.42)
2. good (45.53)
3. medium (30.27)
4. slight (9.73)
5. very slight or none (11.05)

1/Based on predicted results from adequate soil management practices

2/Figures in brackets are percentages of total.

SOURCE: Same as Table 16: see Maps, between pages 8 and 9 and Table 5 on page 390.

At present, almost two-thirds of the land is shown as having low or no productivity. This can only be transformed to the potential situation where only about one-fifth of the soil falls into these categories by the replacement of the present practice of shifting agriculture with systems of permanent cultivation.

This process can be greatly facilitated by a redistribution of the rural population onto the less populated areas if improved permanent farming

practices are established on the new areas from the beginning. In addition, any resultant reduction on the pressure on land which is over cultivated at present will ease the existing situation and aid in switching over to permanent farming systems in such areas.

The Importance of the Middle Belt

At present the whole middle belt makes little contribution to the economy of the country. Potentially, it has the capacity of becoming the mixed-farming region "per excellence" of Nigeria. It has good soil as well as more rainfall and a shorter dry season than the present production areas to the north. It lies above the economic limit for tree crops but is well suited for mixed farming with field crops and animals. Animals are needed both as beasts of burden and to provide fertility. No production system of permanent agriculture can be established here that will prevent erosion and maintain soil fertility without animal manure.

The region, if mixed farming were established and marketing and transportation facilities adequate, should find good commercial outlets for its products, particularly grains and livestock, in the dense urban areas of the South.

Because at present the middle belt is generally very slightly populated, FAO recommends it be considered as the "frontier area" of Nigeria, roughly analogous to the West in the 19th century United States. In this way, it, along with other little used areas, can provide the major outlet for Nigeria's growing population and add to the economic strength and political cohesiveness of the country at the same time.

Roles of Irrigation and Mechanization

Because most of the land available is suitable for dry land farming and irrigation facilities are expensive, FAO does not recommend any major investments at this time in irrigated farming. However, they do recommend pre-investment studies be made now, especially concerning the areas along the Niger River and around Lake Chad, so that the necessary basic research findings are available for future use when needed.

The pressing problem of rural employment is related to the role of mechanization in agricultural development. Because land is available, the problem would find its logical solution in bringing additional land under cultivation even without the introduction of new technology provided social and cultural restrictions could be overcome.

The usefulness of increasing output per-acre as opposed to the number of acres cultivated is thus limited by the necessity of providing employment. Under these circumstances, as well as because of practical considerations of supply and maintenance etc., the mechanization of agriculture with tractors and other heavy machinery is not the most appropriate use of Nigeria's limited capital funds. The major effort is therefore properly directed towards other areas of the economy to provide employment and thus additional effective demand for agricultural products.

However, tractors could play a useful role, perhaps under some sort of co-operative arrangements, by plowing the land. This would permit farmers, especially in the savanah regions, to prepare the land more rapidly and thus be able to plant their cash crops on a more timely basis. At present,

by the time the subsistence food crops have been planted and the land prepared for cash crops, the best planting time is often past and yields are substantially reduced because of it.

In contrast to heavy machinery there is tremendous scope for improvement of hand tools and those for use with oxen or other beasts of burden. Improvements here would extend the farmers labor capacity and reduce drugery thereby causing farmers to be more willing and able to give up interplanting. This practice of growing several crops mixed together in the same field at the same time is one of the major hinderances to modernization of agriculture.

Major Obstacles to be Overcome

There are certain critical obstacles to the implementation of this overall development strategy for agriculture. These are major or crucial problems whose solutions must be considered as prerequisites for the success of the whole series of detailed recommendations on training of extension workers, experiment station research programs, introduction of new or better varieties and fertilizers, or insecticides for various cash and subsistence crops and so forth. They are: the tsetse fly, the practice of cultivation of crop mixtures, and the traditional land tenure systems.

Public Enemy Number One

Public Enemy Number One in Nigeria with regard to agricultural development is the tsetse fly. The tsetse fly is the carrier of trypanosomiasis, a deadly disease of cattle, and of sleeping sickness in humans. It renders the entire middle belt and most of the rest of the

country uninhabitable for cattle except for a couple of relatively resistant but very low productive native types. The tremendous extent of its range can be seen from Map 1 (p. 192) which covers a small part of the present day Cameroons as well as Nigeria.

The settlement of much of the middle belt can be seen to be especially dependent on eliminating the tsetse fly for much of it lies within the present sleeping sickness zone.

"In terms of benefits to the Nigerian economy and society as a whole, we believe that wiping out the tsetse fly and the settlement and development of the areas cleared constitute one of the most productive investments that Nigeria can make." (28, p.10)

It is presently technologically possible to eliminate the fly but it is only economically feasible if the land is settled permanently before reinfestation sets in. FAO proposes a pilot project which if successful would lay the basis for a large-scale program of eradication in the middle-belt beginning about 1970.

The Problem of Mixed Cropping

FAO (28) estimates that between 60 and 65 percent of the area under crops in Nigeria consists of crop mixtures. Although this is satisfactory under the present system of hand labor using few or no improved inputs, FAO cites a number of reasons why it is not a workable system for developing a modern and improved system. They are: the economic use of many improved inputs such as pesticides or even fertilizer depends to a great extent on mono-culture planting with evenly spaced rows, mixed cultures may

constitute an impediment to obtaining maximum gains from improved varieties and finally even the most simple forms of mechanization making use of animal power so as to raise labor productivity are largely incompatible with mixed cultures.

While cautioning against radical ill-considered changes which could lead to loss of soil cover and so forth, FAO states: "Prudence, however, needs to be matched by a bold acceptance of the fact that cropping practices and patterns must become adapted as rapidly as possible to systems which will enable farmers to substitute in part some form of power other than that of their own arms to handle larger areas and to use to maximum effect modern techniques for raising crop yields." (28, p.13)

Traditional Land Tenure Systems

FAO's most basic objection to the traditional tenure systems in general boils down to one basic defect in terms of their proposed development strategy. That defect is the general lack of any kind of permanent individual "fee simple" type of ownership in any particular piece of land on the part of the individual farming family. This is because basically the land is regarded as the joint property of the community and that therefore the cultivator only has the usefruct of the land while he is actually tilling it. Upon commencement of the fallow period, the land reverts back to the community pool. Therefore, the cultivator of any given piece of land has no real incentive to try and maintain the fertility of that piece of land or make lasting capital improvements on it.

Other specific problems associated with the traditional land tenure systems are: the prevention of the cultivating of any tree crop on a piece of land by an individual because this may constitute a claim of sorts

to permanent ownership, maldistribution of land among individuals and among adjoining communities, fragmentation of holdings and the exclusion of "strangers" from use of community land.

These systems of communal tenure are breaking down in some areas where population pressure is heavest but nevertheless are the dominant forms over a large part of Nigeria.

FAO recommends that alternatives to the traditional customary systems of tenure be worked out and tried out on a pilot scheme basis in about eight different locations throughout the country as a preliminary step to clearly defining governmental policies on the matter.

The following quotation indicates the importance FAO attaches to these pilot schemes to study tenure and related social problems in modernizing agriculture. "FAO considers that the work and expenditures involved in carrying out such experimental schemes aimed at hastening fundamental changes in land tenure, and in subsequent application of these findings of the pilot schemes on a wider basis, merit the highest priority in Nigeria's agricultural development planning." (28, p.13)

Summary Statement

The overall strategy might be summarized as follows. At present there exist concentrated nuclei of population farming by traditional methods producing primarily but not exclusively crops for their own subsistence. Population pressure is constantly reducing fallow periods resulting in distruction of the soil and reduced yields in the face of an ever-growing number of mouths to be fed and hands to be employed. The existence of vast

free potentially highly productive areas provides a natural and appropriate basic solution to a situation that cannot continue if present standards of living are to be maintained, let alone improved.

The process of settling these new areas must be brought about in such a way that the major undesirable features of the present system, namely "bush fallow" cultivation and interplanting of crops in the same field are replaced by permanent systems of mixed farming. This should be achieved on the new areas from the beginning and introduced into the older areas whenever possible. Furthermore, these developments in agriculture must be integrated into the overall development of the economy in such a way as to maximize the results of the overall development effort within the guidelines of national political policy objectives.

Viewed thus, with good dry land plentiful, capital scarce and unemployment a very serious problem, the roles of irrigation and heavy mechanized equipment which are capital intensive are played down. Instead, emphasis is on measures such as hand tools, fertilizers, new varieties, etc. which will allow greater numbers of people to be employed. This may achieve lower increases in productivity per acre or per man, but is feasible and consistent with meeting the production, employment, and income distribution objectives of the development model and of government policies.

These new inputs are to be introduced in such a way as to provide the farmers with the motivations and skills within an improved institutional framework to be able to increase their productivity, incomes, and employment of new and more expensive technology in the future. In other words, the base for a fully modernized commercial agricultural system of the future is to be laid simultaneously while the more immediate and specific goals of the development plans are being met.

One might describe the relationships and inter-dependence of the three major obstacles discussed in the following way. Elimination of the tsetse fly is necessary to have even the possibility of success. Even if once eliminated, it will return unless the cleared areas are occupied. In order for the settlement of the new areas and rehabilitation of old ones to take place successfully in the context of long run economic development, the present mixed cropping system under bush fallow must be replaced by permanent systems of agriculture based primarily on mono-cultural practices. This change-over to a system of permanent cultivation farming cannot be successful unless appropriate changes in the traditional institutional environment, especially land tenure, are incorporated. These changes must provide the cultivator more permanent rights in, and therefore incentives to improve, the land he cultivates as well as making the use of improved technology economically rational by elimination of fragmented holdings and other limitations to it use.

All three obstacles must be overcome if the basic conditions for an ongoing modern agricultural sector are to be successfully established.

CHAPTER V--TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

> The less-developed world is clearly losing the capacity to feed itself; stated otherwise, a growing share of the increase in population is being sustained by food shipments from the developed regions, largely from the United States under the Food for Peace program (7 p.4).

> Most of the world's less-developed countries can sufficiently increase their food and fiber production within the next 10 or 20 years to satisfy their increases in demand, and still have enough surplus to contribute substantially--through trade and nonfarm employment--to their general economic development (95 p.118).

These two quotations, both published by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 1965, seem on the surface to be almost contradictory. Yet, the contradiction is more apparent than real. The quotations represent a grim paradox rather than a contradiction--the paradoxical and tragic gap between potential and actual performance of the agricultural sectors of the economies of the developing world. Part of the reason for this gap may well be another gap in development programs for agriculture.

In the words of Arthur Niehoff, a social scientist recently returned from Eastern Nigeria:

> The advanced industrial nations have become involved in vast efforts to assist the less fortunate nations to speed up the process of change in their own countries. Basically, they have tried to do this in two ways: economically and technically. The economic approach has been to analyze the means of production, distribution, and consumption of wealth in the receiving nations and attempt to improve these systems by transferring considerable amounts of money or goods to develop those sectors that are deemed essential for sparking economic growth. . . . The other approach has been to try to transfer technical know-how, on the reasonable assumption that technical knowledge has made the industrial nations rich and that other nations are not rich because they lack such expertise. . . . It is our belief that there is a third component which has too often been neglected, but which is equally necessary to induce change in the nonindustrial nations. This is the socio-cultural component, which means simply that technical know-how and economic patterns are imbedded in cultural systems, elaborate patterns of customs and beliefs which can either act as sanctions or barriers to technical or economic change. (Italics added) (67 p.3).

Two Paths to Agricultural Development

Speaking hypothetically and in the broadest terms there are two radically opposed courses of action that can be attempted to solve the problem of increasing agricultural output as well as to mitigate the related migration problem. First, one can ignore the existing agricultural system entirely and replace it intoto with a completely new one. Second, one can attempt to use the existing system as the base on which to build an improved system.

Nigeria has attempted on a small scale to ignore the traditional system by way of farm settlement schemes. These have been unsuccessful both from a social and from an economic standpoint (27).

In summing up the Nigerian experience FAO concludes:

> The capital outlay per settler on the present Farm Settlement Schemes, renders it impossible for them to make any contribution to the employment problem in a country where the population is growing at the rate of some 1.1 to 1.4 million per annum. So far, there has been little to learn by adjacent farmers from the existing settlements and results from another major aim of the Schemes--the creation of a prosperous and enlightened class of farmers from primary school-leavers--have been negative and expensive. In the meantime, the improvement of standards on the very large numbers of existing smallholdings has been largely neglected (28, p.347).

This lack of success is not peculiar to Nigeria, according to a recent comprehensive study of tropical African agriculture:

> It is noteworthy that the many large schemes launched by governments have not in the aggregate made a very significant contribution to development. These schemes have ranged from settlement projects, with or without irrigation, to large-scale state or quasi-cooperative farming and have usually entailed heavy investment and management costs. Many have proved failures, and others, with relatively few exceptions, have enjoyed but limited success. By and large it has been the individual farmers working within a gradually changing traditional environment who have accounted for most of whatever progress has been achieved (17 p.221).

It seems then for Nigeria to achieve its social and economic objectives regarding agriculture, the most appropriate place to concentrate efforts is on the existing base consisting of traditional peasant agricultural smallholdings.

The two routes to agricultural development indicated above might be characterized as the "farm settlement scheme route" and the "improving existing peasant agriculture route." Past efforts along either route have stressed the technological and conventional economic aspects of the development process at the expense of the socio-cultural components of the existing agricultural system and its indigenous institutional framework. The first approach attempts to avoid the necessity of coming to grips with these aspects of the problem while the second, by design or default, tries to ignore them. No doubt in Africa this is true to a large extent because of the backgrounds of the personnel, both foreign and indigenous, who run the programs, and the general institutional framework within which they work. They are trained in Western universities and work in an institutional and administrative framework originally designed by Westerners for colonial purposes. Thus you have a group of institutions and people trained to operate within them based on the long evolutionary experience of one culture superimposed on a vastly different culture.

The colonial governments could adopt either of the above routes of avoiding or ignoring the traditional systems because of their limited aims regarding the development of the colony. They could pursue the "farm settlement" route as they did in parts of East Africa because they imported the farmers from Western Europe and hence imported the corresponding skills, attitudes and cultural values right along with them. Or, as in West Africa,

they could concern themselves only with the final links in the marketing chain of indigenous middlemen since they were primarily concerned with export crops only (45).

The governments of the newly emerged independent nations of Africa are in no position to follow either course. Their goals and aspirations for their peoples are all encompassing rather than limited in scope and the problems of achieving them many times greater. The record indicates that the most appropriate route to agricultural development is not the "farm settlement route" but rather via improving existing peasant agriculture. This emphasizes the need for research directed toward understanding and using the traditional social and economic structural base where possible. There is nc easy beginning with a people already imbued with attitudes and accustomed to institutions based on the Western model or even with a "tabula rasa." No amount of enchantment with modern Western technology and institutions should be allowed to obscure this basic fact where agricultural development programs are concerned.

The basic contention is that Western technology supported by conventional Western economic analysis is being transmitted to under-development areas without adequately taking into consideration the functioning of the existing economic systems. There is need for a type of analysis aimed specifically at understanding the existing socio-economic environment and the economic opportunities and limitations it presents to a would be agricultural innovator. This type of research is not a substitute for physical science research or more conventional economic analysis which are certainly necessary for sustained economic growth. Rather, it is complementary.

Institutional Analysis Defined

In normal parlance, institutional factors in development often mean what may be referred to as specific and formal, often governmental, facilitating organizations such as credit, extension or marketing institutions. While analysis of these is important, the sort of institutional analysis meant here refers to the socio-cultural matrix within which the traditional economic system functions and how these interrelationships condition the efforts of individuals to achieve economic betterment.

The difference between the two types of institutional economic analysis may be briefly illustrated with regard to land tenure. On the one hand, economic analysis of land tenure as an institution may be limited almost solely to questions concerned with efficiency of production. As such, analysis is confined primarily to questions of farm size, fragmentation, and other physical manifestations of tenure especially as they influence the economic feasibility of the transfer of technology. The producer is considered out of context as an individual "economic man" and his motivations are considered to be adequately accounted for by a narrow consideration of costs and returns pertaining to the particular measure or input under consideration.

Another type of analysis is the study of the aspects of tenure which have to do with motivations and inter-personal relationships among members of society. In other words, the analysis of those institutions of the society regarding land tenure that sanction the expansion or the limitation of economic opportunities for the individual producer.

Since the actual producer is the linch-pin of the entire development effort, it seems logical that every effort be made to study all facets of his environment that have a reasonably direct bearing on his life and therefore on his incentives to work. Unfortunately, for whatever the reasons, this sort of research is generally represented by a gap in development efforts. The producer is implicitly treated as an entity somehow divorced or extracted from his environmental surroundings.

Apparently no one is available whose expertise is in the mutual adapting of the requirements of new technology and the ongoing traditional economy to each other. Ideally, perhaps a team including a social anthropologist or a rural sociologist and an agricultural economist might provide the necessary expertise for this sort of research. Be that as it may, what follows is an attempt by the author to "fill the gap" regarding land tenure as it functions in Ibo society.

Selection of Ibo Land Tenure for Analysis

Land tenure obviously is only one of the important institutional aspects of development which might be singled out for detailed analysis. It is however a uniquely fundamental cornerstone of traditional societies everywhere in the underdeveloped world and nowhere more so than in Africa. In a comment that perhaps comes closest to summing up the heart of the matter, Barraclough says:

> . . . land ownership in traditional societies is practically synonymous with control of labor, wealth, social prestige, and political power in the classical Weberian sense of the ability to make others do one's will. As economic growth gets under way, pressures mount to change the distribution of power, status, wealth, and income legitmized by owning land. The institutions regulating land tenure, however, tend to be extremely rigid, . . . (4 p.263).

In addition, there appears to be a particular need to study African tenure systems.

> Discussions of land reform and tenure generally center on conditions in Asia and Latin America. The argument usually turns on conflicts of interest between landlords and tenants and on the disincentives that flow from these relationships and depress agricultural production. The equally urgent land tenure problems of sub-Saharan Africa are therefore bypassed since these conditions do not fit the African situation.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> In Nigeria at least it would be a mistake to push other research and development of institutions very far without attention to the fundamental problem of land tenure. Conditions in Asia and Latin America have not revealed insights for solving this problem in Africa (38, pp.101-103).

Land tenure is thus recognized as an important limitation on Economic Development in Nigeria. This is really only stating the obvious since land is a major input in the production process of any agriculture and increasingly so the closer one approaches a condition of subsistence agriculture where capital inputs are few and primitive and land and labor make up the bulk of the inputs into the production process. Furthermore, the closer one approaches traditional as opposed to modern society, the more intimate and inclusive become the relationships of land to the rest of the society. "Land tenure, wrote Kenyatta, is 'the most important factor in the social, political, religious and economic life of the tribe'" (44, p.141).

Thus, innovations necessary for economic development, and especially measures affecting land tenure, go to the very heart of the entire traditional mode of life in all its aspects; a mode of life designed for survival of the group--not for the introduction of modern technology. It would indeed be too marvelous to be true if a tenure system designed for the former purpose, irrespective of technical considerations, presented

no bottlenecks or needed only minor and simple revisions to adapt it to the requirements of modern agriculture. This is further complicated in Africa by group ownership of the land. Parsons comments:

> The problem of rewards for investment in land is especially complicated in areas where individualization of ownership has not occurred, as in Africa, . . . In principle, group ownership can no doubt serve as effectively as individual ownership as the matrix of investments in land improvement, but only if the implicit public purpose in group ownership is sufficiently broad to include development as well as the security of group survival (87 p.14).

A study of traditional land tenure arrangements in Africa also has value in helping to establish guidelines for preventing the development of undue concentration of ownership as the traditional tenure arrangements break down under the impact of development. The urgency of this sort of "preventative medicine" is indicated by the following comment referring to Nigeria.

> In their role as trustees of such village reserve land some chiefs appear to be sealing it off as their property, . . . These signs of converting customary rights in land into negotiable property rights, if allowed to continue unrestricted, could lead to a few large landholders instead of many small ones. We would have an explosive situation similar to those in Asia and Latin America (38 p.103).

The basic reason for selecting the Ibos rather than another group is simply that it is the group among whom the author spent most of his two years and therefore is the group he knows best. In addition, the complexity of the study problem in conjunction with the time available to do the research indicate that concentration will undoubtedly produce a better product.

Besides, population pressure on the land is more acute in "Iboland"[1] than anywhere else in Nigeria (see Map 3, p.194), and perhaps as great as

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1/ Ethnic borders are not co-terminous with political ones. Ibos make up a large portion of the population of adjacent areas of Midwestern

anywhere in the world (see p. 95). Accordingly, the need for tenure reform as well as other measures is most critical in terms of preventing further deterioration of the already overworked soil.

Because African societies vary greatly and importantly from one another (see pp. 109-110), selection of a particular but numerically important group is far more likely to produce directly useful results although the findings will also be relevant in varying degrees at least to other groups in West Africa if not beyond.

Finally, the analysis of a particular group, while reducing the scope of the study, provides a more concrete example by which to evaluate the problems of land tenure in the developing countries of West Africa. Hopefully, this case study will do its small part in providing knowledge concerning not only the substance of West African Tenure problems but also the missing insights for solving them.

Nigeria and many had migrated from the East during normal times to other parts of the country, particularly to the large urban centers. Hence, "Iboland" refers to the geographic area occupied primarily by Ibos (see Map 2, p. 193) and the term will no longer be placed in quotation marks.

CHAPTER VI--ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE

The problem is to examine the land tenure system to see if in fact it functions to limit the opportunities for significant economic advancement in farming for an ambitious individual.

The scope of the analysis is thus, those institutions of society which have a reasonably direct and significant bearing on land tenure arrangements regardless as to whether these institutions would usually be classified as religious, social, cultural, economic, political or what have you.

The focus of the analysis is the individual farmer and the role of land tenure as it affects his economic opportunities in farming. The various factors are considered as they relate to the individual farmer. He, rather than the extended family or any larger group, is the focal point. Individual farmer means the head of a nuclear family unit who is at least potentially a decision-making entrepreneur in something like the sense of an American farmer.

Basic Assumptions

The analysis is based on certain basic assumptions which are as follows: (1) the individual enterprenuer or farmer is assumed to be rational in his behavior and specifically, to be economically motivated within the usual connotation of this concept. That is, he will not knowingly combine his resources in an inefficient manner but within the limits set by his particular preference structure for leisure vs. income, he will attempt to maximize his economic well-being. Furthermore, his adoption or rejection

of new technology, will be based primarily on his judgement of its economic risks and feasibility rather than upon other considerations. (2) He is assumed to be powerless to effect immediate or substantial changes in the working rules of society. Thus, he must accept the current set of working rules as "given" and plan his farming activities accordingly. (3) It is assumed that truly arbitrary actions without regard to precedent or customs are impossible within the village environment either on the part of an individual or an organized group. All transactions and actions must basically conform to the existing working rules. The state, however, because of its greater power may act in a relatively more arbitrary manner than any particular village group. (4) Changes in the working rules are marginal in nature. They generally modify rather than replace outright one and another of the existing working rules, or, add new ones at the margin. This is necessary in particular to provide for the security of future expectations on which individuals base present actions and transactions.

There is ample evidence to justify the first assumption [see for example: (51), (27) and (42)] and the other three follow automatically with the acceptance of the existing peasant agricultural base as a starting point. Certain of the terms used above and several others require definitions before we can proceed further.

Definitions of Concepts

Fortunately, there is available within the field of economics a body of theory appropriate to this type of institutional economic analysis and which lends itself to analysis of the economic aspects of those facets of tenure somethimes considered outside the purview of standard economic analysis.

This body of theory is generally referred to as Institutional Economics. The particular concepts used here are drawn from the ideas developed by John R. Commons in his formulation of Institutional Economics.1/

The purpose here is to pick and choose among or even to modify concepts to suit the author's needs. This should explicitly exclude the possibility of any reader thinking the definitions listed and related discussion are intended in any way to represent a summary statement of Commons' complete "system" [for this purpose see (88)]. Moreover, it is not intended that any particular definition be considered as representing fully or precisely what Commons meant by the concept defined although the debt of derivation is obvious.

> "Our subject-matter is the transactions of human beings in producing, acquiring, and rationing wealth by cooperation, conflict, and the rules of the game." (12 p. 121)

Individual: ". . . a purposeful discretionary actor. . . . each individual is to some degree a center of discretion and influence, . . ." (88, pp. 250-251)

Action: The process by which an individual or group attains or refrains from obtaining in part or in full the objective it wills to obtain.

1/Commons' principal theoretical works are: Legal Foundations of Capitalism (13) and Institutional Economics, Its Place in Political Economy (12). See also his, The Economic of Collective Action (14) and Parsons, "John R. Commons' Point of View" (88).

Transaction: ". . . with its participants, is the smallest unit of institutional economics. . . . Transactions . . . are not the 'exchange of commodities,' in the physical sense of 'delivery' they are the alienation and acquisition, between individuals, of the rights of future ownership of physical things, as determined by the collective working rules of society. The transfer of these rights must therefore be negotiated between the parties concerned, according to the working rules of society, before labor can produce, or consumers can consume, or commodities be physically delivered to other persons." (12, p.58)

Working Rules: "The working rules . . . determine for individuals the limits of . . . correlative and reciprocal economic relationships . . . whatever their differences and different names, they |working rules| have this similarity, that they indicate what individuals can, must, or may, do or not do, enforced by Collective Sanctions." (12, pp.70-71)

Institution: "Collective action in restraint, liberation, and expansion of individual action." (12, p.73)

Collective Action: "Collective action ranges all the way from unorganized Custom to the many organized Going Concerns, . . . common to all of them is more or less control of individual action by collective action . . . Collective action is more than control of individual action--it is, by the very act of control, . . . a liberation of individual action from coercion, duress, discrimination, or unfair competition, by means of restraints placed on other individuals." (12, pp. 70 and 73)

Going Concern: "In most general terms, a going concern is an organization of coordinated activity; it is collective behavior with a common purpose, and a collective will, governed by common working rules." (88, p.254)

Sanctions: "Sanctions are collective inducements applied to individuals by the concern which controls, liberates, and expands their individual actions, by controlling, liberating, and enforcing their persuasions, coercions, commands, obedience, arguments, and pleadings.

. . . sanctions are distinguishable as moral, economic, and legal sanctions, depending upon the kind of concern which exercises control. The legal sanction is violence, or threatened violence, and the concern is the State. The other sanctions are 'extra-legal.' The moral or ethical sanction is mere opinion, enforced by such concerns as churches, social clubs, and ethical associations . . . a 'code of ethics' whose enforcement rests only on the collective opinion of the members, if not supported by economic or legal penalties or rewards.

The economic sanctions are enforced by such organizations as trade unions, . . . cartels, through the sanctions of profit or loss, employment or unemployment, or other economic gain or deprivation, but without violence." (12, pp. 77 and 79)

Sovereignty: "
. . . collective action in control of violence. . . . Sovereignty is monopolization of violence . . . [and] relates to the use of force toward legal inferiors by their superiors . . ." (14, p. 74)

"The principle of sovereignty relates to expected repetition in use of this force. It is the similarity of action in what the sheriff or other officials may do if the authoritative working rules are violated." (88, p. 250)

Customs: "Customs cannot be changed radically or suddenly, since they arise from the most elementary fact of living creatures, Instinct and Habit, which are the mere repetition of acts found by experience to be preservative of life, of enjoyment, and of survival . . . This repetition goes from one generation to another in such a way that custom is analogous to heredity.

But custom is more than habit. It is the social habit which creates individual habit. We do not start as isolated individuals - we start in infancy with discipline and obedience, and we continue as members of concerns already going, so that conformity to repeated and duplicated practices . . . is the only way to obtain life, liberty, and property with ease, safety, and consent." (12, pp. 44-45)

Status, rights and security:

"To the extent that the state imposes duties on all other persons, we have rights. In terms of status, to the extent that other persons are under duties, I am in the status of security; . . . commensurate with my rights. However, beyond these relationships there is the status relationship of liberty-exposure. To the extent that other persons are under no obligation or duty to respect my person or property I am exposed to their liberty."(88, pp. 254-255)

Property:

"The term 'property' cannot be defined except by defining all the activities which individuals and the community are at liberty or required to do or not to do, with reference to the object claimed as property."(12, p. 74)

Property Rights:

"Property is an object held for the owner's exclusive use, sale or disposal. But property rights are the social relations which the state vests in the owner of property. Again, these rights are created only by the imposition of duties upon other persons. Thus, property rights are literally social relationships stabilized according to law. When one buys property, he really buys rights to property; and when he buys the rights to property he is buying the expectation that the state will use its powers to support the purchaser's claims to the property." (88, p. 255)

Land Tenure:

"There is actually an identity between income distribution and the institutional arrangements that provide individuals accessibility to the annual income stream. These institutional arrangements we call tenure factors - broadly defined. Access to the future stream of income in any society has two dimensions: (1) the initial access route, and (2) the continued security of such access."(20, p. 248)

> Accordingly, land tenure may be broadly defined as the working rules of society as they determine the access to and the continued security of such access to the future stream of income derivable from the use of the land for economically productive purposes. For this study, the scope of economically productive purposes is restricted to agricultural production.

"If one word were to be taken as describing the nature of the economy, or society generally, in Commons' formulation, it would probably be organization . . . The essential point would be that, as organization, the social structure would be the resultant of and embodiment of the designs, purposes and activites of human beings who had lived and worked in it." (88, p. 247)

Discussion of Concepts

These concepts are set out to establish an appropriate frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning and significance of the empirical evidence to be presented.

A major reason Commons developed these concepts was in order to understand the ways in which society controls by means of collective action individual action in a modern industrial society.

However, his concepts cover functions which must be performed in any society. They can be readily related to a universe consisting of an Ibo village in which the national state is viewed primarily as an external influence affecting the village environment. For example, the exercise of sovereignty--the control of violence by collective action--may not be as completely monopolized by the formal institutional apparatus of the state in an African village as in a town in the United States. Nevertheless, anytime the limit of avoidance for action is enforced by the potential or actual exercise of the sanction of physical power (violence), the principle of sovereignty is being employed. This would be true even though the violation only involved breaking a long standing custom rather than a

formalized legal ordinance. The key consideration is that the violence, potential or actual, is sanctioned by the working rules of the society (a going concern) rather than forbidden by them.

In this study, the primary emphasis is on transactions between the nuclear farming family unit as represented by the family head (see p. 84 for definition) with other organizations and individuals. These transactions must occur within the accepted working rules of the land tenure system. These working rules are constantly undergoing modifications as a result of transactions, most of which do not involve our particular family unit. These changes alter the dimensions of the "economic space" potentially available to an individual because they change the limits for avoidance associated with the particular action concerned. In this way, the range of economic opportunities available to the individual within the tenure system is expanded or contracted.

The state through sovereignty and the village through customs control the scope and content of the working rules of the land tenure system by means of sanctions.

It is important to note that in any transaction, the amount of economic coercion that may be employed in obtaining a better deal is limited by standards of reasonableness in accordance with the customary rules of society. A "contract" or agreement gained in a transaction that favors one party "unreasonably" because of excessive coercion will not be enforced by collective action. Therefore, the party who gained the upper hand remains in a status of exposure rather than one of right vis-a-vis the other party

who is at liberty not to act in accordance with the agreement. Indeed, collective action itself is bound by the customary conventions of society, which can never be completely ignored, even in a totalitarian society, without destroying that society as a going concern.

The above discussion underlines the evolutionary as opposed to revolutionary nature of the process of development and change in the working rules of society. The very concept of evolution implies the passage of time accompanied by gradual change. From this it follows directly that it is not possible to understand the development of these working rules without recourse to the study of their historical development up to the present time. This is necessary not only to understand the process of change as it has taken place historically, but, even more important; to be able to use this understanding as a basis on which to make recommendations to accelerate and steer future developments in the directions most conductive to achieving the maximum feasible rate of economic growth.

From the analysis of this process should come insights regarding policy measures which, while integrated as far as possible into the ongoing working rules of the village society, would tend to maximize the impact on increasing the size of the "economic space" and hence the range of economic opportunities available to the potential innovator in agriculture. Hopefully, these policy measures, if implemented, would make a significant contribution not only to increasing agricultural output and productivity but also to increasing the economic attractiveness of agriculture as an occupation and thus helping to reduce the rate of rural-urban migration.

The Study Universe

The major components of this universe are: the nucleur family unit headed by the individual entrepreneur (Farming family head), other institutions and individuals within the society, the society as a whole (the village), and the state. They are related to each other, for purposes of this analysis, by means of transactions which take place within the working rules of the land tenure system. Land tenure is very broadly defined as the working rules of society as they determine the access to and security of a future stream of income derived from the use of the land. Collective action enforces these working rules by means of sanctions which define the limits of avoidance for individual action. Within these limits individuals act in order to obtain the objectives of their respective wills, that is, in order to make a living.

The state exerts its influence from outside the village through its sovereignty by means of which it exercises the sanction of physical power (violence). Within the village, various going concerns and individuals transact with each other in carrying on the everyday business of society. It is through these transactions that, sanctioned by the working rules of society, wills, collective and individual, are harmonized. The working rules and related sanctions perform the vital functions of stabilizing inter-personal relationships, resolving conflicts of interest, and providing for the security of future expectations without which anarchy would reign. Every institution involved in this process from the nuclear family unit up to the state itself is a going concern with its own set of working rules and its own set of sanctions to back them up.

The results of these transactions are actions, again both collective and individual, to produce the goods and services of society and to distribute (allocate) them among its members. Here again, both collective and individual acting take place in accordance with the working rules of society.

CHAPTER VII--IBO AGRICULTURE

According to the controversial 1963 census, the Ibo people make up over two-thirds of the Eastern Region's population of about 12.4 million people(69). They live primarily in the Central and Northwestern part of the region made up of Enugu, Onitsha, Abakaliki, Owerri and Umuahia Provinces. They also make up a large part of the population of Port Harcourt Province while the remaining provinces of the region are mainly populated by non-Ibo groups (see Map 2). Population densities, per square mile as given in the 1963 census, are as follows: Owerri, 1,071; Onitsha, 819; Umuahia, 484; Enugu, 475; Abakaliki, 351; and Port Harcourt, 350(69). These figures indicate the heavy population pressure in the area generally, although in Abakaliki Province towards Ogoja there are large areas of a parse population.

The Ibo area of Eastern Nigeria may be roughly characterized as hilly lowland with the exception of Abakaliki Province which becomes quite flat as one goes east towards Ogoja. Originally much of the area was in the tropical rain forest zone, but the result of population pressure in conjunction with the system of shifting agriculture (described on p. 65) has been to replace the original vegetation with oil-palm and increasingly derived savanna as one approaches the northern border.

Agriculture is the major economic activity in all of Eastern Nigeria. Over three-fourths of the population live in villages and are employed directly in agriculture (90). Palm produce is the region's major tree crop and over nine-tenths of the region's production comes from wild trees (90).

This area is part of the southern root economy of Nigeria as contrasted to the northern grain economy and is characterized by small scattered fields farmed by peasant farmers under a bush fallow system (shifting cultivation).

About one-half the farms are less than two and one-half acres in size and close to nine-tenths of the farmers cultivate less than that amount of land each year (see Table 3, p.13). The size of the area cultivated per farmer varies somewhat in line with the population density from area to area. However, the degree of variation in size is probably less than might be expected on a basis of comparative population densities alone because of shorter fallow periods in heavily populated areas and limitations imposed by the exclusive use of hand labor. On the other hand, the fragmentation process has surely resulted in more scattered and smaller pieces of land in densely populated areas. This necessitates a greater expenditure of time by the farmer in going from one field to another and so reduces still further the amount of land he can effectively cultivate. In the absence of any available detailed data, it can only be said that a person driving from heavily populated Owerri to sparsely populated Abakaliki would definitely be aware of an increase in the area of individual fields under cultivation.

Cropping Patterns

Table 26 shows some crop specialization based on natural conditions even within Iboland. Unadu in the North has both cotton and groundnut (peanut) while Nkalike has rice. Agulu and Umunumo are more important in palm produce as they lie more to the South. Even more interesting, the influence of population pressure is clearly shown in the increasing pre-

Table 26.--Cropping patterns in four Ibo villages[1/]

Village	Nkalike						Unadu					Umunumo						Agulu				
Province	Abakaliki						Enugu					Owerri						Onitsha				
Group no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5
Crop[2/]																						
Yam	Y	Y					Y						Y		Y			Y	Y			
Cassava				Y			X	Y				X	X	Y	X	X	X	X	X		Y	
Maize	X						X	X	X	Y		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		
Okra	X						X		X				X					X		X		
Green vegetables (leaves)						X	X		X			X	X					X		X		
Beans							X	X										X	X	X		
Melons								X				X	X				X	X				
Cocoyam	X								Y			Y			X					Y		
Pumpkin	X											X	X							X		
Pepper						Y										Y						Y
"Edu seeds"							X															
Cotton							X		X													
Groundnut					Y			X			Y						Y					
Soya-beans	X																					
Rice			Y																			
Length of fallow period[3/]	Unlimited						Four years					One to three years						None				

1/ See Map 2 for locations.

2/ Y = Major or chief crop in group. X = Any other crop present in mixture; each crop group is read from top to bottom under the number. For example, Umunumo has six different crop groups of which group three is composed of cassava and maize.

3/ Length of fallow periods refers to the main farming areas; the "garden areas" within and near the compounds are farmed annually.

Source: D.C. Ugwu, "fieldnotes," in author's possession.

valence of sole crops as the fallow period lengthens, probably because yields are generally much lower for crops grown in mixtures.[1/] There is also a tendency for cassava to become more prevalent as population pressure increases. Curiously enough, it is only shown as being grown sole at Abakaliki where land is plentiful, no doubt to obtain higher yields, and at Agulu where there is no fallow period at all. The explanation for Agulu is probably related to the fact that when the soil is too exhausted for anything else, cassava will still grow. Everywhere in general, however, agriculture is carried on by time tested primitive methods with few if any improved inputs such as better varieties or commercial fertilizers.

Other crops not shown in table 26 which are important in the local diet include: tomatoes, onions and pineapple and among the tree crops: oranges, bananas, plantain, mangos and kola nut. Oil-palm is very important in the domestic diet both as cooking oil and wine and is the export crop. Rice is considered a superior food and is grown chiefly in Abakaliki Province which is traditionally famous for its huge yams and more recently for rice.

The crop systems are carefully combined so as to be complementary where possible as regards timing of labor requirements, subsistence needs and so forth. On the other hand, animal husbandry is conspicuous by its almost total absence and goats, sheep and poultry forage for themselves. Only

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1/For 1963/64, yields in pounds per acre for the Eastern Region were given for crops grown sole or in mixtures respectively as follows: Yam 6,751; 8,186 -- Maize 485; 389 -- Old Cassava 9,157; 5,630 -- and Cocoyam 7,171; 4,835. Why the yield for yam is shown as higher when cropped mixed rather than sole, -- I do not know. It is given as lower in both the Western and Northern Regions. SOURCE: (74).

the most primitive means such as tying crossed sticks around the neck are employed in feeble attempts to keep goats out of fields surrounded by very porous lattice work fences of sticks and/or palm branches. Goats apparently are more resistant to internal parasites and survive better on a diet of "whatever they can find" than sheep and might represent, along with poultry, a major possibility for improved meat and milk diets in Iboland (21).

Producing and Marketing Farm Crops

Allowing for local variations, a typical production process might be described as follows. First, the area to be planted this season is cleared of bushes and other vegetation which have grown up since the area was last cultivated. Men, women and children participate in this operation under a natural division of labor; the men performing the heavier work of cutting down the larger bushes with machets while the women and children gather the debris into piles. Then it is allowed to dry and finally the fields are burned off leaving the ash residue as fertilizer for the crops to be planted. These burning operations result every year in unintentional destruction because the dry grass fires get out of control. In modern times this results not only in ill feelings but litigation as well between individuals and villages.

When the first rains come in late March or early April the basic food crops are planted, either sole or in mixtures. Again there may be some division of labor along sex lines with the males performing the heavier work such as building yam mounds and the women sowing maize, beans, okra,

and green vegetables. Crop mixtures needed for the subsistence diet are grown in and around the living quarters while yam and cassava, sole or mixed with maize or beans, will be planted in distant farms.

Weeding will be done once or twice or perhaps not at all and usually more intensively near the compound. This is usually womens' work although men may join in.

As the crops ripen some may be harvested a little at a time as the need for domestic consumption and "pin money" arises. The rest will be harvested for sale in the local markets, for sale to buyers who may even come to the farm to negotiate the terms, for sale to a local processing plant or for storage for future use during the dry season. Large sales are particularily important for the major basic staples such as cassava, yams, maize or rice.

Yams and cassava are particularily important in tiding the family over during the dry season. Yams are stored by tying them, the one after the other onto long strings and then hanging up these yam laden strings in "barns" made of earth or a lattice of sticks. Cassava is stored in the ground where it grows. Thus, it functions as a "starvation reserve" against a poor harvest the following year.

Harvesting also involves a division of labor with men performing the more prestigious tasks such as digging out the yams from the mounds while the women and children carry them away.

All labor is hand labor using the simplest of tools such as baskets, crude diggers, machets, knives and simple hoes. Short curved handled heavy headed hoes have been developed for making the huge yam mounds in

Abakaliki Province. Men do the physically more demanding and traditionally more prestigious work while women perform the lighter and tedious time-consuming tasks.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of women in the Ibo agricultural system. They probably do more than their share of the actual labor throughout the year and a large part of the marketing. In addition, as regards the family economy, they are very important in gathering water and firewood and preparing food to be eaten--all laborious and time-consuming tasks. Thus, the economic value of a wife in farming (and trading) goes a long way towards explaining the prevalence of polygyny and bride prices, especially where excess land is present.

The typical Ibo week is four days long with every fourth day being market day in the rural areas. Adjoining villages will usually not have their market days coincide so that a villager can normally go to a market even on those days when his own market is closed. In the urban areas the markets are usually open every day except Sunday and carry a wider variety of goods.

The flavor of market day in a village market is conveyed by the following quote:

> In general, regardless of whether the markets are located in city or country side, they resemble a fair more than a market. They exhibit milling throngs of people, stacks of produce on the gound or in stalls, live animals for sale, headloading to and fro, bicycles, packing splitting and sub-division of commodity lots, lack of standards and grades, lack of proper sanitation, one day credit stakes, prolonged higgling and bargaining and the continous coming and going of traffic. (53, pp. 6-7).

Many of the traders and most of the customers are women. Produce to be sold is carried by head load, often literally for miles, to the market and purchases made are then carried home from the market the same way. The market place is also very important as a center for exchanging gossip and socializing in general.

Development Needs

In 1955 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) pronounced Nigerian agriculture as "readily capable of expansion" but that success would depend of overcoming the effects of limiting factors such as soil deficiencies, low-yielding varieties, plant and livestock diseases and primitive cultivation methods (48).

On the technological side, there has been some work done on improving varieties and using fertilizers, etc., at the experiment station level. Research on oil palm has been particularly effective with much good work done at the Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research (NIFOR) in the Mid-western Region where yields of up to 15,000 pounds per acre have been achieved (61). The performance on domestic food crops has been much less impressive, particularly as regards the basic food staples, yam and cassava (28). Work on food crops at the Umudike experiment station in Eastern Nigeria was just getting well underway when the war broke out. There is thus, a great need for additional research in all the physical agricultural sciences in adapting or developing new practices and inputs to the particular local environment of soil, moisture, daylight, disease and insect problems and so forth.

A very important part of this research must be done in combining various improved inputs with appropriate practices and adapting the "package" to the critical environmental factors (29, pp.79-118). The need for this is especially important in eliminating the bush fallow system and preventing further soil erosion. Until population pressure became too heavy, the bush fallow system had much to be said for it both technologically and economically. Kimble says it, "was probably the most satisfactory system that could have been devised by 'pre-mechanical' peoples living in a wet tropical environment" and; that until land became scarce it provided a food supply with comparatively little labor, produced with the aid of fertilizer from burning the bush, allowed for periodic renewal of soil fertility and carried its own insurance against soil erosion (50, pp.133 and 136).

Unfortunately, the extremely high population densities in much of Iboland have led to dangerously short fallow periods. As a consequence, the soil is subject to serious erosion during the rainy season. The erosion problem is strikingly illustrated by a locally famous erosion site (a vertible "Grand Canyon") situated about thirty miles east of Onitsha near Awka in Onitsha Province. It has proven much easier to point out the problems of the bush fallow system and the need for improvements than to suggest satisfactory field tested substitute systems.

The above discussion emphasizes one of the two major weaknesses of agricultural research in Africa, namely, that: "quite simply . . . technological recommendations to farmers are often not tested in the practical environment in which they will be employed." The other is:

"failure to examine the economics of reprecussions in the whole farm system of any technical improvements proposed. . . . It is almost impossible to describe the magnitude of the gap caused by the lack of economic research." (62, p.83) Since no new technology will be adopted successfully unless it is profitable to the farmer, there is a clear need for increased emphasis on the economic aspects of such new technology, particularly at the producer level in the actual farming situation.

There is also a great need for developing a satisfactory institutional framework to support the research effort and transmit the technology to the producer.2/ Of crucial importance is increased emphasis on vocational training in the general educational system to prepare future agriculturalists and strong efforts to provide greater relative rewards at all levels for careers in and related to agriculture. The idea that manual labor and farming in particular are "inferior" occupations must be combatted whenever possible (see (21), pp.196-202). Extension services must be strengthened and the importance of the role of women both in production and consumption given far more attention (see (29), p.67).

There are serious deficiences in the marketing and credit systems as they presently exist in Eastern Nigeria which must be rectified is sustained development is to take place. Johnson indicates that while indigenous markets may be inefficient, their more critical weakness is their inflexible institutional structure and poor physical facilities (53). The traditional

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2/ Since this report concentrates on land tenure, the basic facts and problems of Ibo land tenure are reserved for the next chapter.

markets have inadequate facilities for storage of produce and slaughtering of cattle, hogs, etc., is primitive and unsanitary. Standard weights and measures are not in general use and attempts to "cheat" by falsifying the true content of a given local measure as well as by adulterating goods are common practices. Associated with these and other problems of the market place itself, is a degree of lack of communication between the producers and consumers via the markets. Although the local marketing system meets the usual theoretical assumptions of the free competition model fairly well, the price system does not function so as to fully reflect consumer's desires back to the producers in a timely manner. Prices may vary widely between two different local markets on the same day.

These markets and their methods would probably have to be modified greatly if they were to function satisfactorily as suppliers of production requisites, being able to supply them in good physical condition at the time and place and in the necessary quantities, when needed. Johnson does not think they can function in such a manner and suggests that modern marketing methods and institutions be developed alongside the traditional marketing system rather than within it (53).

Government credit programs in Nigeria have suffered from corrupt, incompetent and ill-trained personnel, failure to base loans on economic considerations, inadequate or inappropriate loan securities such as communal land which doesn't belong to the borrower, overly-complex forms, inordinate delays in making loans, etc., (6). Most Nigerians do not own their land and cannot therefore put up collateral to satisfy commercial banks. It has been suggested that schemes be worked out whereby state-sponsored credit corporations can guarantee commercial bank loans to approved farmers directly

or to cooperative banks or societies specializing in small scale farm loans (82). There is precedent in Iboland for local credit-cooperative types of organizations in the existing "esusu clubs" where each member contributes a small amount, usually each week, receives periodically on a rotating basis a lump sum representing approximately what he has contributed and may borrow money from the fund at interest for specified purposes.

In addition, there is the typical need for providing better overall infrastructure by improving the basic educational system, transportation and other amenities such as pure drinking water supplies and health facilities.

For Iboland in general, the transportation system is fairly good with many of the main roads between major cities tarred and with generally passable roads prevalent in most parts of heavily populated areas. There is fairly frequent and relatively cheap, if slow and uncomfortable (indeed downright dangerous!), transportation by lorry available between all important towns.

Water supplies are a problem especially during the dry season in many areas and one of the major difficulties of rural development in the sparsely populated areas of Abakaliki Province is the provision of drinking water and other amenities to the scattered inhabitants.

Note on Nutrition

The needs for research, basic and applied, and its practical application through appropriate institutional arrangements to the production side of the peasant producer's family economy are matched by corresponding needs on the

consumption side, especially as regards nutrition. The nutrition problem discussed on page 19 is especially serious in Iboland. The problem is particularly acute among children and pregnant or nursing women. "The improvement in growth with better nutrition is so striking that at four and a half years of age the well-reared Nigerian child has been found to be 6 inches taller and 9 pounds heavier than a poorly kept child in the rural areas". (16, p.33) There is a great need for educating people on the relationship of a particular individual's age and situation to his nutritional needs as well as to the nutrient content of different food. Often, the head of the family comes first, then the women, and the children last with the quantity and quality of food consumed in that order (97).

The above reflects the need for trained extension workers in informing rural people, especially the women, of the importance of nutrition, sanitation, storage and other factors related to health and energy. Obviously, people who are undernourished and disease ridden are not going to be as productive as they would otherwise be, and, an important part of the problem is ignorance.

Closing Comment

It is apparent that there is plenty of need for conventional physical science and economic research and extension work as well as of the "institutional economic type" if satisfactory progress is to be made in Nigerian agriculture development.

For Iboland, the problems are, if anything, even more acute than for most of the rest of the country. At the heart of the needed institutional changes to save the land from those two great enemies of soil exhaustion

and soil erosion, as well as to improve its productivity and hence the standards of living and the quality of diets of the Ibo people, stands the traditional land tenure system. In the next chapter, we will outline the main features and related problems of this tenure system before moving on to a discussion of Ibo society, its institutions, and how they might be used to advantage in improving the tenure situation.

CHAPTER VIII--IBO LAND TENURE

In Nigeria in general land ownership is vested in the community, i.e. family, village, or "tribe"; with the peasant generally having free rein regarding the use of his allotted land with the sole stipulation that he cannot alienate it from the community (42).

Because most of the following discussion refers specifically to the Ibos, a caveat to the reader is respectfully inserted at this point.

A Caveat

> It must be emphasized that in Africa the degree of socio-cultural differentiation is very great, . . . it should not be thought that differences are merely of the order of the well-known regional differences of North America or even of the national differences in Europe. They are, in Africa, more numerous, affect smaller groups of people, and are much more radical . . . commonly some or all of the neighbors of a tribe have a decisively different social system and mutual comprehension and co-operation are extremely difficult, (97, p. 67).

Furthermore, even within a given tribe there may be significant variations. The Ibos of Eastern Nigeria have been classified by two well-known experts into four major sub-cultural groups, each of which can be further sub-divided on cultural grounds, they are: Northern (Onitsha); Northeastern (Ogu-Usu); Eastern (Cross River) and Southern (Owerri). There is also a fifth division (Western) consisting of the Ibos mostly living across the Niger River in adjacent areas of the Midwestern Region (32). Each of these groups has been influenced to different degrees of intensity and in different ways by the different tribal groups (including of course Englishmen) surrounding them on all sides.

Since the land tenure system is such an important part of these traditional societies, it naturally also varies among and within tribal groups and even sub-groups. Any actual Ibo village would exhibit the presence of most of the common characteristics in a greater or lesser degree of deviation from some "average" or "typical" situation.

In attempting to describe the Ibo system of land tenure, there is not only the difficulty of greater or lesser variability between one sub-group and another in almost every aspect of the subject. There is also the problem of translation of meanings of words and concepts between two different languages and their associated cultures. To place such words as ownership, sale, lease, etc., in quotes at every turn to remind the reader that the connotation is not exactly as it is understood in Western Society and to follow such words as farmland, sacred land, bad bush, etc., by the native words (which like everything else, vary from one area to another) strikes the author as tedious. Those readers who wish to delve more deeply will find in the cited materials, much elaboration and additional detailed information regarding Ibo tenure and social organization. Here they will only find the author's distillation of the general characteristics, or salient points, if you will, of the system.

Cardinal Tenure Principles

> The Ibo system of land tenure is based on three cardinal principles: that the land ultimately belongs to the community and cannot be alienated from it without its consent; that within the community the individual shall have security of tenure for the land he requires for his compounds, his gardens, and his farms; and that no member of the community shall be without land, (57, p. 313).

The above quotation is probably as succinct a statement of the heart of the matter as could be found and makes an excellent reference point from which to begin.

To what "community" does the land "belong"? To start with, there is no such thing as a tribal community ownership when the word tribe is meant to connote, as it is in this report and in common parlance, that amorphous group of people in South-Eastern Nigeria with roughly similar customs, native religious deities and language which is known as the Ibos in a Nigerian or larger context. Defined as such, there is no such thing as tribal tenure in Iboland or throughout West Africa; the real landholding unit is the family composed of a man, his wife or wives, their children, their grown-up sons and the wives and children of these and often the man's brothers or close cousins and their wives and children, in other words, the extended family (24).

Indigenous Village Structure

It would be impossible to clearly understand Ibo tenure without an outline of the fundamental organization of Ibo society. Therefore, this section on the basic social and political groupings in Ibo society is placed here. It and the next section on historical development will also serve as an introduction to the next chapter on Ibo society in general. Among the Ibo, the bonds of kinship are usually quite closely associated with physical proximity. If two individuals live in the same village group they are probably also kinsmen. Therefore, the term villager may be considered as synonymous with kinsman and the term stranger as synonymous

with non-kinsman unless qualified. There are of course varying degrees of "closeness" of relationship within broad kin groupings. A given individual may be for some purposes a "kinsman" within his extended family and in effect a "stranger" outside it.

Jones classifies these related groupings on a dual basis and in descending order of magnitude as shown in Table 27 below. The categories on the left are basically geographical categories while those on the right are kinship categories.

This typical Ibo village structure is illustrated in Figure 4 on page 132. The Ibos conceive of their social structure as an integrated pattern of patrilineal descent groups. Alien groups ranging in size from a single person all the way up to even the village level, including both free born or cult slave groups, can be incorporated into the system by suitable fictitious relationships to other groups of equal size.

Ideally, the relative size of each geographical sub-division of the village group and its related descent group should remain in balance. But, as Jones puts it: " . . . the difficulty with a structure based on a

Table 27.--Dual classification of Ibo social and political structure

Village group structure	Descent groupings
village group	clan
primary division	subclan
village	maximal lineage
village section	major lineage
village subsection	minor lineage
compound	minimal lineage
	household

Source: G.I. Jones, "Dual Organization in Ibo Social Structure," Africa Vol. XIX, No. 2 (April, 1949), p.151.

system of descent groups is that these groups develop unevenly, and that they almost invariably tend to split into an unduly large number of smaller segments, so that the original balance of the structure is lost." (54, p.152).

At each level the pertinent community tasks are apportioned out among the sub-divisions and unless each part can do its share friction arises and the system cannot function properly. For this reason it is a matter of general concern that this balance be maintained and consequently the divisions within the system are based primarily on criteria of size rather than descent. As indicated, one method of maintaining this balance is by apportioning alien people or groups appropriately into the system. Even more important, adjustments can be made within the total structure by moving a group, up, down and/or laterally within the structure to restore a balanced condition. Such adjustments do not involve any transfer of territory or change of domicile but merely mean that the transferred group faces towards a new central meeting place and shares and works within the segment to which it has been transferred (54). Thus, the system can be adjusted so that it continues to function adequately, at least in the context of traditional society.

Although the characteristic Ibo social and political group is the village group (enlarged village) which has lost much of its unity and cohesion because of population growth and colonial rule; the vital or primary group for every-day affairs is the village (54).

Before the advent of British suzerainty, political relations between different village groups (and to a large extent different villages) resembled those among foreign nations (54). In addition, slavery as an institution,

both domestic and 'foreign' was prevalent long before Europeans arrived on the scene in West Africa and in Southern Nigeria generally, both human sacrifice and cannibalism were practiced (9). Under these circumstances, one assumes leaving ones own village group territory must have rather resembled entering into Hobbs' state of nature and life would surely have been "brutish and short", if not "dull,"[1/] especially if you attempted to farm on another "nation's" land without first obtaining permission.

With this introduction to the social system, we can proceed to its relationship to land tenure.

Historical Development (57)

Jones divides the normal process of Ibo territorial growth into three stages: an initial or colonizing stage, a consolidation stage and a final stage which might be termed disintegration (57). Once population began to grow some sort of rules had to be made to allow peaceful expansion. What happened was that each village of the group was given the right to occupy the land extending in a specific direction away from the original group center consisting of one or more central meeting-places. Each village (maximal lineage) was required to stay within its alloted area. This arrangement maintained internal peace and focused hostilities against outsiders.

A tenet of the Ibo tenure system (and West African systems in general) is that the sub-group that actually is occupying and using the land owns use rights to it. This is true at all levels of the society. Thus, when a

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1/ Reference is made to Thomas Hobbs' famous book on the state, Leviathan.

particular village of the group due to population growth finds itself running short of land within reasonable walking distances within its sector it formerly often had the option under the dual division social system of taking over part of a neighbouring village's sector (perhaps absorbing the people as well) which was being underutilized. In any case, as long as land was plentiful, the village could migrate en masse and establish a new settlement in the groups vacant reserve land. As soon as it did, ownership of the newly occupied land passed to it and when it felt strong enough to do so, it asserted its independence. Jones points out that before the British, force was recognized as the normal method of adjusting farmland boundaries between neighbouring villages, even when they belonged to the same village group and that if the disputant groups were about equal in size they fought, if not, the weaker normally gave in on the best terms it could exact (57). One suspects relations between the villages of a group and even across group lines were often 'intriguing' to say the least!

The land was basically divided into two main categories: houseland and farmland. The ideally circular area made up of the various village sectors is composed of two concentric zones. The inner zone is made up of houseland where people live and grow oil-palms, other trees and shade crops under them. Farmland makes up the outer zone where people farm but do not live. Here the main food staples such as cassava and yam are planted and the natural forest disappears much more rapidly than on houseland.

The village controls what crops may be planted in the farmland areas. Permanent crops and even seasonal crops such as cassava if they interfere with the crop rotation may not be planted (57).

In some areas exploitation is unorganized and the individual is free to help himself to as much land as he can cultivate; but this creates no rights in that plot beyond the right to harvest the annual crops planted. In other areas people make their choice of plots for the season on a basis of age with the eldest member of the entire group choosing first and the youngest last on an individual rather than an extended family basis. Each year the procedure is repeated anew so that no single individual but the eldest surviving male of the group has any assurance of having the same plot the next time it is cultivated in the rotation.

Village land may be partitioned among the sections or sub-sections. This land in turn may be partitioned among the extended families and so forth. At each level of society, land which is abandoned through migration, death or any other reason reverts back to the next higher land holding unit. If an extended family due to social ostracism, fear that the land was somehow polluted spiritually as manifested by an unusual number of deaths in the family or for any other reason migrated; their commonly held land would revert to the village sub-section and so forth (79).

On houseland, the individual householder is the owner and has the right to plant more or less what crops, permanent (tree) or otherwise, he wishes. This arrangment was to the farmer's distinct advantage as he could do what he wanted with his share of houseland near his home while the larger community regulated the farming practiced on the farmland so that it didn't interfere with his rights there and also protected it from seizure by other groups.

As the area, basically due to the pressure of population growth, passes through the three stages and the amount of land owned by the community shrinks continually in favor of land owned by individuals, the restrictions on what land and to whom a man can in effect sell increase continuously. Thus, when plenty of land is available, a man can transfer outright his rights to either houseland or farmland even to a stranger provided he is not a member of an enemy rival group.

In the consolidation stage when farmland begins to become scarce, first transfers to outsiders are forbidden and then even transfers within the land holding community itself. Finally, in the disintegration stage where practically all land has become houseland, outright transfer of any land is flatly prohibited (57). Nevertheless, within the village, inheritance procedures and various means of transferring the land insure that the second two of Jones' three cardinal principles; namely, that the individual will have security of tenure and that no one will be without land, are met.

Inheriting Land

First of all, women normally cannot own or inherit land although they retain use rights during their lifetime as long as they remain in the husband's household (79).[2/] Inheritance is paternal, that is, from father to son or sons except for certain groups in the Cross River area where inheritance is maternal. Even here however, land is possessed by the males

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2/ In pre-British days only the freeborn could inherit or deal with land. There were, and perhaps to a limited extent still are, various categories of slaves among the Ibos (35, 64).

Nevertheless, it is apparent that generally nothing like a rigid caste system existed. "The position occupied by slaves in former times depended very much on the personal character of the slaves. Many slaves became completely assimilated to the family or lineage which owned them and were accorded all the privileges of the free-born." (65, p.171).

and only transmitted via the females through a system of double descent (79). The normal system can best be presented by giving an example. To start with, polygyny is an accepted practice among the Ibo so a man may have several wives.

Obi describes the typical situation as follows. Potential use rights in land owned communally by the larger group, such as the village or village group, vest in the individual as a member of the group. When these rights become actual, varies from village to village but coming-of-age often formalized by manhood initiation ceremonies is a common criteria. Thus, these rights pertain to the individual and are independent of his relationship to his father so no question of inheritance arises (79).

However, with "family farmland", which Obi says is the "most numerous single type" in Iboland, the situation is quite different (79, p.165). When the family head dies, his family land becomes the joint property of all his sons. If there is not friction among them, they may farm the area as one unit even through several generations. However, when, for whatever the reason, the decision is made to break up the family land the eldest son of all, by whatever wife, receives one or more plots by virtue of his being the head of the entire family. The rest of the family land is then partitioned equally among the groups of descendants of each of the original family head's wives where there are male descendants living, be they children, grandchildren or great grandchildren. The eldest son, grandson, etc. of each original wife then assumes control of his family group's share but he is responsible for protecting the interests of his younger brothers under a trusteeship type of relationship. The important fact is that the size of your inheritance depends not only on how much total family land is available

but also on how many brothers you have. To illustrate this, assume Mr. X had four wives: A, B, C, and D and at his death there were living sons of the wives who had been born in the following chronological order; a^1, b^1, b^2, d^1, d^2, d^3, d^4, and d^5. Assume a total of 155 acres to be divided. Since wife C has no living male children or grandchildren her group inherits no land although she retains use rights during her lifetime. Assume the eldest son a^1, receives 5 acres as the new family head. The other 150 acres will be split into three 50 acres allotments. Assuming the land is immediately divided up among the brothers; a^1 gets 50 acres, b^1 and b^2 get 25 acres each and d^1 through d^5 each receive 10 acres. Had a^1 died and his infant son a* survived him, a* would have inherited the 50 acres. The procedure for individually held land is usually quite similar (79).

A householder is bound to share out part of his family farmland to his sons when they become adults and when they marry, part of his houseland. If the farmland is several types, each separate type is divided up among the sons (57). If we recall that a cardinal principle is that the right to land is based on using it, the number of wives and sons a man had to help him farm was a decisive factor in the size of his patrimony of land rights since his rights in family farmland as well as houseland were (and are) heritable.

As population increases, with differential growth rates among the extended families within the village and as vacant land is progressively used up, the inheritance system insures an ever increasing degree of fragmentation among the holdings accompanied by a corresponding reduction in the size of the land holding unit. At some point an individual due to accident of birth may find himself with insufficient land to farm even though he has inherited his share of the family land.

As long as vacant unclaimed land exists, a man can acquire rights over it by occupying or using it. Such land is for all practical purposes non-extant in Iboland today (10). There is also some land set aside which is tabu or "bad bush" where people who are believed to have died for violating sacred customs are buried or dumped. However, braver souls have been known to farm there and survive (10). At Unadu, there was a large area of "bad bush" but about twenty years ago some Christian villagers began to clear and farm it, the village elders acquiesced and today it is entirely cleared and divided up into individual plots owned by Christians (94). But there may not be any "bad bush" available, even if there is, the elders may not acquiesce or if they would, one is perhaps neither a fully convinced Christian nor a brave soul. Then the only course left is to obtain the use of someone else's land on a temporary basis or to buy some if it is for sale. Temporary use of land may be obtained either on a seasonal basis or for an indefinite period of time subject to reversion to the original owner or his descendants upon repayment of the initial sum of money paid. The first is sometimes referred to as "showing" and the second as "pledging".

Showing Land

Showing of the land amounts to a one season leasing arrangement where for a given price, the lessee receives the right to use the land and harvest the seasonal crops planted there. For example, a villager may be approached with palm wine by someone who wishes to farm. He then "shows" the lessee the piece of land on which he may farm. Generally speaking, an individual may "show" his own land to another villager at will, the consent of the land owning group will be required only in cases involving a stranger or where there is a shortage of land (57).

Harris indicates that the rent is often based on the general price level prevailing which is measured in terms of the land's yam productivity rather than its surface area and the degree of relationship or friendship between the lessor and the lessee. He mentions that in a number of cases between close friends no charge was made at all. Otherwise, rentals for a piece of ground capable of growing 400 yams to a man who was not a close relative or particular friend ranged from two pence to three shillings and six pence in 1939 (40). The variability in price is probably accounted for to a large extent by the quality of the land, the amount of effort required to work it, the plot's location and other similar factors. Inasmuch as these figures are almost 30 years old, it is safe to assume that prices today are substantially higher and that the circle of those considered particular friends or even close relatives has been substantially reduced in scope.

Pledging Land

A man desiring more permanent use of a piece of land will "pledge" it rather than have it shown to him. For an agreed upon price paid in a lump sum the pledgee receives the use of the land until the pledgor redeems it by repaying the pledgee a like sum. The following list summarizes the major points regarding the pledging of land:

Conditions for Pledging Land (65, pp.202-205)

1. The use of the land by the pledgee may be thought of as annual interest which is paid by the pledgor for the use of the pledge money.

2. The use of the land immediately, invariably, and completely reverts to the pledgor upon repayment of a sum identical to the pledge money by the pledgor to the pledgee.
3. These mutual rights and obligations regarding redemption of the land are heritable in perpetuity by the descendants of both parties.
4. The pledgee has the right to harvest seasonal crops he has planted and to a reasonable period of time to make alternative arrangements when redemption notice is given.
5. Redeemed land must be in as good condition as when pledged and the pledgee has no right to compensation for improvements unless that was agreed upon when the land was pledged.
6. Pledgee may repledge the pledged land to a third party if he needs money and the pledgor is not willing to redeem it provided he does not charge more than the pledgor charged him. Then if pledgor wishes to redeem he pays the original pledgee who in turn must pay the third party.
7. The pledging of land held in common and the pledging of any land to a stranger must have the approval of the land holding group. In this case, the pledge money may be shared among the members, the shares usually being larger or smaller based on the seniority of the individual.
8. When commonly held land is pledged by an individual, with the group's permission, the group may pressure the individual to redeem it. In any case, when the land held in common is divided up due to normal inheritance or because of friction among the members of the group, pledged land is counted against the pledgor or his descendants' patrimony.

9. Pledging of land is separate and distinct from economic trees growing on it and the pledgee may not plant permanent tree crops or build on the land without the pledgor's permission.
10. Pledging of land to be valid, must be carried out in front of witnesses to safeguard the rights of both parties.

Jones indicates that to pledge farmland, unlike houseland, requires the consent of the land holding group and that custom restricts the amount of land that can be pledged. He goes on to note that this type of transaction is a most effective way of securing an even distribution of land between adjacent villages and even village groups but that because of the redemption features it leaves the pledgee, whether a group or an individual, no incentive to improve the land (57).

Selling Land

An individual will normally not wish to sell his land under any conditions. Land is not sold to obtain liquid capital for other economic needs but a man may be forced to sell in an emergency such as the need to raise money for a bride price, a funeral feast, to bribe a court or [assuming the bribe was unsuccessful] to pay the fine (64). A specific sale between individuals has been described by Field for land at Nnewi in Onitsha Province in 1945. The seller was permitted to sell his individual land without anyone else's consent to another villager. The only restriction, which would not have applied to pledging the land, was that the buyer could not be a stranger. The test or proof that a sale rather than a pledging took place was that a goat was ritually killed on the land.

The seller parted with all rights to the land except the right of pre-emption at double the original purchase price should the purchaser wish to resell. Also, it was the community's consensus that if the buyer had not built on the land and the seller offered him twice the purchase price for the land he "ought to" sell it back to him, but could not be forced to do so (25). While Field does not so state, one assumes witnesses for both parties were present at the appropriate time.

The line between pledging and selling land can be a thin one. Land pledged at twice or more the going rate is effectively sold because it is assumed the "seller" (or his family) will never have the money to redeem it and even if he did would use the money to redeem other land pledged out at the normal rate. Meek refers to the work of Chubb, Green and Harris as well as his own supporting the statement that in fact a "pledge" at a price far above the going rate amounts to a sale in Iboland (65, p.218). In addition, although in theory land held on pledge is redeemable in perpetuity, in fact, once it has been held by the pledgee and his descendants through several generations, and especially if they have built on it, they become more or less the de facto owners of the land (10).

Rights in Trees

Meek states that the general rule regarding the ownership of economic trees is that "planted trees belong to the planter and his heirs, while wild (or self sown) trees belong to the community which owns the land, whether that be a village or lineage or family group (65, p.173). By far the most important economic tree among the Ibos is the oil-palm. Its fruit is sold for cash either directly or as oil both in the local domestic market and at

various links into the marketing chain of intermediate buyers for export. It is the Ibo's chief source of ready cash for paying taxes etc. In addition, it, along with the raffia palm, is also tapped for palm wine. Since most plam trees in Eastern Nigeria grew wild, they belonged originally to the community as a whole and their fruit was available free for the picking to any villager. However, as with land in general, as population grew a similar process took place with trees, those on houseland becoming recognized as the property of the person who took care of them. The situation with trees as with land, can become very complicated and involved and sometimes a village may even pledge some of its trees to a neighboring village in order to raise funds for special community purposes. It is often customary for village palms to be harvested on a given day of the month during harvest season. On that day during the specified hours, any male villager can harvest the fruit from any community palm and fines are imposed on anyone who harvests at any other time. This procedure is used as a means of raising money for village purposes, each participant being obliged to pay a fee for the privilege of picking. In addition, a village owning more palm groves than they have the manpower to harvest will allow strangers to harvest in given areas on given days for a fee (65 , 79).

When oil palms pass out of community into de facto if not de jure ownership they are usually inherited by the eldest son who must look after the interests of his younger brothers. If there is more than one wife, they may be divided up among the eldest sons of each wife (65). The inheritance procedure for individually owned oil-palms, as well as for other economic trees such as fruit trees (35), is thus similar to that for land with

the trees being parcelled out and the eldest son getting a somewhat larger number of each kind. There is an obvious conflict of interests here between the community's right to consider all oil palms as community property and hence a source of revenue for community purposes and the individual's right to harvest a tree and retain all the proceeds for himself. For this reason, the community often retains a tighter grip on its common rights in oil-palm trees than in the land vis-a-vis members of the village. Moreover, the situation may be unstable with the pendulum swinging back and forth between community and private rights over the same trees in a matter of a few years (35).

Rights over all economic trees other than the oil-palm generally belong to the individual who planted them or established rights over them by caring for them. Such rights are heritable by the owner's descendants. Otherwise, the fruit of such trees (other than oil-palm) that are uncared for and growing wild in the community's "bush land" are free to any villager who harvests them (10).

When a man receives land on pledge he may not normally plant any permanent crops such as fruit trees on the pledged land without the pledgors permission since the very act of planting establishes ownership. Nevertheless, permission may often be obtained to plant a limited number on pledged farmland. The number must be limited because the pledgor would not be able to plant his yam and cassava successfully if the field became too crowded with another man's trees (35). Again the impression received is that pressure on the land and closeness of relationship or friendship are important factors in how strictly such restrictions are enforced.

When one recalls that each kind of tree as well as each type of land is treated as a strictly separate class of property, it is easy to see how through inheritance procedures and other customs, rights in trees may be scattered widely, both as regards geographic location and ownership. It is easy to imagine a man who had pledged some land and obtained permission to plant some economic trees on it coming on bad times and obtaining some cash by pledging his rights in the trees back to the owner of the pledged land!

Women's Rights (35)

Women do not ordinarily own land. When a woman marries, her mother and father customarily provide her with seed cocoyam and yam to start her off in her husband's village. The husband, or his father if he is living, will show her land on which she may plant her garden of corn and vegetables around the compound area. She will plant this garden every year and fertilize it with household refuse. The husband will also show his wife where he is going to plant his farms that year and where she can plant more corn, cocoyams and cassava. If her husband marries again, the first wife will show the second a piece of the garden which she may use and the husband will indicate what areas of farmland she may plant in and so on and so forth.

Generally speaking, women retain the rights to cultivate their husband's land during their lifetime after which the sons inherit it. Regarding trees, unlike land, women may own them in some cases. For example, it is customary in some places for a child's (male or female) umbilical cord to be buried in the compound and a palm seedling planted over it. The palm then becomes

the property of the child (10). Also, women have very definite 'ownership' of the fruit of some trees, such as the breadfruit, which belong to their husbands. It is also common for women to own the kernels of the palm fruit. Women also generally can own as individuals personal property and livestock.

Summary Statement

From the above discussion it is clear that the Ibo system of tenure does indeed function to see that the land is not normally alienated to strangers, that every villager shall have some land to cultivate and that his tenure shall be protected within the context of customary law. Unfortunately, it is also clear that the system does not provide for security of tenure on an individual basis so that an ambitious individual will have strong incentive to improve the land or be able to obtain credit by using it as collateral. The features of community ownership and the pledging of land prevent this for much of the community's land. The system of inheritance obviously leads to ever greater fragmentation once vacant land is used up and the separation of rights in trees from those of the land they stand on still further complicates the problem.

A recent study on British influence in Eastern Nigeria concludes that Colonialism had little direct influence on the Ibo system of land tenure (66, 41). This is true enough when the tenure system's internal functioning is considered. However, it is certainly far from true when the situation in Eastern Nigeria as a whole is considered.

> The Ibo system of land tenure is . . . the chief cause of the present most uneven distribution of population; in some areas the density of population reaches over 1000 persons per sq. mile, while in others less than twenty-five miles distant, it falls below 150 (57, 323).

What happened is that "pax Britannia" prevented neighboring villages from adjusting their boundaries to accord with relative population densities by the traditional methods of actual or threatened violence. Thus, the Colonial influence was very important indeed in the larger sense because by preventing inter-village warfare it also "froze," as it were, the external boundaries of each village's land. The process of inheritance and fragmentation within the village then continued unabated but unrelieved by the addition of more land. Once a community's land was used up, excess population could only migrate on a seasonal basis to farm land in neighboring communities with excess land. Here they had (and have) no incentive not to "mine the soil" and in addition, problems started as soon as the receiving community felt its own land needs were being threatened. This leads to very difficult situations, especially when the migrant group has come over a period of years both to expect the continuation of and to depend on their customary farming of these areas in stranger villages (10).

Since the traditional solution of force is no longer acceptable, the situation must be remedied by other means. For other means to be effective without themselves being based on naked force, they must be based on an understanding and consideration of the place of land in the society and the roles of various institutions in that society as they relate to it.

CHAPTER IX.--TRADITIONAL IBO SOCIETY

In this chapter we shall attempt to outline the major features of traditional Ibo society and how they are functionally related.

The Supernatural Sphere

Ibo religion is pantheistic. The Supreme Being, often known as Chuku, is the author of heaven and earth, sends rain, makes crops grow, is the source from which men derive their 'chi' or accompanying soul and is the father of the other gods. He is however, a distant deity and although regarded as the ultimate recipient of all sacrifices, seldom has sacrifice offered to him directly (66).

There are many other lesser deities, each with its associated cult, but the most important in the public and private life of the Ibo is the earth goddess or Ala who is the great mother or symbol of life. Ala is regarded as the owner of men and is therefore closely associated with ancestral cults.

> It is out of respect to the earth-goddess that the Igbo are ideologically opposed to the sale of land . . . where there is a "sale" of land the earth-goddess must be ritually pacified if the transaction is to be consummated. The Igbo feel guilty and ashamed to have to sell their land. (93, p.96)

For the Ibo, the cult of the ancestors is one of the strongest forces maintaining the unity of the social group. The ancestors, under the presidency of Ala, are the guardians of morality and the owners of the soil. The heads of the family groups derive their principle source of

authority from their direct relationship as the intermediary between subordinate members of the family and the common ancestors. The Ibo idea of ancestors is closely tied in with the idea of reincarnation (32). These beliefs in the influence of ancestors and reincarnation are also closely related to the land. The ancestors are buried in it and the living are responsible for maintaining their graves. A man feels secure in cultivating his ancestral land and in addition, upon reincarnation, he would desire to cultivate the same land he had used in previous lives (39).

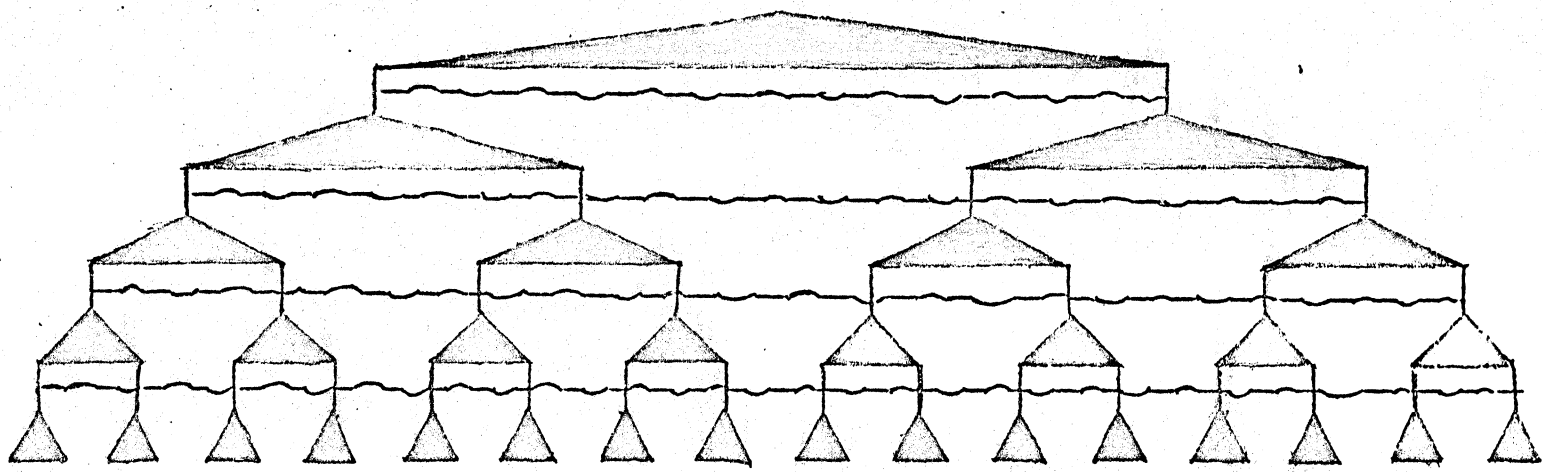
Nevertheless, Basden states that, unlike parts of East and Central Africa, such beliefs do not bind the Ibo because he has the benefit of being able to transport the souls of his ancestors "whensoever and wheresoever he removes his habitation." These souls are not inextricably resident in any particular tree, grove, or plot of land. If land is sold, any offense to the ancestors [and gods] can be remedied by appropriate sacrifice. He concludes that " . . . ancestors do not appear to exercise overdue influence on land tenure." (5, pp.266-267) It seems that while sales of land are frowned upon and not undertaken lightly, sales to a fellow villager under dire circumstances will not be frustrated by supernatural sanctions.

The Natural Sphere

Turning now from the spiritual world to this world (which in actuality can never really be separated) we find that the Ibo social and political system can be conveniently visualized as a pyramid held together by horizontal and vertical structural elements. This is illustrated below in Figure 4 for a hypothetical village. The lack of parallel connection between the vertical

Figure 4

VISUAL PRESENTATION OF TRADITIONAL IBO VILLAGE STRUCTURE



 = Vertical elements in ascending magnitude

 = Horizontal linking elements

elements at any given level in Figure 4 is not fortuitous. Within each horizontal level, the vertical elements are basically mutually competitive entities among themselves and together they form a similar competitive type of unit vis-a-vis their 'sister' parallel elements at the next higher level. This competition may be friendly or not so friendly but the whole structure is cemented together to a greater or lesser degree by the horizontal associations and societies.

Basically, the vertical elements are made up of the kinship or family groupings while the horizontal elements are made up of associations cutting across kinship lines.

Vertical Elements

Descent is probably the main determinant of association among the Ibo. The basic building block is the extended family composed of two or more families, of different generations, linked by blood ties and living in a common residential area under the leadership of a single head (78). Two or more extended families, recognizing a common ancestor, worshiping a single deity or cult, having a common name, a single head, and living in close proximity to one another form a lineage. These generally ascend in size from minimal through minor, major and maximal lineages. Two maximal lineages may form a village (54).

According to Nzeribe, the size of the extended family varies from as few as 40 to as high as 200 members. One of the most important traditional functions of the extended family is to act as a basic landholding unit. It provides a source of co-operative labor for clearing thick woodland, harvesting palms, construction work such as housebuilding and other similar

activities. It functions also as a source of funds for title taking, burial ceremonies and other social obligations. In particular, it helps provide a daughter with her 'dowry' when she marries and a son his bride price when he marries (77).

Moreover, it provides many services which are often provided by the state in Western Society such as social insurance, settlement of disputes and education. In particular, it assumes, in time of need, the role of a welfare agency.

The head of the extended family has numerous ritual, moral and legal rights and obligations. He offers sacrifice for the welfare of the family, organizes exploitation of the family land, helps family members who get into difficulties, and bears a large part of marriage, funeral, and hospitality expenses. In return he receives respect and obedience, material tokens of good will and can claim one day's farm work in the full eight-day week from each adult male (66). This family head represents the members in their external dealings with other like social groups.

The head of every extended family is called the "okpara" and is the priest of the family cult. He is also the holder of the family "ofo" or the sacred symbol of authority which is made primarily from a branch of the "Detarium senegalense" tree. The ofo represents the authority of the okpara as the intermediary between the family and the ancestors. The head of each level of the social and political hierarchy possesses the ofo appropriate to that level.

These vertical elements are the main channel for settlement of disputes in traditional Ibo society. Disputes on all matters are settled within the smallest group concerned whenever possible. When this involves members of

different groups at a given level, a solution is first sought at the next higher level. Hence a dispute between two nuclear families would be settled by arbitration under the okpara of their extended family. A dispute, however, between members of different extended families would normally go before the head at the next higher level with the contestants being represented by the heads of their respective extended families. The procedure would be similar on up the line even to the village group level.

Ordinarily, attempts are made to settle disputes "internally" within the group with as little fanfare as possible since this avoids bringing disgrace to the kin involved and offenders may be dealt with more leniently than if the matter has to be tried "publicly."

A second major reason for attempting to prevent these offenses from occurring in the first place and minimizing the effects of them if possible is the feature of collective-responsibility of the extended family and to a lesser degree of even larger units. In this way, pressure is brought to bear on the wrongdoers' relatives to obtain redress short of physical violence.

> In the case of debt, if the creditor could not induce the debtor to repay the loan, he would go to the compound of any of the accused's relatives who happened to be absent on their farms, and capture goats or any other articles equivalent to the amount of the debt. Later in the day he would send word to the owner of the property, informing him of the reason for his action. The owner in turn would bring pressure on the debtor to pay the sum he owed. (66, p.127)

This hierararchical structure resulted in a decentralization of authority with the head at each level having considerable leeway for decision-making within his sphere as long as he stayed within the customary limits of authority for that level. Rather than being merely in the position of executing orders from on-high according to the letter of the law; within broad limits,

he was his own man except in matters of general concern to the larger group or when he or one of his subordinates initiated action to bring the matter to a higher level for resolution. In addition, it must always be kept in mind that the head's authority, at whatever level, was that of a leader with willing followers rather than that of a dictator. The society is essentially decentralized and basically democratic and authority is based on performance and personal qualities of leadership to a greater extent than on mere perogative based on age or office.

This lineage system may be looked upon as a pyramidal form of social organization based on kinship. Holding this vertical structure together are horizontal organizations crossing lineage lines. The importance of these organizations varies from place to place and a particular organization may be insignificant or absent entirely in one area while still functioning in important ways in another.

Horizontal Elements

Very important horizontal elements are title societies, age group societies, women's groups, and the village council of elders.

Title societies confer life membership for a high initiation fee which is shared among the members. Thus by recruiting new members the society acts as a form of revolving group insurance. The essential qualifications are free birth, good conduct and the ability to make the payments. Titles are often graded in prestige and in general a man may not take a title equal to or greater than that held by his father before the fathers death. Some inferior titles may be inherited but most become vacant at the death of the holder (32).

There are many different societies with different grades of titles such as the yam, horse killer, cow killer or second burial titles. These title societies exercise a form of social control on their members by laying down rules of conduct and proscribing certain forms of behavior considered unworthy of a titled man. Membership in the higher title societies may carry important power in the political as well as in the social spheres.

> Titled men (Ndi Nzi) in the past virtually monopolized authority in their village group. The making of major political decisions and the administration of criminal justice were carried out at public meetings, at which all the adult males of the community had a right to express their opinions, and the decisions agreed upon were ratified and ritually imposed by the lineage heads. In fact, the initiative, including the formulation of policy and the debate in the public meetings, was controlled by the leading members of the title society, who discussed affairs at their society meetings and secured the support of other title holders. (32, p.18)

The Ibo age grouping system may be divided into "age grades" and "age sets". Age grades are age-categories of which the Ibo distinguish three major categories. They are a senior grade locally referred to as "the elders" and containing the old men and women of the community, a middle grade referred to as "Men" or "Women" and a junior grade referred to as "Boys" or "Girls". Each of these age grades may have sub-divisions with specialized functions. The "age sets" refer not to specific age categories but rather to a specific group or "cohort" of actual individuals who are considered as constituting a group because their respective ages all fall within a given time span. As an individual grows older, he, along with his particular age set members, moves up from grade to grade. At any point in time a particular age set is subordinate in rank to those above (older than) it and superior to those below (younger than) it (56).

Age sets traditionally perform many public duties such as clearing paths, cutting forests, acting as market police and guarding the settlement in time of war. They provide mutual help and exercise discipline over their members in cases of misbehavior (32). They may harvest communal palm fruits and levy fines on those who refuse to cooperate (83). Along cooperative and mutual aid lines, they build log bridges and help build one another's homes. They may also cooperate and contribute to wedding, funeral or other social festivities involving any one of them in large expenditures, but to a lesser degree than members of the individual's particular extended family (77).

One of the most important functions of the whole age-grade organization is guarding public morality. Each age-grade is the moral censor for its members; it takes collective action against any of its members and may, for example, compel a member to return stolen goods or pay a fine or both. Some age grades acted as police or executive agents of the council of elders and yet could also initiate action on their own. If stealing were on the increase throughout the village group, they might increase the penalties for this offense, subject, of course, to the acquiescence of the elders. Or, on a difficult land case, the combined age grades might attend to see that the elders do not inadvertently render the wrong decision (66).

Women are organized in many cases into groups parallel to men's associations. In a fashion similar to men's groups, women's societies perform various functions for their members such as mutual sociability, solidarity vis-a-vis men, economic assistance and discipline of their own members. They may even serve as a court of last resort on occasions when male authorities have not been able to reach a decision. They may have a cult of their own, compel debtors to pay debts and slanderers to pay fines (66).

Village Government

The vertical and horizontal members of the pyramidal structure come together in the village council of elders at the top in the traditional village governmental structure. This body is made up of both formal and informal leaders with no formal concentration of authority in a single individual. The formal leaders are heads of kinship units and the council is presided over by the head of the senior lineage who also holds the senior ofo. Informal leaders are influential men of wealth, especially title holders or others who achieve rank based on ability (32).

"Government at the village level is an exercise in direct democracy. It involves all the lineages and requires the political participation of all the male adults." (93, p.41) Nowhere is this more clearly brought out than in the legislative sphere. Legislative activities are performed by all adult males meeting in "ad hoc" general assembly. Public matters are thrown open for discussion to which every villager may contribute. When the matter has been thoroughly discussed the leaders (both formal and informal) retire to consult. When a consensus is reached a special spokesman chosen for his power of oratory and persuasive talents announces the decision. This decision is either accepted by those assembled by general acclamation or shouted down by general derision. If accepted, it is formally acclaimed into law and given the "ritual binder" by the ofo holders. When this is done, it becomes the duty of each adult male to explain the legislation to his household group and see that they obey the law (93).

Executive functions were normally performed under the authority of the council by the youth within the context of the age grade societies. But,

in some places the senior age-grades or a special class of younger elders acted as the council's executive and administrative branch (66).

From a judicial standpoint, the village council really only concerned itself with cases which were an offense against religion and so might bring disaster on the whole group and offenses which were likely to break up the solidarity of the community (63). Anytime an offense involved members of different extended families, unless the families themselves could resolve it, it was likely to fall into the latter category because of the feature of collective responsibility.

The council might also delegate important areas of its authority. For example, if two parties had a dispute over their farm boundaries and had referred the matter to the council, the council might send the younger elders age set to visit the area under dispute and settle the matter then and there. Only if they could not reach a decision would the matter be referred back to the council (66).

At the village group level, the procedures were similar with the important differences that instead of a direct democracy situation the council members were really representatives of their villages first and loyal to the village group only secondarily. Here the age-grade system and title societies were important because while as elders, individuals were representatives of their vertical lineage elements, as members of the horizontal societies they had a common bond of "pan-village" unity and a basis for customarily acceptable joint action (56). The village group meetings were debating forums where decisions to abide or not to abide by any particular ruling were based on the part of any particular village solely on its own perceived self-interest.

Comparing the village and village group governments, Uchendu writes, " . . . the political solidarity and autonomy of the former contrast with the tenuous political relationship and 'minimal' government characteristic of the latter." (93, p.44)

Economic Burdens and Incentives

The individual is enmeshed in the "seemless web" of relationships and reciprocal duties and obligations imposed on him by the various vertical and horizontal members of this traditional political and social structure.

> Life being cooperative as it is at the village level, several people are called upon to chip in something at one stage or another. The result is that an average family is always involved in some kind of obligation, tangible or intangible, since one's friends, relatives or neighbors are always engaged in some form of expensive undertaking. (77, p.274)

Probably the worst feature from a development standpoint is the channeling of funds into non-productive investment. These expenses are often paid in small installments which the recipients fritter away on consumption or in other ceremonious undertakings. The money generally ends up in the hands of older men in the community such as titled groups, priests or local chiefs who are less interested in productive investment and more interested in conspicuous consumption in the form of prestige houses in the villages and so forth (77).

Clearly, land is particularly associated with the vertical elements, i.e., the extended family and lineage system, and has strong religious aspects in traditional Ibo society. The head of the family, while not an autocrat, obviously has the strongest say regarding the family land and its use. As in other aspects of Ibo society today, a family member (male) who no longer resides permanently in the village still retains his rights in family land

and may participate in village affairs by proxy, paying someone else to take over his part (77).

The effects of these and similar factors on the incentive of a particular individual farmer will vary from individual to individual and situation to situation. But, an ambitious youth under the domination of an autocratic father with old-fashioned ideas controlling the purse strings and whose brothers have already migrated but maintain inderterminate rights in the family land may not be very enthusiastic about farming as a career.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to very brifely describe the broad outlines of traditional Ibo society and how it operates. Some of the major influences and changes affecting this society in modern times are the subject matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.--THE MODERN WORLD AND TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

The British who first began the occupation of Nigeria with the appointment of Consul Beecroft in 1849 as "Her Brittanic Majesty's Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra," (19, p.95) subjugated and pacified the whole of modern Nigeria between the years 1885 and 1914 (18).

By 1914 the lengthy process of unification was completed when the two administrations of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated and in 1960 Nigeria became an independent country and a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Missionaries and Traders

According to Dike, missionaries were the pioneers of education and modern medical services and were in a large measure responsible for the social development of the country (18). The profound importance of this contribution to the development of all Nigeria is well put in the following quotation:

> The Western education, widely disseminated from these schools became, perhaps, the greatest instrument of change in Nigerian society. Mission schools equipped Nigerians for the new life in the Western European Society into which the British conquest had plunged them and from which once begun they could not withdraw. It is from the ranks of educated Nigerians, products of missionary education, that West African nationalism and the movement for self-government found its leaders. (18, p.34)

While the missionaries were competing with each other for the natives' souls, others of a more practical nature were developing the natural resources of the hinterland to fuel the factories and help feed the mouths back in England.

The exploitation of palm products and other raw materials in Iboland and elsewhere in Nigeria required the development of facilitating institutions, new ways of doing business, and the necessary physical infrastructure. Thus gradually, inland transportation facilities and port facilities were developed and banking and other financial institutions came into being to facilitate the ever increasing use of a single modern currency as the means of exchange over all of Nigeria. This in turn brought cities and urban communities into being as trading centers where the raw materials of the natives might be exchanged for goods manufactured in Europe.

The "umbrella of protection" under which both commercial and missionary activities in the interior took place was provided after 1884 by the British Government as it officially took over the political administration of the country.

The Colonial Administration

Probably the most significant feature of British Colonial Policy was Lugard's concept of indirect rule.

As Lugard himself expressed it:

> "The cardinal principle upon which the Administration of Northern Nigeria was based was what has been commonly called 'Indirect Rule,' viz., rule through the native chiefs, who are regarded as an integral part of the machinery of Government, with well defined powers and functions recognized by government and law, and not dependent on the caprice of an executive officer." (15, pp.177-178)

In the East, however, the system just did not work. As Margery Perham put it:

> Where indirect rule, on anything like northern lines, proved wholly inapplicable in Nigeria was in the southeast, the Ibo and Ibibio country.

> Here, in forests, lived a large population of what the anthropologists call acephalous groups, small independent clusters of pagans each bound only by ties of lineage. The complex distribution of duties according to seniority, sex and status, with ancestral and magical sanctions, offered, even less than among the Yoruba [Western Nigeria], any agency which an alien ruling power could use for the performance of administrative activities, most of which were too novel in kind and too large in scale to be within the capacity of these small forest groups. (60, p.XLIII).

As the British conquered and pacified Iboland, the area was carved up into administrative districts under a "DO" or district officer. The district officer was a, "receiver of complaints, investigator, prosecutor, defense council, cross-examiner for both sides, and judge as well as being responsible for the general state of affairs in his district." (23, p.252) In other words, he united judicial, legislative and executive powers in his person.

When traditional rulers could not easily be found in many areas of the East such as Iboland, the government created "warrant chiefs." These chiefs received official and legal recognition under the Native Authorities Ordinance of 1916 and through them the government in the person of the District Officer ruled (41). This type of system continued basically intact until about 1950. In 1950, local government councils first began to replace these native authorities at a time when a new virile nationalism was getting in stride. The keynote of the change was a change of management--the elimination of control by the administration which had been a feature of the native authority system and the vesting of power in virtually autonomous councils. Most important, the district officer no longer had any official authority over the councils so that there was no local agent of government with the authority to guide and restrain them (46). This led to abuses and investigations and in 1955 the councils lost their autonomy, the Minister of Local Government in the Eastern Region being given effective control over the councils in "all the important spheres of their activities." (46, p.3)

However imperfectly the system may have worked, it did provide, "a deeply welcomed increase of security for persons and goods, and enhanced facilities for securing larger and more regular incomes from produce and labor." (31, p.89) In other words, the most important contribution of the government was to provide those basic conditions, i.e., law and order in the profound sense of those words, across all of Iboland which are fundamental to the possibility of economic growth.

Moreover, besides laying the foundation for and developing the institutions of the governmental organization for the entire country as well as the regions which would be called upon to run the country after independence; the colonial government contributed directly to economic development. Production of export crops was left in the hands of the native producers while the administration provided guidance and assistance through government ministries. The transportation and communications networks were developed by the Colonial Administration (albeit using corvee labor recruited through warrant chiefs and others) and not by private enterprise. For example, by 1940 there were 2,203 miles of railroad tracks in the country entirely constructed by the government (15).

The Educated Elite

While the Ibos have shown great interest in and receptivity to the modern world, this has not led them to reject their traditional cultural values and while their traditional institutions have shown responsiveness to changed conditions, they have also shown resilience in the face of these changes.

To begin with, even when they leave the village on a more or less permanent basis, the Ibos retain strong ties to their place of birth and a strong desire to help the home village progress.

In order to maintain their contacts with the home village and each other, Ibo migrants form associations known variously as patriotic unions, "sons abroad associations," improvement unions and so forth. The genesis and extensive development of these associations may be appreciated from the following quote:

> The Oguta Improvement Union, now changed to Oguta National Union, was founded by the educated elite sometime in the early 30's, and it was restricted to a very few groups of these early literate groups. From 1953, the Union was reorganized and then taken over by the younger elements. Leadership passed into their hands. Most of them were teachers, civil servants and some independent traders. During this period, the branches of the Union were reorganized. Many of the younger elements who have finished their grammar school education migrated to the urban towns and reinforced their membership. They formed the different branches at Port-Harcourt, Aba, Owerri, Onitsha, Enugu, Umuahia, Benin, Sapele, Warri, Lagos, Kaduna, Zaria, Jos, Kano and other urban centers. It was possible to trace the Oguta people in the country by the numerical strength of the Union in these places. Where more than five Oguta people settled, a branch was formed and efforts made to communicate with the home branch. At the annual conference held every December, branches sent delegates and reports of the home activities were read. Local branches had their local rules to meet the local conditions, and the rules showed that the branches provided avenues for social adjustments of the members in the urban environment. (78, pp.322-323)

The above quotation refers to unions of the male villagers abroad but "wherever enough women are present," they too have their associations. (78, p.324)

There are several important points regarding these 'unions' brought out in the quotation. First of all, they are <u>not</u> "pan Ibo" groups, but rather groups of individuals from the same small village or village group (Oguta is such a group near Onitsha). Their geographic spread covers all

of Nigeria, and no doubt they exist overseas in such places as London as well. The members of these groups make up the westernized 'intelligentsia' from the village and they bring this composite and varied body of experience together in the home village environment at regularly stated intervals.

Inter-village competition is one of the strongest forces behind most improvement union projects and these unions exercise strong influence on both the political and economic life in the village. The unions act as "transmission lines" between the village and developments in the outside world.

To help the village 'get up' these unions provide local and overseas scholarships and sometimes make loans on a basis similar to age grade societies. In direct development, they often provide the impetus and the mental and financial wherewithal to build schools, maternity homes, hospitals, roads, log bridges, post offices and community centers. In these activities they are always careful to seek the sanction of the traditional rulers and to try and involve the entire village, not just union members, in the project (77).

The intenseness of this inter-village competition and desire to help the village 'get up' is conveyed by an incident related by Uchendu. A postal agency was temporarily closed down in a village; a rival village, one mile away, thereupon applied to have the agency relocated in its own village. Official permission was refused and even though the agency in the original village had reopened and another was within three miles, the villagers decided to rent a postal mail bag from the nearest post office which was nine miles away (93).

> The American sees a post office as a place that handles ingoing and outgoing mail; the Igbo thinks of the post office as a symbol of status which its presence confers on his village or town. . . . Igbo receptivity to change and their separatism cannot be understood if we do not take their concept of "getting up" into consideration. (93, p.38) (Italics added).

Village Response to Economic Development (77)

If the improvement unions were the major new institution grafted onto traditional society and provided that society's primary contact with the modern world, other traditional institutions were neither unaffected nor totally inflexible. They too have played a role in helping their village and its members "get up."

The extended family took upon itself such non-traditional functions as construction projects of various magnitudes and commercial enterprises as a group such as palm produce merchandizing,retail trade, pharmacy, and transportation services. In addition, they offered scholarships at different levels, even to collecting funds to send bright young men, often from poor families in the group, overseas. There is always a tacit understanding that individuals so aided will later reciprocate financially on behalf of other deserving young men as well as by using their knowledge to help the extended family and the village.

In a similar fashion, age grade societies have been utilized by village heads to organize and carry out village development projects such as school buildings, dispensaries, maternity homes and community halls as well as to collect scholarship funds. In the collection of funds for various purposes, there is cooperation on the part of heads of the various age sets who meet to

hold strategy sessions and define areas of responsibility. "The autonomous nature of the groups |age sets| facilitated the collection. All formal and informal controls were brought to bear on likely defaulters and a healthy spirit of competition |was| engendered among the different groups." (77, p.325)

Finally, in addition to the thrift and cooperative savings clubs often known as "esusu" clubs already mentioned, private associations of "embryonic entrepreneurs" or groups of "clever, vigorous, profit-seeking people who have abandoned the traditional way of life to seek new opprotunities in commerce," (77, p.347) have sprung into being. They are usually formal or informal partnerships of close relatives or fellow villagers engaged in retail trade, wholesale trade of palm produce, transportation, lumbering or construction. Their 'seed capital' is sometimes furnished by wage-earning relatives in urban centers. Clearly, Ibo villagers have not been unresponsive to changed conditions.

Resilience of Traditional Village Society

Inevitably, these tremendous changes have had an impact on traditional Ibo society and its institutions. While new and traditional village groups have turned their attention to development activities, the traditional functions of such groups as the extended family, age grades, title societies and so forth have atrophied and/or "gone underground" to a greater or lesser extent depending on the degree of exposure to Western influence and the effectiveness of the penetration of the colonial and subsequent administrative apparatus.

The main thrust of Christianity, aside from its purely secular aspects, has been to weaken the authority of the natural rulers and the traditional governmental apparatus insofar as they are dependent on the traditional supernatural sanctions.

However, it cannot be concluded that traditional religion has been completely removed as an important factor in everyday Ibo life. Such practices as polygyny continue to flourish at the same time the parties to such a marriage attend church, often, "going to church with a Bible in one pocket and juju in the other." (92, p.112) Similarly, as regards medical care, "It is common knowledge that diviners are consulted and sacrifices made on behalf of patients receiving treatment in hospitals," (92, p.113) and one author states that, "reverence for the ancestors is being revived among Ibo Christians today." (47, p.341) Finally, in 1958 only about one-half the people of Eastern Nigeria were even nominally Christian.

Just as traditional religious beliefs and practices have managed to persist to a greater or lesser degree depending on circumstances, so have traditional rulers and leaders managed to maintain a measure of their pre-colonial functions and powers.

Jones notes that in the case of the Ibo, their pre-colonial system of government, " . . . has continued to adjust itself to every system of local government which the central government, whether colonial or regional has seen fit to impose." (55, p.72)

Moreover, in the wake of the establishment of the 'warrant chief' system of government while external law and order was maintained, corruption flourished and the system failed to cope with local village crime such

as theft (98). As a result, in many places, village elders began to reassert their authority by privately making rules that no one should take disputes to the police or courts without their permission. Among the Mbaise group in Owerri Province an entire system based on the traditional pattern was set up to deal with offenses against tribal customs. The most common disciplinary measure was ostracism, a "very terrible weapon," and even stronger methods were used by selected young men known as "vote police." (an age set?) (98, pp.132-133).

After citing several instances of situations similar to the above, Akpan concludes:

> These incidents appear to confirm that, if there are no strong centralized authorities worthy of recognition in the big local government councils such as the district and county, there are nonetheless powerful and influential indigenous authorities worth reckoning with in the highly localized village councils. (2, p.114)

In this regard, Jones notes the continuing importance of title societies in village life:

> Many title . . . societies which earlier intelligence reports [such as Meek's, Law and Authority, in 1937] said were moribund have revived and their members now feel strong enough to seek to re-establish their former monopoly of village political affairs; and the retiring civil servant or professional or businessman who feels he would like to play his part in local government is finding that membership in these societies is necessary if he wishes to gain the support of the senior members of his community, . . . The retiring official or professional man may know a great deal about the outside world, but he lacks any detailed knowledge of politics of the little village world which he now wishes to influence; and membership of the local societies brings him into intimate and friendly contact with those men who have spent their lives in mastering this particular subject. (58, p.23)

Jones goes on to note that regardless of the recommendations given to villagers regarding literacy and other desirable qualities in a local government councilor, the people "appear to have largely ignored them and

returned those people they considered best qualified to represent them . . . a mixture of traditional and untraditional elements, including both illiterate and literate, elderly and young, chiefs and commoners." (58, p.55)

The survival of traditional society and in a good measure its customs, institutions and values in the rural areas of Iboland is not surprising to one who has had the opportunity to travel extensively throughout the region. The modern world really exists only in the urban areas. One is struck by the way in which tarred roads run through the countryside between the built-up urban areas. The impression is of a lattice framework very superficially superimposed on an almost unchanged rural background. In contrast to, for example, the United States where in developed rural areas the modern world very clearly permeates the entire countryside as evidenced by the farmer's array of mechanical devices, telephone and electric power lines, and so forth; in Iboland, the rural areas form a sort of 'no-man's-land' with no modern amenities except for the ubiquitous grammar schools and a few scattered missionary stations, plantations, or governmental buildings and projects.

Colonial Policy and Land Tenure

First of all, it has already been pointed out that an unintentional effect of the colonial regime in Eastern Nigeria was that pacification terminated the traditional methods of warfare as a means of tenure adjustments.

The fundamental principle of the British Colonial Administration in all of Nigeria regarding the land was to maintain the rights of the natives to their land and to prevent its alienation to non-natives. Hence, after

discussing the various governmental legal documents starting with the 'Native Lands Acquisition Proclamation of 1900' regarding what is presently Eastern Nigeria, Elias states that:

> It is thus apparent that, running through the entire web of legislation regarding land in the old Protectorate of Southern Nigeria from the proclamation of the protectorate onwards, has been the one consistent principle that the right of the Crown has, at least in practice, been confined to an administrative control over the alienation of land by natives to non-natives, the customary use and enjoyment of the land being preserved to the native occupiers. . . .
>
> In the result, therefore, the Government has pursued a policy of restricting alienation of land in the former Southern Provinces only to dealings among the natives themselves, while frowning upon any out-and-out transfer to aliens. (24, pp.45-46)

Further on in the same book after discussing various relevant court cases, Elias concludes, "We therefore arrive at a situation in which dealings in land . . . between the indigenes of a district are still governed by the local rules of customary tenure." (24, p.205)

Indirectly, as a side effect of development rather than as the result of any particular policy measure, an embryonic modern land market where land can be bought and sold has developed in and around the urban centers where instruments of conveyance written in English and titles along English lines have been developed (10).

This had led to an anomalous situation where:

> The joint operation in Nigeria of English and customary law has produced a complex and unsatisfactory situation where land is concerned. It has created two distinct types of land tenure, and the decided cases establish that particular pieces of land may shift backwards and forwards from one to the other. (84, p.18)

The practical consequences of this 'anomalous situation' combined with the intricacies of customary tenure for an individual or group attempting to obtain a clear legal title to a piece of land in Lagos and other urban

areas is portrayed in the following quote taken from a book on Nigerian Law by the same author.

> There is indeed the possibility of a title equivalent to a fee simple being obtained as a result of a sale of family lands with the general consent of the family. Nevertheless, it is a difficult, hazardous, and often expensive process first to discover the persons whose consent is required . . . and then to obtain the consent of them all. Failure to get the agreement of one person may be disastrous, and the danger is enhanced by the fact that lapse of time without acquiescence is no bar to the assertion of a right under customary law.
>
> The result of this and the other circumstances . . . |such as the 'anomaly' already mentioned| is that the urban areas of Nigeria . . . are conveyancers' nightmares. . . . Verity, Agr. P. . . . |in a law case| observed of purchasers from one family: "more often than not they purchase a law suit, and very often that is all they get." In places the situation has been little short of chaotic, with quite small tracts of land being weighed down by a remarkable quantity of hard fought litigation. (85, pp.137-138)

Now the above quotes really apply fully to only a minute portion of the land in Nigeria since they refer only to the urban centers and primarily to Lagos itself. Particularly, since practically all land outside urban centers (as well as much within them) is held under customary forms of tenure, the existance of English law alongside customary law creates problems (or perhaps opportunities?) more of a potential than of an actual nature at the present time with regard to the rural areas.

Native Courts and 'Warrant Chiefs'

The courts most familiar to, most often frequented by, and by far the most directly important in the Ibo villager's life were the lowest or native courts.

These were established as an official part of the judicial system of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria by the Native Courts Proclamation, Proclamation No. 9 of 1900. In Proclamation No. 25 of 1901 it was, "laid

down that the civil and criminal jurisdiction of a statutory native court should within its area be exclusive of any other jurisdiction by any native authority whatsoever." (49, p.16) Traditional jurisdiction was thus superseded by statutory jurisdiction.

These courts were really all purpose legislative, executive and judicial organs of local government and it was through them that the District Commissioner (later known as the District Officer) exercised his all-purpose authority.

As a result of the unexpected Aba riots by Ibo women in 1929 (see 59), which dramatized the extent and depth of native discontent with the 'Warrant Chiefs' and the Native Court System as it then existed, numerous Intelligence Reports and several anthropological studies, such as Meek's, Law and Authority and Green's, Ibo Village Affairs, were undertaken to determine the nature of traditional Ibo society.

When the nature of Ibo society became better understood, new courts based on sociological as opposed to arbitrary geographical jurisdictions were established. This resulted in a proliferation of courts, massed benches sometimes containing over sixty judges and a constant turnover among members of a social grouping holding a common warrant (93).

Consequently, a new Native Courts (Amendment) Ordinance was passed in 1951. The terms 'customary courts' and 'customary law' were introduced as replacements for 'native courts' and 'native law' and other reforms helped reduce the number of courts, size of benches and achieve a more stable court membership (49).

Uchendu, writing in 1965, notes that, "although these councils |courts| have produced a higher political integration, they have not replaced the traditional village-group government." (93, p.48) If they have not replaced the village-group government, always extremely weak compared to the village government in any case, it seems obvious that those traditional village governments must also still be functioning in a very important manner as regards the daily life of the villagers.

The reasons for this are brought out in a discussion of the 'Warrant Chiefs' who have become the symbolic "bête noire" of local administration and justice in Eastern Nigeria. To staff these courts, individuals were appointed by government warrant and given, "a hat and a staff or insignia of office," (55, p.75) hence the name 'Warrant Chief'. These individuals were selected by the District Officers, the intention being to obtain the natural rulers. Sometimes this occurred but often the men appointed were, " . . . those who impressed the District Commissioner with their courage to come forward and meet the Europeans. The traditional rulers seldom passed this test, and so were, for the most part, left out." (76, p.70)

Thus, many warrant chiefs did not have status among their own villagers but in good Ibo tradition they seized the opportunity for rapid advancement. When once installed with nearly complete security under the portection of the Colonial Administration, they, "as agents of the administration . . . place |d| their private interests first. . . . The tradition of peculation and corruption started by those councils was continued in the local councils and even by the new members of the House of Assembly and Cabinet Members" |Referring to Ibos in the Eastern Nigerian Government|. (98, p.129)

Commenting specifically on government at the local level Nzeribe states, ". . . examples of bribery and corruption could be multiplied almost indefinitely . . . native courts, local governments are the loci-classici of such abuses." (77, p.253) Large bribes must be paid court members, "the highest bidder always wins," and a successful litigant often receives only a small percentage of what he has coming as a result of bribes, court costs and other expenses. This expensive litigation saps the savings of the farmers (77).

When the customary courts became practically autonomous in the early fifties, corruption and other abuses became so bad that the Regional Government was forced to reassert control over them. Aside from the indication above that corruption is widespread even at the highest levels of government, the government itself is developing rather than developed and has hardly had an opportunity to instill in its personnel a service ethic such as existed in its precursor, the British Colonial Service. That administration was, after all, an alien one and considered by the Ibos in pre-independence days to be, "a nest for sheltering the indolent and the shifty." (77, p.251)

This discussion of the problems of integrity has not been undertaken because corruption and other abuses of public office are unknown even in the highest circles in the developed societies of the West or because the fact of corruption in developing countries is any secret. Both are well known and well documented. It is undertaken, rather, because it is often taken for granted, passed over in a sentence or two or even diplomatically left out entirely. But, the emphasis of this study is on land tenure and the problems of integrity are particularly important when they affect the rights of a villager to his land. It may be satisfactory to allot five or ten or whatever

percent, tacitly or otherwise, to corruption in an overall development planning scheme; but when it comes to land tenure this just simply is not the case. The peasant farmer is dependent for his very livelihood on his land, it is practically his only possession of any value, and any threat to his security, real or imagined, has severe reprecussions. Costly, involved, and lengthy litigation over land rights in a law court where the outcome is uncertain in any case and may be decided on a basis of considerations which are essentially irrelevant is hardly conducive to a farmer's incentives or to increased production. The very threat of a law suit may well intimidate an uninformed individual, especially if he has reason to believe the potential judge is not a disinterested party because of kinship ties or for other reasons.

> The writer recently observed [probably in 1957] two land cases which are by no means extraordinary. One had lasted twelve years involving a village of 1,500 adults in assessments amounting to £5 per person per year ($14) in this period; and the other has lasted over seven years and had cost the parties over £300 ($840) each and had not neared completion. Expenses incurred in these cases are not usually recovered even by the winning party because most of them are made by way of bribes and no claim can be established for such expenditures in courts of justice. Most of these land cases are results of lands pledged or pawned several years ago and some as far back as several generation. (77, pp.276-277)

The above mentioned cases may not be extraordinary but they are no doubt atypical and certainly must involve unusually large sums of money. This author cannot imagine where the money assessed in the first case cited came from if the assessments were actually paid. Nevertheless, with the large amounts of land as well as trees held under pledging and other types of tenure short of 'fee simple' ownership, the actual and potential land case litigation obviously is enormous. This cannot help but affect in an undesirable fashion the incentives of the farmer to make any long term investments on any piece of land to which his title is 'clouded.' It also

immediately and drastically decreases his very ability to increase his productivity once he feels compelled to start 'greasing palms' in order to protect his rights in his land.

In theory, the idea of restricting land cases to native (customary) courts where the relevant customary law can be applied except under exceptional circumstances seems ethically and legally sound. In practice, because these courts are alien institutions whose underlying ethical foundations are misunderstood and not accepted by the indigenous village people, the results have been considerably less than satisfactory.

CHAPTER XI.--THE INDIVIDUAL AND TENURE: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

We have already discussed land tenure and traditional Ibo society as well as some of the main influences of the colonial era on that society and its institutions. This 'data' will be discussed and analyzed in terms of the conceptual ideas developed in Chapter VI as appropriate. The focus of the analysis will be the individual farmer, particularly as these relationships affect his incentives and hence his productivity.

Tenure in the Past

In acquiring the necessary resources to run his firm, the farmer has certain customary rights regarding the land. The individual has two initial potential sources of land for his use by customary rights--a right to the use of a portion of any existing land held in common by a larger (higher) unit in the vertical social structure to which he belongs and an ownership right to any land he holds through inheritance or perhaps as a result of clearing a piece of virgin forest.

However, even before the colonial era, as a result of population growth, territorial losses to a neighboring village and the system of inheritance, one particular individual might find himself with insufficient land while another had an excess. To cover such cases and to provide for the common good, procedures were developed under customary law to allow for the transfer of use rights in land. For religious and other reasons, outright sales were not permitted but 'showing,' 'pledging' and similar practices acquired legal status under customary law and rights obtained in this way came to be backed up by appropriate sanctions.

An individual who so desired was thus provided with a secure means of obtaining the use of someone else's land for a season and perhaps for a longer period provided he could come to terms with the other party by means of a socially sanctioned transaction.

For certain purposes, such as house building, the individual might feel he needed greater security than the usual pledging arrangement and so a 'tacit sale' might take place by paying a pledge price twice or more the going rate. It was assumed that if the pledgor ever had the money to redeem the pledge he would prefer to acquire another piece of land at a cheaper price and, it seems reasonable that once 'tacit selling' became a socially accepted custom within the village, the pledgor might be hard pressed to obtain the power of the collective will to enforce his legal right of redemption.

Ultimately, in some areas actual sales as such apparently can now take place under customary law provided the appropriate rituals are performed in front of witnesses. These developments regarding sales are of more recent origin, but customary law has been flexible enough to adjust to changing circumstances in these particulars.

These reciprocal rights and duties regarding the use of land that result from transactions between members and groups within society according to the customary working rules are upheld by the power of the collective will. This collective will is expressed by way of collective inducements or sanctions applied to the individual. Behind these sanctions lies the threat of collective action. For minor offenses the only collective sanction invoked might be social disgrace. On the other hand, if an individual wished to pledge a piece of his own land to someone whom the other members of his extended family disapproved, the okpara might not be able on legal grounds to prevent

the pledging from taking place. He could perhaps induce the individual to change his mind by threatening to withhold his bride price money, in effect, imposing an economic sanction.

In matters of land tenure, these lesser sanctions may be brought to bear on an individual but if the matter is serious enough the ultimate sanction of collective action in control of physical violence will be threatened or actually invoked in order to restrain the individual from acting in an unacceptable manner. Thus, an individual who refused to vacate a piece of land he held on pledge when the pledgor wished to redeem it would, unless there were unusual circumstances, be forced by the threat of collective action by the sovereign power to do so.

If in practice these sanctions are inseparable in a modern industrialized society, they are even more so in a traditional Ibo village. What sort of a system of going concerns and sanctions would an Ibo farmer in pre-colonial days see then when he considered various decisions he might make regarding his farming enterprise and especially the potential land and tree resources available to him under the customary tenure system?

Our farmer decision-maker would see sovereignty located in the village council made up of the formal and informal leaders of the village. He would be aware that many of the executive functions of sovereign power were formally delegated to certain other groups or going concerns such as age grade societies. But, he would not normally deal directly with the village council regarding land or other matters. Since he and all the other villagers were quite aware of what the laws and customs were when he felt he had a problem or was entitled to redress of grievance regarding the land or anything else, he would follow the accepted procedures. In some cases he might go to specialized

going concerns among the horizontal elements of the society. Thus, if he were concerned that a particular piece of land was spiritually polluted in some way it might be appropriate to go to the priest of Ala, the earth goddess. Usually, however, he would go to the appropriate level within the vertical elements of the social structure. This would normally mean the okpara of his extended family. If he were in the right regarding the dispute, and the okpara could not settle the matter the farmer could expect the okpara to carry the case to a higher level and ultimately to the village council, normally the court of last resort. One could be confident that the sovereign power with the ultimate sanction of physical violence was always potentially available if the matter were serious enough. The state was potentially present to protect the common interest at every transaction.

Hence, as an individual, our farmer could feel quite confident that he was in a state of security rather than one of exposure regarding the use of the land. Since he had no reason to suspect the future would differ in any important respect from the past,he had great security of future expectations. He could see (implicitly) that the objectives of preventing alienation of the land from the community, insuring that the individual had security of tenure and that every individual had enough land for his needs were being adequately met by the land tenure system. The public purpose of survival of the group was being fulfilled.

The villager's life was secure, bound by rules and regulations or simply customs at every turn. Ibo society was basically democratic and the land tenure system, primitive production methods and social insurance features of the extended family and the other 'going concerns' of the vertical and horizontal elements of society ensured a rough sort of equality for all members,

at least within the accepted basic social categories such as freeborn vs. slave or man vs. woman.

There seems to be no particular reason why the average villager, or the ambitious one for that matter, should not have been generally satisfied with the tenure system in traditional Ibo society or why it should have posed any important disincentives for him.

In pre-colonial days there was no outside going concern that had any influence on the functioning of the land tenure system. The sovereign power and all other sanctions by means of which collective action restrains, liberates and expands individual action were self-contained within the village environment.

Tenure at Present

With the coming of colonialism, the development of an export economy, the growth of urban centers along with transportation and communication facilities and the increasing use of money within the economy; the traditional village world was caught up in the modern world of commerce. These developments had two very important effects on the traditional land tenure situation: first, land values began to rise implicitly even though no general land market was created and second, a new sovereign power was established to adjudicate questions regarding the ownership of land.

There developed alongside the traditional subsistence economy, an internal exchange economy for such domestic food stuffs as yams from sparsely populated areas to those where population was so heavy that the local agricultural base could no longer support the people. Surplus labor from over populated areas went to the developing urban centers, and to other agricultural areas as

seasonal laborers in order to make a living. The colonial regime had ended tribal warfare as a means of bringing relative man-land ratios into balance and had created urban centers which could only survive by importing food. In addition, preventative health measures and better medical treatment aided the growth of population. The development of the oil palm as an important export crop added a third element to the agricultural production process.

New developments were not confined to the production side of the farmer's family-farming enterprise. New consumer products such as beer, shoes, bicycles and above all education for his children increased the peasant's needs and demands for money. In addition, he now had taxes which had to be paid with money. To obtain cash for these purposes, he was forced to enter the commercial world by selling any excess production over his own needs.

The results of these and other influences on the implicit land values were of course to increase them.

Since he now could sell produce and thereby store surplus production as money, the villager with excess land was no longer confined to leaving it fallow or letting another use it for a token payment. He now could work harder and longer to produce a greater excess for sale, perhaps, with the aid of hired labor at the crucial planting and harvesting times; or, he might be able to 'show' his land to a migrant on a seasonal basis. Within the limits set by custom and social pressure he was in effect free to charge a fellow villager not just a token price for showing or pledging a piece of land but a price consistent with what he could get by putting the land into an alternative use.

Because of the increased effective value of the land the system no longer operated equally on behalf of all members of the village. If you were unfortunate enough to be born into a land-poor family in a village where land was scarce, the difference between your economic situation and that of your neighbor who was more fortunate in his choice of ancestors was no longer relatively unimportant. That is, the transfer of real income between the pledgee and the pledgor, for example, because it had to reflect the implicit value or 'rent' that the piece of land could command, had become significant and was no longer a mere token.

But even where land 'per se' is not scarce when the village is considered as a whole, the traditional tenure system works to discourage an ambitious individual and probably many who are not so ambitious as well. This is because the tenure system was designed for an unchanging primitive production system. The public purpose was conceived of in terms of survival of the group and with the prevailing technology there was little opportunity let along incentive for an individual to make any significant capital investment in his agricultural enterprise. The public purpose as expressed in the tenure system had no reason to make provision for a climate favorable to individual entrepreneurs to make risk bearing investments on their own account and did not do so except inadvertently.

The closer a man's rights to a piece of land approached 'fee simple' ownership as a result of the inheritance process, the better the climate for personal risk bearing and investing became. However, even here the general obligations to other members of the extended family might well make an otherwise profitable investment too risky for an individual. Unless a person

can come to an understanding with all relevant individuals, he may find himself under irresistible pressures to share the fruits of his entrepreneurship with others. On the other hand, if the venture fails, he may be in an unfortunate position as regards obtaining help from his relatives who may well resent their being called upon to bail him out after he went ahead on his own, perhaps with their general disapproval and especially if he obtained the necessary funds by pledging some of his land.

Moreover, since no investment was contemplated under traditional tenure, the usual pledging arrangement does not provide for reimbursement of the pledgee for any permanent improvements to the land he has made at the time the pledge is redeemed. Of course, he has no incentive to make any improvements on land he has been 'shown' for a season. If there is still 'farmland' present, the rotation system will prohibit any permanent crops that might interfere and in many places the system may practically insure that it would only be by chance that an individual ever farmed the same piece of farmland twice.

For Iboland, the most important source of cash for most farmers is the oil palm. The tenure system actually prohibits an individual from planting oil palm or other tree crops in any significant numbers or in a scientifically systematic fashion on any land except his own. Since the oil palm is the most important source of ready cash, the village may specifically retain community ownership of more or less all oil palms within the village as a source of funds for community purposes. Here, the whole village is considered as a going concern, the collective will,as expressed in community ownership of all oil palms,controls the individual will to insure the perceived community interest. The individual, as such, cannot defy or escape this command of the village government.

These factors for temporarily transferring rights in the land and in trees when combined with the system of inheritance have produced a complicated plethora of fragmented farm plots, fragmented both in the physical sense and in the sense of the legal or customary bundle of rights pertaining to any particular fragment. All of these factors represent constraints on an individual who wishes to engage in modern agricultural practices insofar as this implies any long term capital expenditure. It is not because the indigenous tenure system does not function as intended that this is so. Rather, the phenomenon of modern commercial agriculture implies a technology based on long term continuous investments rather than on a simple exploitation of the soil which relies solely on nature's recuperative process.

The discussion in the above paragraphs indicate some of the important effects of colonialism and the development of an embryonic modern commercial economy on the traditional land tenure system. The tenure system moved slowly and only with minor changes to meet the changing situation. In part this was a result of the deliberate policy of the Colonial Administration not to interfere with, but rather to uphold the native's rights to his land under the traditional tenure system. In one extremely important particular however, namely, the adjudication of disputes regarding these rights, the Colonial Administration had great importance.

When the Colonial Administration took over, it established a new system of courts to replace the traditional 'legal system.' A new sovereignty had been established which was located outside the confines of the traditional village governmental structure. The ultimate sanction of physical violence was no longer to be exercised by the village council based on the authority

of the ancestors, but rather by an alien institution based on the right of conquest by a foreign power. This amounted to an attempt to transform the customary unwritten rules of the tenure system into a system of legally sanctioned written laws based on documented cases decided on a basis of the unwritten tenure practices. This was in line with the English Common Law tradition and theoretically had much to be said for it as a potential improvement. Written law is obviously far superior in terms of definiteness and clarity regarding land ownership and other tenure rights. Moreover, the public purpose is implicit in the judicial process and the judge, as a disinterested third party to all transactions, in protecting and defining the tenure rights of individuals would be advancing the security of future expectations so necessary in providing a climate conducive to private investment. In this way the introduction of the native court system in Iboland could have expanded the public purpose to include the fostering of private initiative and the ethic of private profit. This would have brought the tenure system much more in line with the demands of a commercial investment oriented agricultural economy along free enterprise lines which seems far more in line with the general tenor of Ibo society and values than state operated collective farms or some variation of this type of system.

In fact, as a result of the manner in which the native courts and their successors actually developed and functioned which was described in the preceding chapter, the security of future expectations was greatly reduced rather than increased. While under the old system the truth of the various facts alleged concerning a tenure dispute might be unknown, the disputants could be reasonably certain of a decision that did not depart greatly from

the customary rules and within that context was reasonably equitable. The village council in exercising its sovereign power within a fairly democratic and individualistic society could not deviate far from the accepted principles of customary tenure. The entire vertical and horizontal social structure formed a sort of "checks and balances" system to prevent any sharp divergencies from customary practices. Now, with the native courts, even a party to a land dispute who was clearly in the wrong might attempt to buy a favorable verdict. The judge sitting on the bench if not a disinterested party to the dispute itself, now had the sovereign power to back up his decision in favor of, for example, the party who was his close kinsman or the party who offered the largest bribe.

Hence, it came about that under the influence of rising implicit land values that 'tacit-sales', for instance, might turn out not to be considered sales by the vendor or his descendents at a later date. They could very reasonably argue that one cannot sell his land under the customary law. Moreover, with the considerable variation in details regarding the tenure practices in different villages, the judges might simply not be fully cognizant of the relevant native law applicable to a particular dispute.

Finally, while officially the native court had replaced the village council as the sovereign power, when the system failed to function satisfactorily the village council began, often clandestinely, to reassert its authority. It had, of course, never ceased to function in any case and unlike the judge, who may have been from a different village or at least a different kin group within the village, the average peasant had no warrant backed by an alien power to protect him from moral, economic or perhaps even physical sanctions on the part of the village society.

How then must the present tenure system appear to function when viewed from the standpoint of an ambitious youth today, particularly one who has not inherited enough land for his basic needs let alone enough to fulfill his desires for the things money can buy? To acquire land on a temporary basis has become much more costly and there is not as much around so he may be forced to go to a neighboring village where it is still more costly. Moreover, the obvious source of substantial cash income would be improved oil palms, but he cannot plant them anywhere but on his own land, and even then perhaps the village may claim them. To acquire a secure permanent tenure to a piece of land he must buy it. Here to start with, he is restricted to land belonging to his own village or perhaps the village group. Even here because of population growth and the growth of an exchange economy along side the subsistence sector, land for sale has become harder to come by and more expensive. If he does obtain some on a 'tacit sale' basis the new court system may later allow the vendor to reclaim it and, if so, there will be no compensation for any investments he has made in the land. Even if he is able to find someone willing to actually sell him a piece of land outright, the seller may at a later date attempt to get it back in the native court system or some relative of the seller may claim that it was sold without his consent and therefore was not in fact a bonafide sale even under the newly developed sales techniques evolving under customary tenure practices.

In the old days, there was normally no question concerning where a land dispute would be settled. It would follow the familiar customary pattern up to the village council if necessary. The villager understood this process and felt secure in it because of its familiarity and especially because he could count on the okpara to represent him in defense of his

legitimate interests. But while he feels secure in the procedural aspects of the traditional system and recognizes that the same customary tenure practices are still in use, he is no longer certain that the village council's decision would be final although often it might be. The dispute just might end up in one of those foreign courts and his potential adversary might employ one of those modern lawyers so that even if the okpara went along he might not be able to help him. Anyway, it seems that you are all by yourself unprotected and in unfamiliar surroundings in the native (customary) court.

In other words, the average peasant is no longer certain where the sovereign power lies. The working rules of the tenure system have been fundamentally changed in that the ultimate sanction of physical violence has been incompletely removed from one sovereign and placed in the hands of another. In the process the limits for avoidance have become indefinite and the dimensions of the "economic space" available to the individual have not been adjusted to encompass the private profit motive. The old system had security of future expectations because the future was always expected to closely resemble the past. The present system, while doing little to adapt tenure practices to the needs of investment oriented agriculture, has managed to reduce rather than increase security of future expectations for the individual; particularly where the traditional system had made tentative efforts to adjust itself to the changing technological environment.

The peasant probably no longer feels the tenure system functions in an equitable or desirable manner. The cost of obtaining the use of land not his own has become onerous and there are too many restrictions placed on how he can utilize that land. He hesitates to buy land because he does not feel secure in his ownership. He does not feel he is in a status of security but

rather in one of exposure because the working rules by which transactions regarding the land take place are no longer clear and certain. They no longer clearly distinguish in actual practice the distinction between a status of right and duty and one of liberty and exposure. Even buying land does not necessarily mean your status vis-a-vis others has become one of right as opposed to remaining one of exposure. The only sure way to find out is to improve the land and make it worth the seller's trouble to try and reclaim it via the native courts!

Tenure in the Future

The traditional Ibo social system and the traditional Ibo values are in line with a free enterprise ethic operating within appropriate rules to advance the public purpose of the good of all. Attempts to circumvent the indigenous institutional structure such as farm settlement schemes and alien legal institutions have not been very successful.

The problem then is to bring the existing tenure system into line with the requirements of modern agriculture without destroying the very social fabric of the society and without inducing any other socially undesirable characteristics into the system in the process.

Evidently what is needed is some means of recapturing an appropriate degree of the security[1/] felt by the individual in pre-colonial days while updating the tenure system to bring it in line with modern technological and economic incentive requirements.

1/ Complete or absolute security of tenure may be too secure in that it removes the stimulus to use the land efficiently afforded by the possibility of its loss through gross mismanagement.

The obvious solution of immediately making it possible for anyone to sell his land with no restrictions whatsoever is precluded by the dangers of the ultimate development of a small land owning oligarchy; as Parsons puts it:

> The problem of converting customary ownership of land into legally sanctioned negotiable property in this part of Africa [Southern Nigeria and Ghana] is complicated enormously by the closely interdependent family or clan system. Societies are not individualized as are our own. It seems likely that if land now being made valuable by the increase of population, economic growth, and the market orientation of agriculture were to be converted wholesale from customary to negotiable property, the land ownership would become assimilated to social rank, as has happened in much of the once-tribal society in the Middle East. There the result was a marked concentration of landed wealth in the hands of a few eminent persons. (86, p.1190)

The fact that in Iboland such eminent persons might more often than not prove to be individuals who have been highly successful in urban areas rather than the traditional formal leaders is hardly a redeeming feature in a thoroughly undesirable potential development inherent in a rapid and unregulated conversion of the land from customary to negotiable property.

At the same time, the development of security of future expectations and hence incentives to exploit opportunities posed by modern agriculture would be greatly facilitated by the development of procedures whereby land could be bought and sold on a basis that insured the buyer security of tenure. As indicated such developments have taken place at least in isolated instances within the traditional tenure system.

Within the traditional customary tenure system in pre-colonial days, a man's land could not be taken from him except in accord with 'due process of custom', or law if you will. Moreover, the judges, i.e. the village council members, were not immune from sanctions on the part of the community

in a fairly democratic Ibo society with its system of checks and balances. Hence, the Ibo felt secure in his rights. With the advent of colonialism and the native court system and its successors, in fact, the judges, i.e. the warrant chiefs, were not subject to these sanctions and could and often did in effect deny or pervert due process of law in land cases. Now the Ibo does not feel secure, at least not on a basis of due process of law.

'Due process' really means the protection of a man's right to exercise his free will within the working rules of the going concern, in this case the village. It protects him from the arbitrary interference of the will of another regarding his property rights by placing all other persons in a duty as opposed to a liberty status vis-a-vis such rights. Because it establishes such a secure "orbit where the will is free from arbitrary interference," (13, p.221) it creates an atmosphere in society which is highly conducive to maximizing the willing participation of the individual to better his own condition and thereby that of society as a whole. It incorporates the private purpose of self advancement into the public purpose of economic development.

Even more important, it is a key means of evolving the peasant's felt citizenship and hence loyalty from the restricted going concern of the village to that of the modern state. As long as his rights to his land depend primarily on the village authority as such and a corrupt and unpredictable alien court apparatus; the average peasant will look to the one for protection and shun the other. When he perceives that the state through due process of law in accord with known, understandable, and regularized working rules actually sustains rather than thwarts his rights and security in his most valuable possession, his land; he perceives for the first time an interest in and a

loyalty to that going concern. It is a major step on his way towards effective and meaningful participation as a citizen of the going concern of the national state.

For Iboland the appropriate solution appears to lie in incorporating the traditional system into a revised and improved framework of the state's legal system. This is particularly true regarding land tenure because it is at the very foundation of traditional society. By incorporating the traditional authority of the village council into the system instead of attempting to circumvent it, the tenure system might be allowed to evolve into line with technological requirements while preserving security of future expectations under due process of law. The transformation of tenure rights based on customary practices into rights based on the sovereign power of the state as embodied in legal relationships of right and duty could be accomplished by the systematic selection and rejection of certain tenure practices. This would be the Common Law method and would provide continuity with the existing customary practices, which, after all, really constitute the Ibos' own indigenous body of 'common law' in its present stage of development.

Such a system would provide for maximum understanding and familiarity and therefore security of expectations for the village peasant while at the same time providing the institutional means of accelerating changes in the desired direction.

The enhancement of the prestige of the traditional authorities ought to bring the moral and economic sanctions they possess to bear in supporting rather than opposing the public purpose as expressed in the legal relationships regarding the land. The rejection of certain tenure practices need not always

take the form of a prohibition, it can also operate by choosing to back up certain transactions with the legal sanction while refusing to do so in other cases. In the former instance, a status relationship of right-duty under the law results from the transaction while in the latter a situation of liberty-exposure remains. Hopefully, this would result in the growth of desired practices and the atrophy of undesirable ones from the standpoint of fostering an atmosphere conducive to economic growth.

Some suggested ways to facilitate this desired evolution by the selection and rejection of various tenure practices as well as by other means are given in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER XII.--CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Nigeria when considered as a whole does not suffer from a shortage of land but has a vast 'middle belt' suitable to becoming an excellent mixed (i.e. crop and livestock enterprise) farming region with large potential markets in the densely populated urban areas, especially in the South. There are, however, some areas which are very densely populated and where under existing production techniques and institutional arrangements the soil is in great danger of exhaustion and erosion. The most critical area is no doubt the most heavily populated portions of the former Eastern Region which are occupied by the Ibo and Ibibio tribal groups.

Migration

The obvious way to reduce population pressure is migration. It is this author's considered judement in light of his experience in Nigeria as well as the evidence presented here that possibilities for significant transfers of villagers on a permanent basis from over populated to under populated areas of Iboland are generally not feasible. There might be some possibilities where relationships between certain villages are cordial and ties via marriage and membership in the same village group are stronger than is commonly the case. If a village with much excess land were in fact posed with a choice between accepting as permanent members of their village a sub-section of a neighboring village or having the land confiscated by the state they might well reluctantly opt for the former alternative. In effect, the state would be acting in a position analogous to a powerful and threatening

neighbor in the old days and the recipient village would be protecting its territorial land rights by exercising the only option open to it. Any such policy would have to be based on some set of criteria to determine what was the desirable man-land ratio in a given geographical area. Only the real and effective presence of the sovereign power sanctioned by potential or actual use of force could sustain such a program.

There would be much less effective resistance on the part of the local people in very sparsely populated areas such as the middle belt simply because their numbers are so much smaller. With appropriate government provision of amenities and security of life and limb, groups as large as a village sub-section might be induced to move. This would preserve their unity as a group in the social context greatly facilitating adjustment to the new environment. Conceivably, it could be worked out on a trial basis with a pioneer smaller group going ahead to see that it was a feasible proposition which led to an improved standard of living. If accepted, part of the cost of such a move might be financed from payments by the village groups remaining in the home village for the additional land they now would acquire. This acquisition of the land could be gradual by stages so that transfer of ownership was effected over a period of years with a concomitant right of redemption on the part of the emigrés progressively eliminated. It is impossible for this author to conceive of a region becoming populated by farmers emigrating as individuals with no regard to the tribal makeup of the community they will reside in.

The true 'melting pot' of Nigerian society will be the urban areas, especially Lagos, but even here to date there has been little real integration across tribal lines. Nevertheless, some sort of controlled migration of groups

from different tribes into sparsely populated areas would eventually result in at least considerable cross-cultural exposure and perhaps a degree of economic interdependence. Hopefully such a process would lead to increased understanding and tolerance among the various tribal groups and the development of a loyalty to a larger national state. The groups should be small enough and geographically distributed so as to prevent the development of compact satellite sub-regions along tribal lines.

Other Specific Potential Modifications

Insofar as farming units within a village are too small as a result of population pressure, there is really not much that can be done to relieve the situation via the tenure system other than to mitigate conditions as far as possible through consolidation of fragmented holdings.

The problem of fragmentation is most difficult.[1/] Because the system of inheritance is so basic a part of the social system, this author sees no way to eliminate fragmentation by prohibiting such practices. About all that can be done is to provide the legal means by which individuals and groups may consolidate plots of ground by exchange of rights via sales, 'barter' transactions or a combination of both. Again, little can be done to force villagers to sell land to non-villagers aside from protecting the legal rights of the purchaser where such a legitimate sale actually does take place. As the economic consequences of fragmentation and as rising land

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1/ The extent to which fragmentation has already been carried in some of the heavily populated areas of Eastern Nigeria, is almost beyond belief. " . . . a portion of about twenty-seven acres recently acquired in Calabar Province [Eastern Nigeria-Ibibio tribal area] involved some 900 different holdings some measuring 10 feet by 12 feet." (22, p.2)

values become more and more pronounced, pressures to make use of available legal methods of reducing fragmentation and for selling land to strangers will build up and such practices may gain in acceptability and usage. There are, however, two important roles which the government can play. First of all, such legal procedures must be made as simple, cheap and understandable as possible and administration must be honest, predictably regular and fair in its application. Secondly, land tax policies may be weighted in such a way that efficient use is encouraged. In this, the landholding unit might be made collectively responsible for paying the taxes. Hence, a village with excess farmland might decide to sell a portion if the tax burden were heavy enough.

It does not seem appropriate to base credit on landholdings in Nigeria generally under present conditions because it is not in the public interest to force a debtor from his land where there are no alternative employment opportunities. The policy objective is to keep individuals on the farm and not to drive them into the urban areas. A better alternative is probably for credit to be supplied in the form of appropriate production inputs with repayment tied to production rather than to the land.

There are a number of particular measures which might be feasible to improve the tenure system from the standpoint of individual incentives.

Pledging of land may be made subject to limitations as regards redemption. For example, perhaps during the first year or so land could be redeemed simply by repaying the pledge money, from two to five years the pledgee must be compensated for any permanent improvements, from five to ten years the pledgee may plant tree crops and the pledgor must pay the market value of the land but retains a first right of redemption. Beyond

that the pledgor's rights are extinct. Some such procedure could be introduced as an alternative to the present pledging procedure.

Sales in accord with traditional procedures could be encouraged as alternatives to the existing tacit sales. The proof that it was a legal sale could be signified by appropriate sacrificial ritual where this would aid understanding on the part of the individuals involved while for those no longer concerned with the ancestors, alternative modern instruments of conveyance would be provided.

Rights in land held by individuals who have migrated from the village might be made subject to time limitations and registration at the time the individual leaves the village so as to serve notice to any prospective buyer. Procedures might be developed whereby upon the death of the father, the "son abroad" could sell his interest in the land at the time according to the going rate. After a certain period of absence those who remained might be accorded by legal right the opportunity to buy out the son abroad at a fair market price except for enough land for the brother to build a house upon. This is in keeping with the general traditional African concept of ownership being vested in the individual who mixes his labor with the earth.

In order to prevent the development of a landlord-tenant relationship and potential absentee ownership, certain basic requirements could be made regarding land ownership within the village. Residence in the village and some restrictions on the amount of land an individual could own based on how much he could cultivate might be made a condition that had to be fulfilled before an individual could purchase land. Arrangements might be made whereby an individual could sell part of his land to a village institution especially established for such purposes. This land would then be available for purchase

by individuals who could demonstrate a need. Land that was grossly mismanaged could also revert to such an institution when tax obligations were not met.

The above are some specific measures that might aid the tenure system in evolving in ways to increase security of future expectations and to increase opportunities for establishing owner-operated family farms without getting undue concentration of ownership. Basically, they represent modifications of the present situation with the intention of increasing the "economic space" available to the individual within a specified category. The policy objective is to increase the size of the orbit in which the will is free for owner-operators and to protect such individuals from their own newly gained freedom at the same time. Insofar as possible, modifications would be introduced as alternatives to present inadequate practices with the hope that the withholding of the legal sanction from undesirable traditional measures would cause more and more individuals to demand these newer types of conveyances in their search for greater security. In other words, the state would systematically back those tenure practices, old and new, which were considered desirable and systematically refuse to back those considered undesirable. In this way, the villagers would begin to distinguish those cases when due process of law indicated they enjoyed a status of right regarding the land from those cases where they remained in a status of exposure.

The actual form any such modifications might take would vary from village to village but wherever possible, they should be made to accord with familiar patterns and to minimize conflicts with traditional values. Such values and familiar patterns could often be incorporated into the formal procedures involving a tenure practice even when the content might be changed.

The Role of the Village Council

There is probably no area in which the State's intentions are more suspect in the average villager's mind than those regarding his land. Nevertheless, the state's very existence signifies that it is the repository of ultimate sovereignty regarding his land and this realization causes the villager to fear it. Only when he comes to believe that he is protected by 'due process of law' even against the state itself will he begin to place any trust in its procedures or feel any loyalty towards it. For this reason, it is highly desirable that the state should work its will through the local institutions wherever possible in order to obtain the maximum cooperation of the villagers. Regarding implementation of specific tenure reforms the following plan might be one feasible way of achieving favorable results while maximizing local cooperation, trust, and involvement. It involves reinserting the village council into the sovereign judical process regarding land tenure, working through the patriotic unions to achieve acceptance and cooperation of the villagers and the development of a local land tenure center at the village level.

The village council would officially replace the present customary court system regarding land tenure adjudication. Its function would be to sanction transactions and resolve disputes regarding the land. Its decisions would be subject to review but individuals would be purposefully discouraged by court costs or other means from appealing its decisions unless they had a solid case. Appelate courts would tend to support the village council in cases of doubt. It is assumed that the traditional village social and political structure would prevent gross miscarriages of justice and assure generally equitable treatment. Cases which the village council considered too dangerous

to village unity could be referred by it to a higher court for resolution. No doubt inequities would occur but it is doubtful if the instances of such occurances would be as great as under the present system because the village council members would be subject to all the moral and economic sanctions of the group and any legal sanctions which the state might impose. The judges would be familiar with the facts of the case and the appropriate customary law. The council members would surely wish to maintain their newly gained prestige and status in the village and it would be understood from the beginning that if the system failed to render justice, alternative means would have to be found. Basically, the village council would again exercise the sovereign power in sanctioning land transactions but now as the lowest rung in the state's judicial system rather than as the highest in the traditional system. The fact that many decisions might be settled on a basis of equity rather than on unknowable facts is not necessarily undesirable under the existing state of indefiniteness in any case and certainly preferable to drawn out ruinous court cases as are so common at present. As long as substantial justice was being rendered, it might not be appropriate to be overly inquisitive regarding finer points of law, at least not initially. As more and more cases were resolved, progressively more land would come to be held under more definite and hence more secure conditions of tenure.

The village council too might be the most appropriate institution through which to get any kind of reforms in onerous obligations of the extended family system which bear on an individual. Only the village council would have the prestige and loyalty of the villagers necessary to gain

acceptance of any limitations on such obligations. There is really little the state can do in these matters beyond setting some arbitrary limits on certain specific obligations which provide a concerned individual with an excuse not to meet such obligations beyond the specified limitations. But such legal limitations are not worth the trouble to devise them as they are obviously unenforceable.

The Village Tenure Center

To provide technical expertise in tenure matters and also to serve as a depository for legal documents regarding the land, an all-purpose land tenure center would be established.

Among the functions of this center would be: housing of legal documents regarding land rights in the village, provision of information on all aspects of tenure to the villagers so that they could understand the meaning and significance of various tenure rights and so forth, provision of expertise to the village council on technical matters, and perhaps surveying services.

A crucial function of this center would be to serve as a means of recording and preserving written records of legal transactions regarding the land so that the definiteness achieved in village council decisions would not be allowed to lapse and so that new transactions could be registered immediately in a permanent manner. Needless to say, anyone who desired a secure title to a piece of land he bought would want to purchase it under procedures which were eligible for recording in the new tenure center rather than under any procedures not eligible. Even where the exact dimensions of the piece of land involved were not recorded the recording of the exact terms under which the transaction took place would be a great step forward. Another

very important benefit of recording such transactions would be the provision of information from which the going price of land might be determined for purposes of adjudication of disputes, tax policies, and many other uses.

To staff this center, young intelligent village men would be sent for appropriate training to special training centers, perhaps located at the universities. Upon their return they would take up their duties as land agents, returning from time to time for additional training as appropriate. While they would be government employees, they would not be immune to social pressures in their own village so a balance between protection from economic pressure on the part of village cliques and immunity from loss of job for misconduct would have to be struck. It might be appropriate to allow the village council a role in the supervision of employees of such a center.

While this author was in Nigeria, some crude surveying was done by project field staff. There might be some possibility of surveying training being given to certain land tenure center employees. They could perhaps supervise members of an age grade set in surveying of farm plots in conjunction with land transactions. Appropriate safeguards would have to be incorporated to prevent the recording of surveys which were grossly in error or fraudulent. A start must be made somewhere and at least the boundaries between different villages might be determined by government surveyors from outside the village area with the local land tenure center surveyors providing a check on their work and assurance to their home village that the surveys did indeed show the boundaries properly. Within the village a start might be made by confining surveying to defining boundaries between extended families' lands while relying on the traditional social controls within the extended family to resolve most disputes internal to the group. Modern technology in

the form of aerial photography and computer data processing might be used to advantage in technical aspects of the surveying problem.

The patriotic unions could be used as a vehicle for gaining village acceptance of the land tenure center and other reform measures. They are the traditional link between the village and the outside world and are trusted and respected within the village. It would probably be very wise to bring them actively into the projected development in its formative stage in order both to gain their support and involvement and to benefit from their knowledge of local conditions within the village.

The government might also provide the necessary materials not obtainable in the village while the village might supply the labor to build the center. It could be located in a prominent place, opened with appropriate ceremony and publicity and other means taken to stimulate a 'healthy sense of rivalry' in order to induce other villages to follow suit. To add incentive, other government aid might be tied to the development of the tenure center as a prerequisite and so forth.

Other suggestions could be made and different approaches might be adopted in coming to grips with the tenure problem while using traditional institutions. The above ideas are put forward in the hope that fairly specific proposals even if not tested and no doubt in need of great improvement, modification, and elaboration may at least contain the kernel of a fruitful suggestion to supplement any the reader himself may have developed from the foregoing material. The above suggestions, at least hypothetically, reestablish a single chain of sovereignty and provide an institutional means for trying to introduce the improved tenure practices so necessary to security of expectations and therefore a climate conducive to investment. The proposed

land tenure center provides a going concern which could take on new or different functions as appropriate. While the state's power is always present, it is exercised in conjunction with familiar institutions within the village confines.

Implementation

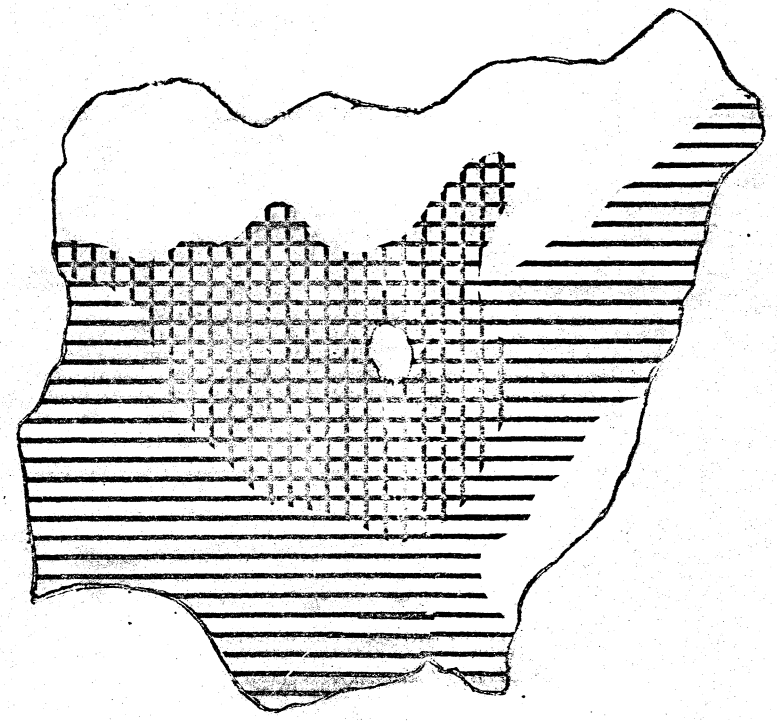
Whatever reform measures and programs might be tried, they would obviously require pilot projects to test their feasibility. The actual villages selected should be based on such practical considerations as interest on the part of the village and representativeness of the surrounding area in terms of customary practices. It would be very important to see that while local conditions might dictate differences in approach and in procedural matters, as much uniformity as possible would be retained in the system above the village level. At least as regards content, new alternative tenure practices should fit readily into one of several legal categories with an absolute minimum of ambiguity.

One thing appears reasonably certain, namely, that if the tenure situation is allowed to continue along its present course, the results are not likely to be desirable either from an economic or a social standpoint. Whatever proposals to rectify the situation may be put forward, the process of testing, modifying and improving them cannot be started too soon. As the development process gets under way land tenure can only become progressively more important as a limiting factor unless it is modernized. If initial increases in productivity gained by means of 'easy improvements' such as fertilizers or improved varieties are to be transformed into sustained economic growth rather than into stagnation with population growth consuming

any gains made via improved productivity, the present tenure system must be transformed into one that will be able to play its part in sustaining such economic growth.

If carefully planned and well tested programs making use where possible of traditional institutions regarding land tenure or other developmental problems are instituted and carried to fruition, such institutions may well be modified so as to play a positive role in the development of agriculture and thereby make a substantial contribution to the overall economic development of the country.

Map 1. Tsetse Fly Infestation and Human Sleeping Sickness



Tsetse infected areas where sleeping sickness is endemic.

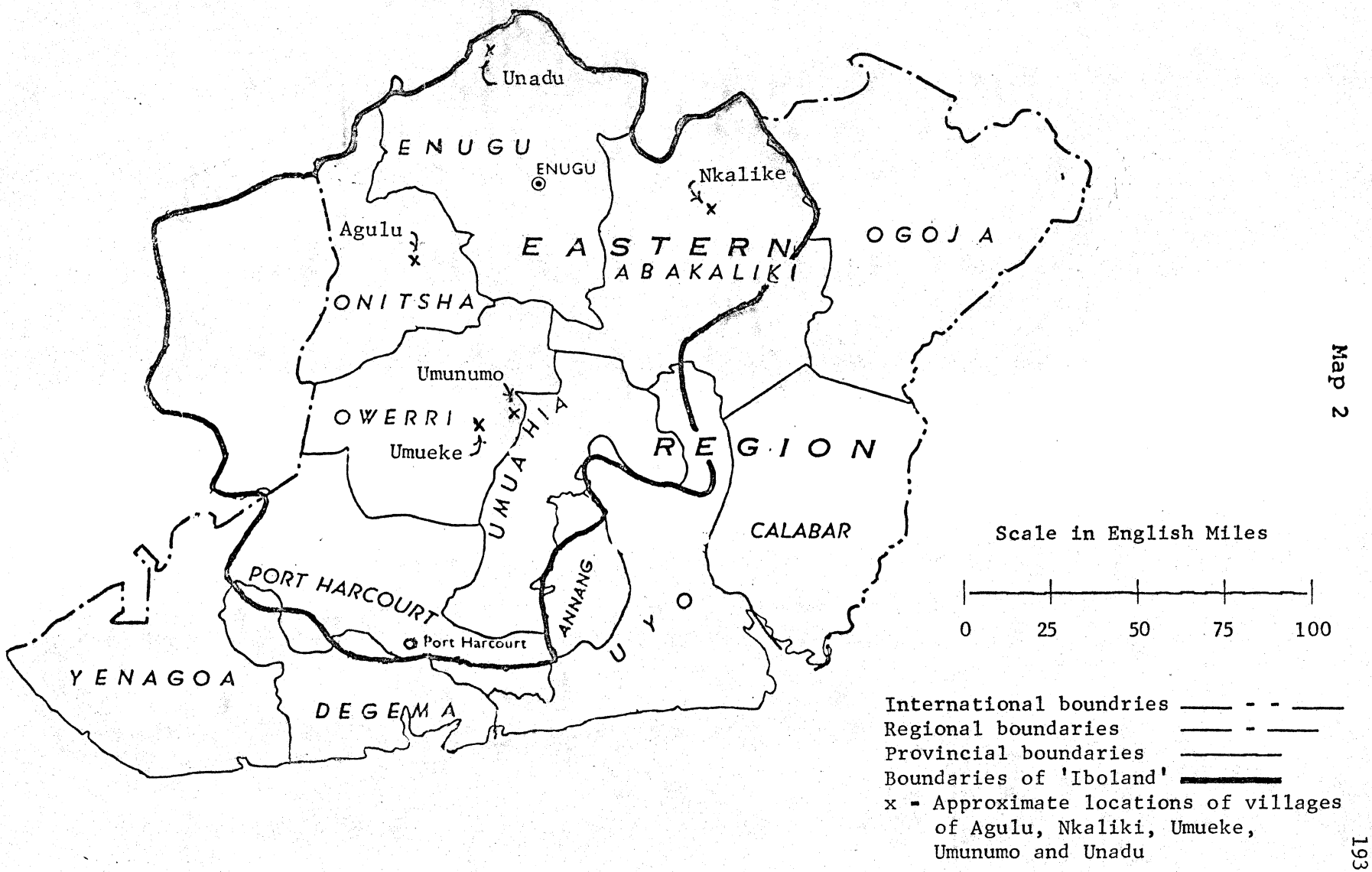
Other tsetse infected areas.

Fly-free areas.

Source: K. M. Buchanan and J. C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria (London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1955), figure on p. 46.

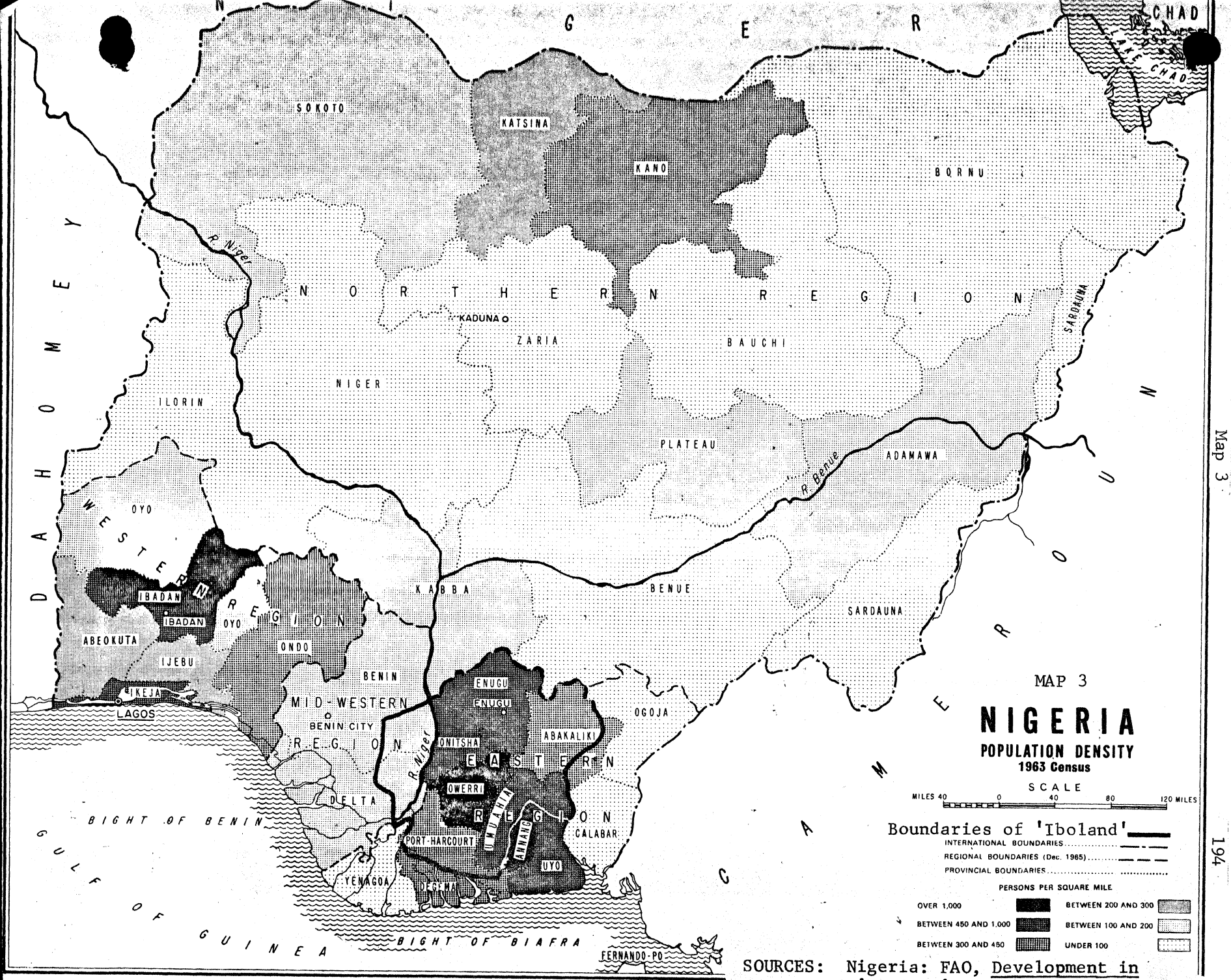
MAP 2

FORMER EASTERN REGION AND THAT PORTION OF IBOLAND CONTAINED IN THE FORMER MIDWESTERN REGION



Map 2

SOURCES: Eastern Nigeria, Nigeria Administrative Divisions, October, 1962, printed by United States Government.
'Iboland', page IV of Uchendu, The Igbo.



MAP 3

NIGERIA

POPULATION DENSITY

1963 Census

SCALE

MILES 40 0 40 80 120 MILES

Boundaries of 'Iboland'

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES

REGIONAL BOUNDARIES (Dec. 1965)

PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE

OVER 1,000	BETWEEN 200 AND 300
BETWEEN 450 AND 1,000	BETWEEN 100 AND 200
BETWEEN 300 AND 450	UNDER 100

SOURCES: Nigeria: FAO, Development in Nigeria. 'Iboland': Uchendu, The Igbo.

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