

NATIONAL MIGRANTS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN TIV SOCIETY OF CENTRAL NIGERIA IN THE COLONIAL ERA

Uji, Wilfred Terlumun

Department of History, Federal University Lafia

Abstract

This paper explores the migration and spread of national migrants such as the Ibo, Yoruba, Hausa and the Ogoja groups to Tiv society of Central Nigeria in the colonial era. The paper identifies the problem that the migrants were the basic factor through which modern commercial commerce took off in Tiv society successfully. In other words, the national migrants through their commercial activities were a responsible factor of the integration of Tiv society into the international capitalist system. The paper adopts the methodology of using oral sources as well as archival sources in the documentation of this history. The paper resolves the critical challenge of development in Tiv society by pointing out that, migrations are critical to the economic development and survival of any society. The United States of America for instance is a country of migrants and has benefited tremendously from migrations over time. This paper adopts the same approach by looking at what happened in Tiv society in the colonial era.

Keywords: National migrant, Economic development,
TIV society, Colonial era.

Corresponding Author: Uji, Wilfred Terlumun

Background to the Study

The colonial era began in Tiv society with the British conquest and occupation of Tiv society beginning from 1900 up to the 1930s. After the Pax Britannica, administrative structures were imposed that guaranteed the smooth takeoff of the colonial economy. The colonial economy through infrastructural development such as the railways, the growth of urban centers, commercial activities, missionary activities acted as both push and pull factors that drew the influx of national migrants such as the Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and the Ogoja to come and settle in Tiv society thus, contributing to the economic development of Tiv society.

The migration of National Migrants to Tiv society facilitated national integration for the emergence of modern Nigeria and on the other hand, promoted a great deal of commerce and trade. This paper explores the historical process that led to the migration and settlement of national migrants in Tiv society of central Nigeria during the colonial era. It is important to note that before the colonial era, these migrants were never an integral part of the citizenship of central Nigeria. Their contributions to economic change and transformation form the focus of this paper.

Conceptual Clarification

The discussion on concepts has been covered in the review of related but it is important to isolate some of the basic key concepts used such as (migrations of who is a migrant; economic development and underdevelopment; and the concept of Tiv and explain them).

Historically, man is a migrant by nature and every man is a migrant of one kind of sort depending upon the circumstances of time and space. Archeologically, evidence provided by the excavation of Professor Leakey of the material remains of man, in East Africa, Olduvai Gorge, in Tanzania, through radio carbon dating showed that the oldest skeletal remain of man in Africa was as old as 2 million years. Other discoveries of man in South-Africa and the Giza region in Egypt still validated the Professor Leakey's assumption that perhaps Africa was the oldest focal point in the history of human evolution dating back to over 2 million years. Going by this assumption, Africa perhaps, served as one of the earliest point in history of human migration and spread across the world.

According to Rueben Udo (1975), migration involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence and has been defined as economic man's reaction to economic differentials or it involves the movement of population especially people over a vast expanse of space. This could either be local, regional, national or international. Ravenstein (1885) asserted that the most consistent generalization about migration is probably the fact that economic considerations of the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in material respect constitute the single most important reason why people migrate. During the hunting and gathering mode of existence of the early Homo-Sapiens, man responded to the economic situation in his environment moving from one place to the other in search of better material livelihood. Migration is the basic inherent tendency of man since the appearance of the thinking-economic man in world history. It is a basic fact of human history and existence.

John Authur (cited in Uji, 2009) postulated that a combination of economic, social and psychological factors is the basic motivations behind human migration and settlement. He pointed out that people move because they sense a need and want to satisfy it. The nature of the need can be economic, social or psychological. He explained the motive behind migrations in West Africa during the colonial and post-colonial age as a basic response to economic opportunities and incentives that would enable the migrant maximize his economic potentials and needs. Thus, migration has been across political boundaries and nation states in West Africa. Todaro's (1969) view is that the primary purpose and reason behind human migrations in Africa is rooted in the nature of the inequality and disequilibrium which the colonial state and its development exacted on the African continent. The economic disarticulation of the colonial state resulted into the uneven and unequal distribution of economic, social and material resources. Colonialism created inequality among states, nations and between regions within the state or nation. In Nigeria, the colonial state created regional disequilibrium between the northern region, the western region and the eastern region in the distribution of human and natural resources.

The post-independence era in Africa and Nigeria in particular has not fundamentally deviated or departed from the colonial pattern of migration. Fadoyemi et al (1998) has pointed out that in post-independence Africa the combination of economic, social and psychological factors are responsible for the movement of population across Africa. Migrations have continued to be a direct response to state of regional disequilibrium in the distribution of wealth and material resources.

This paper adopts the conceptual framework that human migration is a product of man's interaction with his environment in the economic, social and psychological spheres in his attempt to reproduce his material livelihood. The migrants discuss in the thesis, at one point in history, arising from a plethora of factors, had to migrate and in the process, resulting to economic development and transformation.

Economic development is the product of the interaction of man with his environment in the reproduction of his material livelihood which is aimed at the improvement of the quality of his material livelihood. In order to reproduce this material livelihood, man interacted at the level of business, industry, manufacture, trade and agricultural enterprise.

Economic development from the perspective which this thesis had adopted means the contribution that the contribution that migrant groups have made to the economic transformation of Tivland in areas of trade expansion, the growth of markets, the development of small and medium enterprise, health care etc. As Tella Adewale (2002) pointed out that economic development is the massive effort to increase production, create and spread employment and eradicate fundamental causes of poverty, diseases and ignorance as well as improve infrastructure facilities in both urban and rural areas of economy. Economic development from whatever perspective viewed should contain these essential basic elements; improvement in the quality of wage employment enjoyed by the broad spectrum of a society in the areas of the education, health, housing, employment, price stability and sanitation.

Underdevelopment as a concept is viewed from different perspective by various schools of thoughts. Despite the divergence of views expressed, the essential fact that predominates underdevelopment in a society is the deprivation of economic opportunities, infrastructure, the deprivation of credit opportunities in the commercial sector, the repatriation of capital and as well as the practice of price extortion and exploitation of human and material resources.

From the Marxist viewpoint, underdevelopment means the exploitation as well as the oppression of the lower class or masses of the society by the upper ruling class and bourgeois class of a given society. To the Marxist, all histories are the history of class struggle in which the fundamental and predominant issues are that of economic and material considerations. Underdevelopment is thus viewed as the exploitation and looting of the human and material capital of a nation by the class that controls the factors of production, that is the bourgeois class.

Objective of the Study

This paper is not primarily a study of class struggles in Tiv history. But the Marxist viewpoint of underdevelopment in terms of exploitation and price extortion is relevant in explaining the economic history of Tivland. This is because migrants such as the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, coming from class conscious societies, during their early formative stages before colonialism, adapted well to western capitalism and succeed in the domination of the economic landscape of the Tiv nation as well as in the exploitation of the human and material resources of the area.

The dependency school of thought sees underdevelopment primarily as the superimposition of the capitalist mode of production on the economies of less developed economies to develop. This argument is often referred to as the block thesis. The dependency theorist sees the capitalist mode of production has been incompatible with the non-capitalist mode of production. As the result of the incompatibility, this has generated unequal relationship between the western capitalist nations and the third world, the unequal relation of wealth and material distribution, and the deprivation of opportunities of the third world nations by the western capitalist nations. The only solution to development therefore is for the third world nations to break away from western capitalism.

The dependency school of thought also argued that the presence of development does not imply the absence of underdevelopment¹¹. As a matter of fact, the very development of the third world nations; this has its own historical background beginning with the rise of commercial mercantilism in western Europe, the slave trade, colonialism eventually the neo-colonial system. Through all these stages, the wealth and the human resources of Africa were exploited and plundered thus leading to underdevelopment. The dependency theory, although cannot be applied in its strict sense, however can be applied in this thesis in the sense that migrants in Tivland through their developmental drive also caused underdevelopment through price extortion and repatriation of capital. The concept of Tivland as used in this thesis has been crafted and adopted from the historical background. Secondly, the fact of the sheer demographic distribution and pattern of population witnessed in Tivland in contemporary times.

Historically, the history of the world is full of accounts of migrants who either as a result of the right of conquest or assimilation stamped their ethnic or cultural identity on the areas, places and population in which they settled. For instance, the naming of the American continent was arbitrarily done after the explorer Amerigo following the European conquest and occupation of the continent. America is a cultural melting pot, yet, despite its cultural configuration, the continent and even states and towns of American continent bear or carry European names.

In Nigeria, several societies carry the names of their conquerors. For instance, the Fulani Conquest of Hausaland beginning from 1803 resulted into the creation and naming of the Sokoto Caliphate and some emirates and towns after the Fulani conquerors. The term Tivland is by right of occupation of the Tiv people of the middle Benue Valley and their population dominance of other ethnic groups who hitherto occupied the area such as the Jukun, Alago, Idoma and Hausa. The term Tivland is used in the demographic sense because in the present towns of Makurdi, Gboko, Aliade, Vandeikya, Adikpo, Katsina-Ala, Zaki-Biam and Abinsi, the Tiv ethnic group enjoys overwhelming population domination.

History of Igbo Migrations: Colonial Period

Oral sources show that Igbo migration into Tivland began during the colonial period. Before this period, there is hardly any evidence of Igbo presence in Tivland. According to oral history, a number of Igbo had settled at Makurdi before the extension of railway to the area. Most of these Igbo who were missionaries came up with the white man into the region with the aim of penetrating into the far North. One of the notables among them was a Roman Catholic Catechist from Abatete names Mr. Illobi who trekked to Makurdi from Enugu in 1922. From this account, the genesis of Igbo migration into Tivland can be traced to Christian missionary enterprise. This source also confirms the fact that before the colonial era, Igbo migration into Tivland was rare. This however, does not annul the possibility of early Igbo contact with the Middle Benue Valley through trade and commercial exchanges. It is the opinion of this writer that there has been contact between the Igbo, the Idoma and the Igala long before the colonial period. But there is hardly any record to show early Igbo commercial contacts with the Tiv people until the beginning of the colonial period.

As earlier discussed, as far back as the Middle of the 19th century, missionary enterprise on Rivers Benue and Niger had begun. But their actual penetration and presence in Tivland did not occur until the 1920s. It is likely from this source that the Igbo who came along with the white men occupied positions such as Catechist and probably served as mediators between the white missionaries and the Tiv. This is because the responsibilities that Africans discharged in early missionary enterprise were those of interpreters and Catechists. But in the case of Tivland, it is unlikely that the early Igbo entrants had appropriate knowledge of Tivland language to serve as interpreters during those early years. However, they served mainly as middlemen between the white missionaries and the indigenous people.

Apart from those that accompanied the white missionaries, other Igbo migrants into Tivland during this early period of missionary enterprise were an amalgam of artisans, petty traders and carpenters. Many of them came into Tivland by sailing up the Benue River in order to exploit the commercial and economic potentials of Tivland. Therefore, commercial exchange served

as an important connection between the Eastern region and the Tiv people. It was probably the expansion of European trade and commercial relations with Tiv people, as discussed in chapter two that facilitated contacts between the Tiv and Igbo commercial merchants. According to oral sources; One of the most prominent among them (Igbo commercial merchants) was a blacksmith from Akwa named Akabougu Chinwenba Anago who came to Makurdi through the River Benue so many years before the period of the railway extension to Makurdi.

This supports the view that Igbo migration to Tivland dates back to the 1850s when the commercial activities of European firms on the River Benue was commencing. But then, during this period in question, Igbo migration into Tivland was very scanty and not wide spread. It is likely that it was then that the scores of Igbo traders who were serving as agents of the European commercial firms had their first contact with the Tiv people. But until after the extension of the railway line, evidence of Igbo settlement area in Tivland hardly existed. The point to underline is that although Igbo contacts with Tivland predated the extension of the Eastern rail line to Tivland as from 1924, it was after then that distinct Igbo settlement areas started to emerge.

The railway facilitated greater migration and settlement of the Igbo population in Tivland with Makurdi as one of the principal towns, being their major attraction. This was probably because it was an important commercial center as well as an important administrative town. An oral source has it that: By the 1930s and 1950s, the notable Igbo settlers of this period were people like chief Michael Mbanusi from Onuoji, Mr. Ogbuli were represented the Igbo in court, Mr. Muonye from Asaba, Mr. Ejeanva from Oraukwu and Osukwo from Orly in Imo State.

Sources from oral interviews show that most of these Igbo population came from the Igbo areas of Abia, Imo, and Enugu, all areas that were connected with the railways to Tivland. While most of the Igbo population came into Tivland as staff of the Railway Corporation, post and telegraph, a sizable number came in simply as commercial traders. Some important factors also propelled most Igbo migrants into Tivland during the colonial period. Aside from the impact of the railways and roads already cited, include profit motive, the existence of market opportunities in Tivland, the law of comparative advantage, competition at home and the desire for adventure. The consensus that emerged after interviews with many Igbo migrants in Tivland is that their migration to Tivland hinged on the factor to maximize business opportunities thereby making profits. Thus, market outlets and the desire to make profits served as strong motivations for Igbo migrations.

The colonial economy, as already outlined, also created the necessary conditions for Igbo migration into Tivland, such as the railways and the construction of roads. Similarly, forced conscription of labour also resulted into the migration of Igbo population. Then, the growing urban centers and markets in Tivland also served as strong motivating or 'pull factors' for Igbo entry into it.

The milieu in Igbo land also served as an important source of migration. The proximity of Onitsha – a source of European goods, a center of trade and commerce in Igbo land – to Makurdi also played a crucial role in the migrations of Igbo commercial class to Tivland. While in addition, Igbo commercial class enjoyed certain advantages such as the apprenticeship system, the credit system and the acquisition of good business ethos and trading skills, which combined to make their commercial enterprises successful in Tivland. Furthermore, extended family system and close kinship tied that existed amongst the Tiv did not burden Igbo businessmen. More so, the town unions and associations from the bedrock that inspired the Igbo commercial class to operate. The point here is that the internal organization of Igbo people and the acquisition of skills and capital gave their commercial class preponderance over that of other ethnic groups, particularly the Tiv.

During the colonial period, Igbo businessmen dominated aspects of trade in such areas as foodstuffs, cloth, cigarettes, matches, creams and soaps as well as in transport business especially the lorry business. The only ethnic group that competed with the Igbo commercial class in the sale of manufactured and the transport business was the Hausa commercial class. Elizabeth Iseichei (1983) commenting on Igbo commercial enterprise observed that the colonial period was a tremendous increase in the volume of trade, both within Igbo land and vis-à-vis the rest of Nigeria. There were many reasons for this – the growth of urban communities, which needed to buy food, the need for cash incomes, which gave a strong motivation for trading and the improvement of internal communications, were all important. Secondly, the gradual substitution of traditional currencies doubtless also helped, apart from traditional currencies being regional, their bulkiness made them unsuitable for major transactions. Thirdly, the decline of internal warfare made it safe of traders to travel to other areas. Isichei also commented on specialization among the Igbo that made them successful in business. For example, people from Udei area are mainly butchers at Aba town, Nnewi people specialize in transport and selling of miscellaneous articles; Unubi and Amichi people focus on cotton and woolen cloths; Item people specialize in sewing, selling of singlet and later years in second hand clothes; Akokwa, Osina and Akpele people specialize in plate and stockfish marketing and so on. Very often, the communities, which had been prosperous and successful traders in pre-colonial times, continued to be so in an era of rapid change. This was true of Oguta, Nkwerre, Abiriba and Nnewi among many other towns as well.

The medium of commercial expansion into Tivland was the lorry transport business introduced in the 1930s and 1940s. Lorry transport proved one of the triumphs of Nigerian enterprise, competing successfully with the railway despite the government's support of the latter. Some transport entrepreneurs made great fortunes; others succumbed to cutthroat competition and a deficient system of accounting which often made too little allowance for depreciation.

Small-scale Igbo entrepreneurs took their commercial skills to Tivland. In Tivland, they controlled to a large extent, most of the urban economic activities, trading, carpentry, smithing, mechanics of all types, building contracts, as well as providing the largest number of non-local people in commercial and mercantile (sic) houses in government and local government establishments. In Tivland, Igbo commercial traders faced commercial hostility from mainly the Tiv people who resented the idea of Igbo domination of Tiv economy. For instance, two American anthropologists, who lived in Tivland in the 1930s, gave an interesting example of this hostility;

An Iyon elder said that Igbo 'journey kpanga kpenga'. He explained that the term came from the work carrying tray, (kpen ga), and that the Igbo leave their compounds with only a carrying tray; they buy in one market and sell in another and live on the profit. 'This', he said, 'was a very bad thing (Uji 2009).

The spread of Igbo people covered almost the entire Tivland. Again as Isichei (1983:56) stated: When Tsar Market was developing at this time, the Tiv welcomed Hausa traders, but insisted on the exclusion of the Igbo. But the Hausas themselves came to demand the admission of Igbo traders.

This statement expressed the nature of intergroup relations between in Tivland as well as the extent of Igbo commercial network system in Tivland. Again, this quotation brings out these issues clearly; Now they remembered that no large Nigerian market could (at that time) be fully effective without an Igbo contingent. Igbo had access to certain types of trade goods – especially European cloth and hardware – which were only at much, greater expense from other people's. Igbo were also good carpenters and blacksmiths. Finally, there was the vast kinship-like network of Igbo between the trading outposts (such as Obudu), and the large market-centers (such as Onitsha). If a market is to be fully successful the Hausa said, it must have Igbo. The Tiv, however, stood adamant: no Igbo... The Tiv finally did allow the Igbo to come to market (qtd in Uji, 2009: 187).

For the Tiv population, over attachment and dependency on land and farming militated against their active participation in commerce and trade. One other important aspect of trade introduced by Igbo women was in the area of commercial sex prostitution. The boom in this trade became more evident and profound during the Second World War and the conscription of labour for the war and the mines. Around the growing mining economy in Jos and Enugu, the sale of foodstuffs by women went hand in hand with commercial sex prostitution. Money served as an easy means for way veterans and mine labourers to patronize commercial sex colonies. Thus, that period proved destructive on the family structure in Tivland.

History of Yoruba Migration: Colonial Period

The colonial period marked the start of the migration of Yoruba speaking people into Tivland, which was facilitated by the extension of the railway to Tivland. Early sources show that a certain Yoruba man called Audu was made as the chief of Makurdi town by the British colonial administration. This had been confirmed by Sarking Hausawa, which state that Audu had worked before as an agent of the British colonial government at Ibi and that he came to Tivland probably as an interpreter to the British. His appointment as chief of Makurdi town was probably a reward for his faithful service.

Another version states that Audu was not a Yoruba man but probably a Nupe who worked for the British colonial government. This version argues that the name Audu is not a Yoruba extraction and therefore he cannot be a Yoruba man. But oral source from the Hausa community and Yoruba elders, as earlier stated, show that Audu was indeed, a Yoruba descent. The important point here is not his origins and background but the fact that the imposition of Audu as the chief of Makurdi was protested against by Tiv ex-soldiers after the Second World War. The uprising and crisis that accompanied his appointment resulted in the setting up of a

judicial inquiry to look into the catastrophe. The final recommendation of the judiciary enquiry stated that even though Makurdi town owed its origins to the Hausa and Jukuns, nevertheless, the town was predominantly occupied by the Tiv.

Most of the Yoruba people who came to Tivland did so as staff and workers of the railways. Others came in as teachers of schools and lawyers of advocate firms and chambers in Makurdi town. It is against this backdrop that Yorubas such as Dele came to settle in Makurdi in the 1930s and later became famous solicitor and legal practitioner. Several other Yoruba came to Tivland as labourers and businessmen. For instance, Julius Adeboye came to Tivland in 1924 together with his father. The latter began life in Makurdi as a baker; his son Adeboye owns a bread factory (Welcome Bread) in Makurdi. He stated that most of the Yoruba migrants came from the towns of Ibadan and Ilorin to Tivland. The predominant Yoruba population in Tivland today seems to come from this axis.

During the early year of British colonial rule, Tiv population was more resident in the villages and rural areas. The Tiv avoided the growing urban centers such as Makurdi, Katsina-Ala and Abinsi. Occasionally, the Tiv population could come to the market centers of Makurdi, Katsina-Ala and Abinsi only to retreat to the rural areas. The likely reason for this behavior was the Tiv attachment to land for farming and settlement. In addition, Tiv society during this period hated the valued of Western civilizations and saw urban centers as corrupting influences on the moral values of the African. Some Tiv people for instance decried the lack of food in the urban centers and detested the consumption of such things as rice and tea as food for breakfast and launch. To the Tiv man, it was better and preferable to serve him pounded food in the morning and the afternoon.

Yoruba commercial enterprise was mostly seen in the legal sector, the educational sector and later on the Christian religions sector. The early Yoruba settlers were mostly lawyers and advocates who became more prominent during the period of the Tiv riots and crisis after independence. Others served as educational instructors in the growing and expanding schools in Tivland. In recent years, the Yorubas have dominated the enterprise of setting up independent Pentecostal churches in Tivland. In addition to these economic activities, some Yoruba businessmen invested on the transport sector but never really dominated or controlled it. Other areas of Yoruba trading interested were the cloth and textiles industry but the Hausa and Igbo continued to dominate these sectors.

The Yoruba like the Igbo had a network system of credit facilities, apprenticeship and business skills that were necessary to dominate trade in Tivland. But, unlike the Igbo, they lacked a very close source for the supply of goods like Onitsha, which the Igbo enjoyed. The Igbo close proximity to Onitsha as a major market gave them dominance over trade in Tivland.

Yoruba migration into Tivland during the colonial period was very limited until after the post-independence era that the quantum became significant. In terms of ratio and population, Igbo migration to Tivland was higher compared to that of the Yoruba. We shall discuss Yoruba enterprises in the next chapter.

Hausa Migration into Makurdi

By 1913, shortly after the establishment of a labour camp in this area, Hausa, Jukun and Nupe formed the bulk of the northern elements populating the south bank area. But with the coming of the eastern railway in 1925, they were joined by Igbo, Yoruba and other smaller ethnic groups began to appear. Most of the latter groups were well-paid workmen of the artisan class so their arrival brought more money to the town. Alhaji Usman Kawu a former councilor representing Mission Ward (1970 – 1973, 1980 – 1983) told the researcher that a majority of Hausa migrants came into Makurdi during this period to take advantage of the commercial opportunities offered by the rapidly growing population of the town. The then on-going construction of the bridge also offered employment opportunities to many people including the Hausa who came in as wage labourers and traders. The railway was completed by the opening of the Makurdi Bridge in 1932, thereby linking the North and South to the country and easing the communication problem that hitherto existed.

By 1927, the headquarters of the then Mushi provincial administration was transferred from Abinsi to Makurdi. Thus, Makurdi became the centre of colonial administration and according to Benjamin Tor many Hausa came in as part of the colonial staff, as messengers and interpreters to the colonial officials. As Akiga Sai (1937) points out;

During the years of colonial rule in Tivland, not a single Tiv was given the host of interpreter or messenger under the British colonial administration, all these posts were in the hands of foreigners. Moreover, in those days, administrative officials did not learn Tiv but only Hausa and spoke to the people through foreign interpreters. The white man could look at Tiv but he could not talk to them.

As Makurdi became the center of colonial administration and began to boom in commercial activities, foreign firms also began to establish their presence in the town. The arrival of these multinationals stimulated the economy of the town and offered employment opportunities especially to wage labourers many of whom were Hausa who were mostly engaged in the loading and off-loading of goods purchased by the firms. Banks also established their branches in Makurdi and in the late 1940s; the colonial authorities had also set up a marketing board. No doubts, all these served as 'pull factors' to Hausa migration into Makurdi.

As a provincial capital, Makurdi town attracted the attention of the colonial government in terms of infrastructure and this generally was a crucial factor in rural-urban migration. Then, in the 1950s, political parties were launched in Nigeria. However, the political parties unfortunately identified more with their regions and Makurdi, being in the Northern region, came under the heat of the Northern People Congress (NPC) during the electioneering campaigns that followed. The NPC, which was seen as a Hausa-Fulani party, battled for the control of Makurdi, as losing the town to another party was seen as a minus to the North. The electioneering campaigns also availed many Hausa the opportunity of coming into direct contact with the Tiv people and some of them eventually settled in Tivland after the election.

It has been shown that on the establishment of Makurdi town in 1913, according to colonial reports, the Hausa, Jukun and Nupe formed the bulk of its northern elements. Since then, the town had continued to increase in population. By 1932, there were 6,507 immigrants out of

whom the Hausa numbered 2,881. Thus, becoming the largest single ethnic groups and this made Makurdi town a front line for Hausa commercial expansion.

Prior to the arrival of the Eastern railway to Makurdi in 1935, Hausa immigrants like other ethnic groups, had immersed themselves into the existing communal framework with no separate settlements existing. However, by 1925 when the railway had reached Makurdi, more and more people from other parts of Nigeria had migrated into the town to take advantage of economic opportunities offered in the town and according to Makar (1994), it was from that period that the Hausa migrants in Makurdi began to congregate in separate settlements. It was located across the Benue River from the Wadata area of the present Makurdi town and clerks quarters now referred to as South Market ward covering New Garage, Kwararafa Quarters and the present Wadata Market. Settlements also evolved around the area now known as Wadata.

By the close of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, other Hausa settlements also evolved following the commencement of work on the Makurdi railway bridge. The construction of the bridge was a major project that required large labor force and so it attracted much migration of people from both within Tivland and outside the area. Alhaji Usman Kaeu, a former councilor in Makurdi Local Government (1970 – 1973, 1980 – 1983) is of the view that it was during this period that such Hausa settlements as those around Madikpo now referred to as Central Ward and those at North Bank now called North Market Ward had evolved⁴⁶. It is important however, to note that all these settlements have been merged into Makurdi town but Hausa settlers have continued to maintain their dominant position in the areas as could be seen in their consistent winning of electoral posts in the areas. It should also be noted that the creation of wards in Makurdi Local Government does not necessarily follow the pattern of the old Hausa settlements.

Migrations of Ogoja Groups into Tivland

The term Ogoja group refers to the Bekwara, Yala, Boki, Obudu and Utogwang people of the Upper Cross River Basin who have had a shared relationship with the Tiv right from the pre-colonial era. However, supporting documents and written records on the contacts between the Ogoja people and the Tiv appear to be a very rare of non-existence. Despite this limitation, a scholar, Stella Attoe, has written on trade relations between the Tiv and their Ogoja neighbours in the pre-colonial period Timothy Tseor has also worked on the relationship between the Tiv and their 'Udam' neighbours. The term Udam is a derogative term that refers to the Bekwara and Obudu people. That fact is that Tivland shares a common boundary with the Ogoja people and there is no doubt therefore that this could have contributed to intergroup relations. The factor of intergroup relations between the Tiv and their Ogoja neighbours forms the central focus of Tseor's book on *Tiv and their Neighbours* (2001). In spite of very ancient contacts, the actual migrations and settlements of Ogoja people in Tivland began during the colonial period. According to a colonial record; Prior to 1960, there existed market contacts between the people of Ogoja. Bekwara for example had market contact with the Tivs of Benue State.

As a result of such contacts, several Ogoja groups migrated into Tivland during the colonial period and most of the early migrants targeted the growing markets on the boarder land between them and their Tiv neighbours. The markets and towns include Adikpo, Vandeikya,

Tsar, Kornya, Ihugh and Gboko; and during the initial years of colonial rule, Ogoja migrants were largely restricted to these areas. However, in the post-colonial period, the character of migration changed as more and more Ogoja groups began to migrate into the rural areas of Tivland. According to Adie (oral interview, 2004), several factors could have sparked off these migrations especially that;

Ogoja seem to be a place where there are strong beliefs in witchcraft and witches and the fear of these supernatural forces that have driven some of them to leave home and migrate to Tivland.

While this factor appears plausible in explaining the migrations of Ogoja people to Tivland, an examination of the economic activities of the people show those economic factors were more likely causes of these migrations. For instance, a geographical survey of hand holdings among the Bekwara shows that one of the loss of soil fertility. Being predominantly an agrarian people, the Bekwara saw the availability of land in Tivland as a good opportunity for farming. After all, during the pre-colonial era, Tiv population too had encroached on the fertile lands of the Ogoja people. Therefore, the desire to acquire farmlands and to farm provides a fundamental expansion of these migrations. As it is pointed out: The people living in Tivland are chiefly farmers and this situation evolved the Ogoja people who were farmers to fit in easily in their new environment (Uji 2009).

The Ogoja group is a good case of tenant farmer migrant group in Nigeria. They represent a good case study of rural-rural migrations, which is often determined by the desire to carry out agricultural production. The colonial economy with its emphasis on cash crop production indirectly encouraged several Ogoja groups to migrate and settle in Tivland. Among the cash crops that were produced by the Ogoja groups were groundnuts, casaba, plantain, bananas and cocoyam and the spread of these cash crops especially plantain, bananas and cocoyam in Tivland can be traced to the activities of Ogoja and Igbo migrant groups. Aside from the cash crop economy, some of the Ogoja groups migrated into Tivland basically as traders. Given the involvement of their people in farming, some of the Ogoja groups and Igbo people became middlemen in the marketing of agricultural products within Tivland – a situation that was viewed as exploitive in the history of the Tiv people. Another important area of the economic activity of the Ogoja groups was in the area of providing household and domestic labour in Tivland. A greater proportion of the labour force was predominantly women and children who served in Tivland as cooks and baby sitters, a situation that resulted in the Tiv marrying many women of the Ogoja groups. The diversified economic activities of the Ogoja groups will be discussed in the next chapter. The colonial era did not produce distinct Ogoja settler community in Tivland even though there has been a considerable Ogoja population in Tivland. Other pull factors, apart from the ones discussed above, include greater job opportunities in Tivland as a source of accumulating capital in order to eventually setting up a small scale business. The setting up of small-scale business has profited the Ogoja groups in pursuit of self-employed life. The business areas where they were mostly involved include sale of bread, taxi and bus driving, mechanics and welding. Again, these business activities were more pronounced during the post-colonial period. The desire to experience life outside home also constitutes a factor. On the whole, the colonial period witnessed a mass exodus of Ogoja groups to Tivland, more so because of the close proximity of Tivland to Ogoja land. Even though some of the Ogoja groups came to settle in the rural areas of Tivland as migrant farmers, the choicest towns for most of them were Gboko, Vandeikya, Adikpo, and Makurdi.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The early colonial period witnessed the presence of migrant communities who made important contributions to the economic development of Tivland. As discussed above, the major contributions of migrant communities to development were in the growth of towns and villages such as Makurdi, Udei, Taraku, Moi-Igbo which were all located along the rail line. Other contributions included the expansion of trade in cash crops and the gradual growth of markets all over Tivland. The introduction of the modern commercial economy into Tivland had several effects and impacts on the Tiv population. Some of the Tiv populations were transformed into a consumer class dependent on imported Western European products. Through the agents of international capitalism in Tivland, the migrant traders, Tivland witnessed its gradual incorporation into the international capitalist system.

However, the early colonial period did not witness all the desired effects of the spread of migrant communities to Tivland. This is because; most of the developments that began during this early phase reached their peak during as from the mid 1940s. Indeed, the period after the Second World War witnessed major developments such as the construction of roads and spread of markets that led to the contribution of migrant communities to the economic development of Tivland.

References

- Adie, M. (2004). *Oral interview*. Igbor
- East, R. (1937). *Akiga's Story (Ed). The Tiv tribe as seen by one of its members*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Elizabeth I. (1983). *A history of the Igbo people*. London: McMillan Press International.
- Fadayomi, T.O. (1998). *Rural development and migration in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER).
- Igwe of Makurdi, (2004). *Oral Interview*
- John, A. (2010). *International labour migration pattern in West Africa*.
- Julius, A, (2004). *Oral interview*. Makurdi,
- Makar, T. (1994). *The History of Political Change among the Tiv in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd Enugu.
- Mr. Illobi, *Oral interview*.
- NAE/U.72/12 *Ogaja District Annual Report for 1911–12*.
- Prof. L. Cited in UNESCO Book: *Methodology and Africa Pre-History*.

- Ravestein, E.G. (1885). The laws of migration, *Journal of Political Economy*, 48, (2).
- SNP10/1/401P/1913: Muri Province, Munchi Division Abinsi Native District. *Assessment Report on Captain C.F. Rone*.
- SNP7113/2281: *Abinsi and its environ, Tiv division*. Benue: Province Intelligence Report on 1934 – 1935.
- Tesemchi, M. (1975), *A history of political change among the Tiv people in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Timothy, T. (2001). *The Tiv and Their Neighbours* (PLHA, Jos).
- Todaro, M.P. (1969). A model of labour migration and urban unemployment in less developed Countries, *American Economic Review*, 59, pp.138-149.
- Todaro, N. (1969). A model of labour migrations and urban development in less developed Countries. *The American Economic Review*.
- Udo, R.K. (1975). Migration and urbanization in Nigeria. In Caldwell, J.C. *Population Growth and Socio-Economic Change in West Africa*. New York; Columbia University press.
- Uji, W. (2009). *The Migrant factor in the economic history of Tivland 1900-2000*. Unpublished PhD Thesis Submitted to Department of History, University of Abuja.