

**COCOA PRODUCTION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN
IDANRE, SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA, 1900-1996**

BY

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ABSTRACT

The production and sales of cocoa were critical factors in rural development in pre-colonial Nigeria, with Idanre being one of the foremost centres of cocoa production in the country. Although literature exist on the contributions of cocoa to economic development in Southwestern Nigeria, the impact of its production on rural development in Idanre is yet to be fully explored. This study was, therefore, designed to examine the relationship between cocoa production and rural development in Idanre, especially between 1900 which captured the origin of cocoa cultivation and colonial rule and 1996 that marked a decade of the structural adjustment programme in relation to cocoa production and rural development in Idanre.

The historical method of research was used. Primary and secondary sources were used. Oral interviews were conducted with one hundred purposively selected informants for their knowledge of cocoa production in Idanre. These included 50 cocoa farmers, 20 cocoa produce merchants, 10 traditional rulers, three officials of credit institutions, two officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and 15 youths who were involved in the produce trade. Archival materials, including colonial government papers, ordinances and reports on agriculture in Idanre were obtained from the National Archives, Ibadan and the British Archives, London. Statistical data were sourced from the Federal Office of Statistics, Abuja, the National Cocoa Produce Office, Lagos, the Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria, Owena-Idanre, and farmers' unions in Idanre. Secondary data such as journals, monographs, magazines and books were consulted. Data were subjected to historical analysis.

Between 1900 and 1996, cocoa production and sales had a significant socioeconomic impact on Idanre community. It boosted general rural development through increased rural employment, which enhanced producer's wellbeing, social mobility and general rural development. Cocoa production facilitated the development of over 460 farm settlements and villages, including Odode, Alade and Atoshin, which thrived mostly on cocoa proceeds. Colonial capitalism was exploitative of the farmers and the environment. However, the narrative changed in the 1950s and 1960s as members of the Idanre community launched many self-help projects, such as the construction of 12 secondary schools, 25 primary schools, five community centres, eight major roads and 25 health centres as well as the provision of a diverse range of other social amenities. From 1970 to 1986, cocoa production in Idanre stagnated, owing to massive rural-urban migration. Following economic liberalisation and abolition of the Cocoa Marketing Board in 1986, Idanre witnessed urban-rural migration, as many indigenes and migrants returned to cocoa farming. Structural Adjustment Programme also allowed many non-cocoa producing families to invest in the cocoa business and made a fortune through which they contributed to the transformation of both their livelihoods and the community.

Cocoa production in Idanre changed the pattern of development by aiding farmers to re-establish new patterns of communal interactions and productive capacities.

Keywords: Cocoa production in Idanre, Agricultural development in Nigeria, Farm Settlements.

Word count: 467

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this research work was carried out by **Felix Oludare, AJIOLA** under my supervision in the Department of History, University of Ibadan.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Lord GODALMIGHTY, the Glory and the Lifter of my head. The God who raised me up from obscurity to limelight. To Him is Glory, Dominion and Power, forever. Amen.

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Professor Adesina provided corpus of literatures that broadened my understanding of the historical trajectory of agricultural produce trade. He played significant role in my securing an academic employment at the University of Lagos where I am presently working. I will "be forever grateful to you Sir". I am convinced that Professor Adesina is a strong intellectual who only believes in the Nigerian dream and is determined to contribute his share by critically nurturing and guiding the intellectual development of the next generations of African philosophers and leaders.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADP: Agricultural Development Programmes

ACM: African Christian Mission

AG: Action Group

ACGS: Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme ANCE - Association of Nigerian Cooperative Exporters

BSS: Basic Social Services

CAN: Cocoa Association of Nigeria

CDU: Cocoa Development Unit

CFAO: Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale

COCOBOD – The Ghana Cocoa Board

CODAPEC: Cocoa National Disease and Pest Control Committee

COPAL: The Cocoa Producers Alliance

CPC: The Cocoa Processing Company

CRIN: The Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria

CSD: The Cocoa Services Division

CSO: Colonial Secretary's Office

CUWN: Cooperative Union of Western Nigeria

DFID: Department for International Development

EEP: Economic Emergency Programme

EU: European Union

FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization

FCC: Federation of Cocoa Commerce

FBS: Federal Bureau of Statistics

FDP: First Development Plan

FFA: Free Fatty Acids

FG: Federal Government

FMG: Federal Military Government

FOB: Free on Board Price

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GNI: Gross National Income

GR: Green Revolution

GVC: Global Value Chain Analysis

ICCO: The International Cocoa Organisation

IDP: Integrated Development Programmes

IFPRI: International Food Research Policy Institute

IMF: The International Monetary Fund

IRAD: Integrated Rural Agricultural Development

LBC: License Buying Company

LBA: Local Buying Agents

LGA: Local Government Area

LRD: Land Registry Department

LIFFE: London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange

MD: Meso Model

MOA: Ministry of Agriculture

NA: Native Administration

NA: Native Authority

NAI: National Archives Ibadan

NAFPP: National Accelerated Food Production Programmes

NACB: Nigeria Agricultural and Cooperative Bank

NCMB: Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board

NEPA: Nigerian Enterprise Promotions Act

NISER: Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research

NLC: The Nigerian Legislative Council

NYM Nigerian Youth Movement

OD: Ondo Division

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries PBC – The Produce Buying Company

PPP: Poor Producer's Price

PPP: Purchasing Power Parity

RBD: River Basin Development

RDI: Rural Development Indicator

RDB: Regional Development Board

RLS: Rural Livelihood Sustainability

RBD: Royal Botanic Garden

RBP: Rural Banking Programme

SAP: Structural Adjustment Programmes

SDG: Sustainable Development Goals

SCOA: Societe Commercialede l'Ouest Africain

UAC: United African Company

UK: United Kingdom

UN United Nations

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNPF: United Nations Population Fund

US: United States

QOL: Quality of Life

WACRI: West African Cocoa Research Institute

WAPCB: West African Produce Control Board

WB: World Bank

WACCB: West African Cocoa Control Board

WAPCB: West African Produce Control Board

WHO: World Health Organization

WRG- Western Regional Government

WTO: World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The cultivation and production of several agricultural export crops affected the development of several rural communities in twentieth-century West Africa. The cultivation of Cocoa, in particular, brought profound socio-economic changes in the livelihood of farmers, and enhanced capital formation for national economies in many sub-Saharan African countries.¹ An essential question arising from this is: how did rural communities and the people benefit from the production and exchange of these important commodities?

In these countries, the performance of the commodity on the world market has had a significant effect on rural income, productivity, employment, social mobility and rural development; given that agro-commodity export produce constituted the major means of livelihood in the rural sector.² Within a broad range of development goals, rural development captures important indicators such as progress in educational attainment, poverty reduction, entrepreneurship, physical infrastructure, and social infrastructure. Globally, rural agriculture has been the most suitable index used in explaining rural development; given the historical impact agricultural production has had on human societies globally.

Cocoa, a major crop that had a great impact on West Africa, was not of African origin; nor was it an indigenous food consumed locally in any part of West Africa.³ Its production remained insignificant in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Nevertheless, it became one of the means through which Nigeria was incorporated into the capitalist economy during the colonial era.⁴ The crop was indigenous to South and Central America; where it was a major food of the Mayas and Aztecs.⁵ The Mayas perfected cocoa culture, cured, preserved and crushed the beans to make a

¹Guyer, J.I.1980. Food, Cocoa, and the Division of Labour by Sex in Two West African Societies, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol 22, No 3, p 358

²Olatunbosun, D. 1975. *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*. Ibadan: Oxford University, Press, p 125

³Jean-Pierre, C. 1997. Cocoa as Innovation: Local Contexts and Agro-ecological Conditions in the History of Cocoa Cultivation in West African Forest Lands, 1850-1950, *Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, Vol 43 pp. 122

⁴Moujama, O.G. 2013. "Nigerian Cocoa Exports and Global Capitalism, 1914-1960", Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Ibadan, p 31

⁵Amarjit, K. 1995. The Origin of Cocoa Cultivation in Malaysia, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 68, No 1, p 70

drink.⁶ In fact, until the opening of the 16th century, no mention of cocoa was traceable in the literature of any other country except the Latin American countries of Mexico and Brazil.⁷ The crop was discovered and cultivated in Mexico in the forest area along the Amazon River to Orinoco and Tabasco.⁸ Figures 1.0 and 1.1 are examples of cocoa in its raw form.



Figure 1.0: A Cocoa Tree with Ripe Pods

Source: Fieldwork in Idanre

⁶Adesina, O.C. 1994. Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, ObafemiAwolowo University, Ile Ife, p 83; See also Moujama, O.G, 2013, Nigerian Cocoa Exports and Global Capitalism, 1914-1960, p 20.

⁷Opeke, L.K. 1997. *Tropical Tree Crops*, Nigeria: Spectrum Books Ltd, p 7

⁸Opeke, L.K. 2007. Cocoa Origin and Spread, *Annual Bulletin of the Cocoa Association of Nigeria*, p 6



Figure 1.1. A Cocoa Tree with Unripe Pods

Source: Fieldwork in Idanre 17/09/2015

The Mayas were the first to make a drink from ground cocoa beans and chilli mixed with hot water. The drink, which was reserved for the elites of their society, was later introduced to the Aztecs. By the sixteenth century, the Aztecs had managed to master the use of the beans in preparing the drink which they called “chocolate” (i.e. bitter water). The Aztecs believed the brew was nourishing, energising, and had aphrodisiac effects. Montezuma II, the Aztec Emperor, drank nothing but the chocolate. History has it that about fifty (50) large jugs were prepared for him, and two thousand (2,000) jars for his court on daily basis.⁹Cocoa can be said to become the European’s favourite drinks and food diet after Hernando Cortes conquered Mexico, seized a ship in the sixteenth century and loaded cocoa beans back to

⁹Kwaku-Ofosu, A. 2011. Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the cocoa Industry in Ghana: the Case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers, p 167

Spain.¹⁰ Another source attributed its spread to Europe, was through Christopher Columbus, the first European to bring the cocoa beans to Europe, when he made his fourth voyage to the New World in 1502 and took the beans to King Ferdinand of Spain. Hernando Cortez also played impactful roles in the commercialization of cocoa and the “chocolate” drink into Europe in 1528.¹¹ The early cultivation of cocoa outside South America was in Asia in 1560, when the Spaniards introduced the crop into Celebes in Indonesia. Outside Asia, the British, French and Dutch also wanted a regular supply of cocoa beans. They therefore introduced cocoa into their respective colonies.¹²

As mentioned above, cocoa became the favourite European drinks and food diet after Hernando Cortes conquered Mexico, seized a ship in the sixteenth century and loaded cocoa beans back to Spain.¹³ The habit of consuming cocoa as drinks and beverages therefore spread intensively from Spain to Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands and later, the other parts of Europe.¹⁴ The mid-seventeenth century could be described as the watershed for the popularity of chocolate in Europe particularly England where chocolate houses sprang up as places for the purchasing and drinking of the beverage. In June 1657 in England, for instance, there was an advert relating to the drink which went as follows:

In Bishopsgate Street, in Queen’s Head Alley, at a Frenchman’s house, is an excellent West Indian drink called chocolate to be sold, where you may have it ready at anytime, at reasonable rates.¹⁵

It was, however, the exigencies of maintaining a steady supply and consumption of beverages and drinks made from cocoa that stimulated the Spaniards to introduce cocoa cultivation into Africa.¹⁶ Consequently, West Africa became a fertile ground for the cultivation of the crop. The major cocoa-producing countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Indonesia, Malaysia,

¹⁰Gustaf, A.W. 1962. *The First Cacao Trees in Ghana*, London: Longman, p19.

¹¹Kwaku-Ofosu, A. 2011. Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the Cocoa Industry in Ghana: the Case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers, p 166

¹²Ibid., 175.

¹³Gustaf, A.W. 1962. *The First Cacao Trees in Ghana*, London: Longman, p19.

¹⁴Opeke, L.K. 2007. *Cocoa Origin and Spread*, p 6

¹⁵Kwaku-Ofosu, A. 2011. Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the Cocoa Industry in Ghana: the Case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers, p 168-69

¹⁶Ibid

Greanda, Ceylon, New Guinea,¹⁷Fernando Po, Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Togo, and Sierra Leone.¹⁸

In West and Central Africa, several rural agrarian villages such as Mampong, Aburi, Koforadua, Krobo, Akropong, Akwapim, Brong, Ahafo and Asante in the Gold Coast area, now Ghana; and Beti, in Cameroun, saw a rapid expansion of cocoa farming through the efforts of members of the Basel Company in the 1830s.¹⁹ In 1841, cocoa grew in the Niger and Chadder (Benue) areas through the activities of some missionaries sent out on expedition by Lord Russell for the termination of the obnoxious slave trade. In Nigeria, cocoa production was introduced to Calabar by Henry Henshaw from Fernando Po,²⁰ in addition to the efforts of notable Africans such as Squiss Ibanigo,²¹ trading Companies and Christian missionaries that planted cocoa seeds at Bonny around 1874, at Nkissi in 1888, Asaba, Abutchi and Onitsha in 1889.²² Theobroma Cocoa was the first species of the crop introduced to these areas through Chief Ibaningo in 1874 from Fernando Po.²³ In South-western Nigeria, several places in Lagos such as Okokomaiko, Apapa, Iju and Agege also began to experience phenomenal growth of cocoa plantation by the early 1880s, attracting large numbers of labourers from the Yoruba hinterland and reorienting rural livelihood for the Yoruba.²⁴

¹⁷Rohan, T.A. 1963. Processing of Raw Cocoa for the Market, *FAO Agricultural Studies No 20 No 60*, pp 40-41

¹⁸Howes, F.N. 1946. The Early Introduction of Cocoa to West Africa, *Tropical, Agriculture, Vol 23, No 9*, pp170-171

¹⁹Cocoa also came to the region through the collective efforts of the Spaniards, the emancipated slaves, trading companies and Christian Missionaries, Research Institutes and Department of Agriculture, and through soldiers, farmers, and private individuals. Cocoa became one of the leading cash crops in the world because it is a major ingredient in the manufacturing of products like chocolate, biscuits and other confectioneries consumed daily by humankind. See Kwaku-Ofosu, A, 2011, Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the Cocoa Industry in Ghana

²⁰ Colonial Reports—Annual, No 284, 1897-1905, Digital Content Created by the University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign, 2010 p 10. See Denneth, R.E, 1919, Agricultural Progress in Nigeria, *Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol 18, 72*, p 280

²¹ See Galleti R, Baldwin K.D.S and Dina O, 1956, *Nigerian Cocoa Farmers*, Oxford University Press

²²Ayorinde, J.A. 1965. Historical Notes on the Introduction and Development of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, *Nigerian Agricultural Journal, Vol 3, No 1* p18

²³ Ibid

²⁴Berry, S.S. 1974. The Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria, *Journal of African History*, Vol 15 No 3, & 1975; Cocoa and Economic Development, *Agricultural Development in Africa*, Vol 10. See also Adesina, O.C. 2004. Modern Agriculture in Nigeria: A Historical Exegesis, *Benin Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol 4, Nos 1&2 and Webster J.B, 1963, the Bible and the Plough, *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol 11, 4*

Map 1.0: The Cocoa Producing Countries in West Africa in the Twentieth Century.



Source: Kwaku-Ofosu, A, 2011, Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the Cocoa Industry in Ghana: the Case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers, p 164

By the 1900s, much of southern Nigeria had come under the British administration; and to generate revenue and enhance cash crop development, the colonial government emphasized the cultivation of quality grade of notable cash crops such as cocoa, oil palm, cotton, palm kernel, rubber and so on to finance infrastructural development as well as ensuring food security in Europe.²⁵ Consequently, many Yoruba communities such as Kisi, Ogbomoso, Saki, Ota, Oyo, Ife, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ilesa, Ondo, Ile-Oluji, Oke Igbo, Ekiti, Akure, as well as several areas in Ijebu embraced cocoa cultivation as a new means of livelihood.²⁶ However, while much is known in the extant literature on cocoa, capital formation and socio-economic changes in rural cocoa-producing villages in many

²⁵Udo, R.K. 1980. Sixty Years of Plantation Agriculture in Southern Nigeria: 1902-1969, *Economic Geography*, Vol 41, No4, p 356.

²⁶Faluyi, E.K. 1995. A History of Agriculture in Western Nigeria: Phd Thesis Submitted to the Department of History, University of Lagos, p 144.

parts of Nigeria and West Africa, very little or nothing is known about the role cocoa production has played in the development of the Idanre community, a major cocoa production area in the Western Nigeria.

Idanre community became one of the major cocoa producing towns in colonial Southwestern Nigeria. Since the 1920s Idanre cocoa farms had contributed tremendously to socio-economic change and provided immense revenue for the British colonial administration and the independent state of Nigeria.²⁷ The area is situated between Latitude 9°8' North of the Equator and Longitude 5°8' East of the Meridian and lies within the Equatorial region of Nigeria.²⁸ Idanre covers a land area of 619 square miles, about 1,584 sq km.²⁹ It is important to note that within the expansive forest land of Idanre, the British colonial government in 1918 carved out over 280 square kilometres into what became known as the "Idanre Forest Reserve Area O. A. 5"³⁰ and ruthlessly deforested a larger portion of the same between the 1920s and 1958 for the development of cocoa farms. As a result, Idanre society hosted over four hundred and sixty (460) farm settlements and villages, including Odode, Alade and Atoshin, the major areas, mostly dependent on cocoa farming for their basic livelihood.³¹

Thus, since cocoa has been a major occupation of the Idanre people, and has contributed to Nigerian economic performance, the question is, how far did this contribute to the development of the community and its people, especially the change in the structure of the Idanre society and transformation of the people's existence? The role performed by the appropriation of agricultural surplus on community development and the socio-economic transformation of the Idanre cocoa farmers is critical to the understanding of the people's lives in a burgeoning capitalist economy. This becomes very important when it is understood that in the 1950s and 1960s, self-help projects were intensified with the construction of schools, community centres, roads, post offices, health centres and other facilities by members of different communities in Western Nigeria.

²⁷Falola, T. and Aderinto S. 2010. *Nigeria, Nationalism and Writing History*, Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press p. 63

²⁸Adefila, J.O. 2013. 'Spatial Effects of Cocoa Production on Rural Economy in Idanre-Ifedore Area, Ondo State of Nigeria, *Asian Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development*, Vol 3, No 2, p. 58.

²⁹NAI, B.V Jones, Intelligence Report on Idanre District in the Ondo Division of the Ondo Province, NP/10996/1934

³⁰NAI, Intelligence Report, Idanre Forest Reserve Area O.A 5," OndoDiv, File, No178, 1928 See also Afolabi, G.J O. 1973. Journey to Agricultural Work in Yorubaland, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 63, No 1, pp. 85-86

³¹Ibid

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The extent to which agricultural development and opportunities in cocoa farming reconfigured rural economies, reinforced socio-economic change and affected the livelihood of producers and societal development is central to the understanding of change and continuity in an agrarian economy in the developing world. Idanre becomes a good case study to connect agricultural development and livelihoods historically. Existing scholarship on cocoa farming in Nigeria has overlooked Idanre within the context of cocoa production and rural development. One of the major problems faced by rural agrarian communities in Nigeria was the diminishing quality of life of farmers, disappearing livelihood and decay, or lack of, social amenities, despite the astonishing amount of agricultural output from the areas. The growing body of literature on the relationship between rural agriculture and development and Nigeria's economic history has done very little or nothing on Idanre within the context of cocoa production and rural development.

The World Bank and Food and Agricultural Organization's (FAO) series of reports on how agriculture should affect rural existence and national economic performance,³² in line with the conventional proposition in the extant literature,³³ states that increase in agricultural production would concomitantly improve rural welfare, facilitate the provision of core social services and accentuate integrated rural development.³⁴ Therefore, to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the commodity produce trade and rural development in Nigeria, it is imperative to focus on the experiences of a rural but productive cocoa farming community. This is done within a specific historical and cultural context.

³²World Bank, 2011. Africa Development Indicators, Washington DC, Report 20433, World Bank 1993, 'Tanzania: A Poverty Profile', Washington, DC, Report no. 12298- TA; (1994), 'Adjustment in Africa: Reform, Results and the Road Ahead', New York: Oxford University Press; (1995a), 'Labor and the Growth Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa: Regional Perspectives', Washington, DC; (1995b), 'World Development Report 1995: Workers in an Integrating World', New York: Oxford University Press. See also Sen, A K 1980, *Poverty and Famines*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. And The World Bank in Rural Nigeria, A Review of the World Bank's Nigeria: *Agricultural Sector Review*, 1987.

³³The vent-for-surplus model of development holds that surplus land, labour and other unutilized resources can be used to produce export crops to supply the industries in the metropolitan cities based on 'comparative advantage' and provide foreign exchange to achieve national development. The theory also holds that the coming of the Europeans and the colonial administration created the opportunities and access to markets that indigenous producers would not otherwise have enjoyed. See Hopkin. A.G, 1973. *An Economic; History of West Africa*, London: Longman, Eicher C.K, 1991. *The Dynamics of Long Term Agricultural Development in Nigeria*, *Journal of Economics*, Vol 49.

No 5, & Sara Berry, 1975. *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*.

³⁴Fadayomi, T.O. 1988. *Rural Development and Migration in Nigeria: the Impact of the Eastern Zone of Bauchi State Agricultural Development Project*, Nigeria: NISER-Ibadan P 2.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The understanding of agrarian communities has been illuminated by different scholars in different social, political and historical contexts. In some instances, competition for inclusion among the newly rich became salient characteristics of cash-suffused agrarian communities in the developing world. The desire of many farming communities to justify and display great wealth established in several instances, a social hierarchy defined in part by consumption.

It is in the context of the foregoing that this research aims at investigating the relationship between cocoa production and rural development in Idanre, a cocoa producing community in Ondo State, Nigeria. It aims to situate research on community development in Idanre within the broader concept of rural development. It is therefore the specific objectives of this research to:

- Understand the impact of cocoa production on livelihood, consumption and status in Idanre society
- Investigate the impact of colonial and post-colonial agricultural policies on inter-group conflicts, defense of traditional values and general human development in Idanre
- Examine the effect of the cocoa economy on social structures such as family relations in Idanre community
- Analyse the gendered and generational nature of responses to cocoa production, commerce and taxation
- Highlight how individuals succeeded in constructing self-identities, needs and interests through durable patterns of social interactions.

1.4 Significance of the Study

An enquiry into the impact of cocoa production on Idanre's development is an important addition to the body of literature on rural development, agriculture and social mobility in sub-Saharan Africa. Besides adding a new perspective to the literature on rural commodity produce trade and rural development, the study contributes to extending the debate on the historical struggles over consumption and status in a rural economy.

Since economic history is concerned with changes that have taken place as a result of the dynamics and the structure of a society, an evaluation of the socio-economic development of Idanre would assist in the understanding of change and continuity in a rural society. The World Bank's reviews of rural development, labor conditions and its implication for the quality of life, growth and socioeconomic development of farmers emphasized the importance of agriculture for rural development.³⁵ Thus, investigating the transformation that has taken place in Idanre society through the instrumentality of cocoa farming is needed in the understanding of the level of change experienced in cocoa producing areas of Western Nigeria. Put differently, by examining how the multiplicity of price mechanisms and agricultural policies and politics in Nigeria aided the growth or decline in production of commodity export crops in Idanre, this study gives new insights into how the problem of rural poverty, underdevelopment, rural-urban migration and income diversification from rural agriculture to petty non-farming activities became the defining characteristics of the rural space in modern Yoruba society.

1.5 Sources and Methodology

The study adopts the historical method. Data collected through primary and secondary sources were analyzed historically. The Primary sources include oral information from individuals who have broad knowledge about the historical trajectory of cocoa production and the produce trade in Idanre. Interviews with cocoa farmers/laborers (indigenous and migrants), produce merchants, mostly between the ages of 50-80 years) in Idanre and its environs were conducted. Other respondents included traditional rulers, quarter heads, farmers' union, cooperative and credit institutions, former policy makers, scholars, as well as officials of state and federal ministries of agriculture.

Archival sources such as official and non-official records and reports derived from colonial government papers from the British Archives, Barclays Group Archives, HSBC Archives, Standard Chartered Group Archives in England, Statistical Blue Books of Nigeria and Reports of the Cocoa Marketing Board in Nigeria from the British Archives, Federal Office of Statistics, Minutes of meetings of the Cocoa Farmers' Associations, as well as other colonial documents and gazettes from the

³⁵ World Bank, 1995. Labor and growth crisis in sub Saharan Africa: regional perspective, Washington DC.

National Archives in Ibadan were used in this work. Secondary materials included journal articles, books and texts from cocoa boards, monographs, magazines, books, articles and publications of the cocoa research institute of Nigeria (CRIN) and other salient materials relevant to this field were sourced from university libraries in Nigeria. Other important documents from state and federal ministries of agriculture and the Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) and other appropriate institutions and corporate resources were used. These included materials from the Federal Bureau of Statistics and the National cocoa produce office.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study covers the period between 1900 and 1996. The starting date is designed to capture the beginning of cocoa cultivation and colonial intervention. Although the process of colonial subjugation of Idanre began in 1894, when the (Owa) Oba Towurojoye signed a treaty with Governor Thomas Gilbert Carter from Lagos,³⁶ the effective incorporation of Idanre into the colonial structure and world capitalism did not take place until 1900.³⁷ This period also coincided with the introduction of cocoa to Idanre, through the agenda of the British Royal Botanical Garden's experimentation with the specimen of trees and plants of commercial value such as cocoa, rubber, kolanut and cotton.³⁸

The British agricultural experimental scheme was also carried out in Owena-Idanre, Ala, Tejubola, Atoshin Idanre and a handful of others settlements in Idanre between 1902 and 1905.³⁹ This period profoundly marked a transformation of the pre-colonial relations of production built on a communal-reciprocal economic system, characterized by household farming and traditional trade networks into a widespread production of cocoa that aided the development of agrarian capitalism in the area. The date 1996 on the other hand marked a decade after the imposition of structural

³⁶NAI, Intelligence Report, No 8/135/1917 Certified copy of Bovel Jonnes's report on Idanre, signed in the presence of D.A Rowse (Acting: Col & Surveyor to H. Alfred Willoughby, the Assistant superintendent of L.C).

³⁷Adeyemi, M.C. 1977 *Ondo Kingdom, its History and Culture*, Ibadan: Bounty Press. p. 25

³⁸Ayorinde, J.A, 1965, Historical Notes on the Introduction and Development of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, *The Nigerian Agricultural Journal*, Vol 3, No 1, pp 17-19.

³⁹NAI, appendix No 8/135/1917 Certified copy of Bovel Jonnes's report on Idanre, signed in the presence of D.A Rowse (Acting: Col. & Surveyor to H. Alfred Willoughby, the Assistant Superintendent of Local Council; See also Ayorinde J.A, 1965, Historical Notes on the Introduction and Development of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, p.18 & Thompson H.N, 1911, The Forest of Southern Nigeria, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol 10, No38 p 123

adjustment program and other neoliberal economic policies introduced among other core objectives of achieving a sustainable rate of economic growth, revive and promote commodity produce for export and enhance a balanced development.⁴⁰

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) adopted in July 1986 was designed as a salvage effort in the face of chronic macro-economic crises.⁴¹ The increased momentum for it was the recognition of the need to tackle deep-rooted structural problems and financial imbalances and the adverse effects of low foreign exchange in a complex global economic environment.⁴² In the context of agricultural production, the policy was embraced against the glut in the world oil market, the comatose state of commodity produce trade and its concomitant effects on rural development and the Nigerian economy.⁴³

The year 1996 was a decade after the structural adjustment programme was adopted. The period was thus adopted to assess the implications of SAP on Nigeria's rural and agricultural development. Although there are at present, over (400) four hundred farm hamlets ('aago') in Idanre, the study focused on the major cocoa farming settlements in Idanre which, consist of Odode, Alade, Atoshin, Owena; the distant farm settlements such as, Abababubu, Onisherere, Ofosu, and a myriad of other *local* farm villages and quarters in Idanre. The study focused on notable areas populated by a large chunk of the indigenous and migrant cocoa farmers.

1.7 Conceptual Clarification: Rural Development

Rural development is a nebulous concept—given, also, that there are a large variety of rural development approaches and parameters used globally. Since the 1950s, the concept of rural development has undergone a drastic change,⁴⁴ because of the changes in global production, environment, migration, industrialization and increased urbanization. These have consciously changed the ontological character of

⁴⁰Olutayo, A.O. and Omobowale A.O. 2007 'Production, Processing and Marketing of export Crops for Rural Development: The Case of Cocoa in Nigeria, p 296.

⁴¹Eskyor, T. 2002. *The Economics of Structural Adjustment Programme: A Study to the Prelude to Globalisation*, Lagos: First Academic Publisher p 165

⁴²Nsouli, S.M. 1993. Structural Adjustment in sub Saharan Africa, in 'Finance and Development', Quarterly Publication of the I.M.F and World Bank, Ibadan: NISER p 20

⁴³See Bryceson, D.F. 2002. 'The Scramble in Africa: Reorienting Rural Livelihoods,' *World Development*, Vol 30 No5, & 1999 African Rural Labor Income Diversification and Livelihood Approaches: a Long term Development Perspective; *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol 29, No 80

⁴⁴Desai, A.R. 1987. Rural Development and Human Right in Independent India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 22, No 31 p1291

rural development and rural areas.⁴⁵ Rural development now means a lot of things to different people, depending on their disciplines or areas of specialization.⁴⁶ Therefore, there is a need for conceptual clarifications on rural development.

Unfortunately, there does not exist a single methodology, much less a single definition of what constitutes rural.⁴⁷ The problem is that patterns of spatial occupation are, *inter alia*, culturally and historically determined and vary among regions of the world. A natural definition of rurality is to define it by exclusion, that which is not urban. Whereas, urban is defined based on population agglomerations.⁴⁸ However, the term “rural” according to C.I. Imhabekhai, has been used to refer to a society characterized by dense population size, subsistence economy, deplorable habitation pattern, poverty situation, archaic physical features, poor infrastructure or amenities and low social control measures.⁴⁹

Generically, rural development refers to the transformation of rural society as a whole, rather than to only the economic aspects of rural life. Rural development has to do with the total transformation of the rural component of a nation’s mode of production. This entails a fundamental change not only of production technology but the social organisation of productive forces.⁵⁰ The concept also involves the restructuring of the rural economy to lift it from being a dependent, peasant and largely agricultural economy to a modern agro-industrial economy capable of sustaining the quality of life in the rural areas.⁵¹ It is the improvement in the quality of life and economic well-being of people living in relatively sparse populated areas.⁵² The concept also centers on the exploitation of land-intensive natural resources such as agriculture and forestry for the improvement in the living standard of people in a

⁴⁵Allen, M.A. 2006, *Rural Development: Back on the Agenda in the Western Pacific?* London: Annu Press, pp.165-176

⁴⁶Imhabekhai, C.I. 2009. *Management of Community Development Programmes and Projects*, Nigeria: University of Benin Press. p 11

⁴⁷Anriquez, G. & Stamoulis, K. 2007. *Rural Development and Poverty Reduction: Is agriculture still the key?* ESA Working Paper No. 07-02 www.fao.org/es/esa

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Imhabekhai, C.I. 2009. *Management of Community Development Programmes and Projects*, p 11

⁵⁰Gana, J. Mamser and Rural Development, in Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER Handbook) pp 34-35

⁵¹ Ibid., p 35

⁵²https://jstor/en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rural_development, accessed on 10/03/2017

particular society.⁵³ Within a broad range of development goals, rural development captures important indices, such as progress in educational attainment, entrepreneurship, physical infrastructure, and social infrastructure.

Globally, rural agriculture has been a most useful tool in explaining rural development; especially in terms of the changes and transformations taking place in different societies. U.M Igbozurike theorizes rural development as a normative concept which implies positive growth and change that touches on both the rural and urban sectors.⁵⁴ A moderate definition of rural development would be development that benefits rural populations; where development is understood as the *sustained* improvement of the population's standards of living or welfare.⁵⁵ The United Nations in 1971 had defined it as:

a highly structural and systematic exercise in which all components in the system of development can be understood as important and appreciated for the part which they play in synchronizing different sectoral programmes in time and over space to bring about an integrated development in which all relevant sectors such as housing, health and employment are conceived as interlinking elements in a system having horizontal and vertical linkages in operational and spatial terms.⁵⁶

The World Bank sees the concept as a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people—the rural poor.⁵⁷ Jacob Voh defined it as a process of extending the benefits of development to those whose future lies in the pursuit of a livelihood in rural areas. These rural dwellers, to him, include small-scale farmers, tenants, landless persons and women. The crux of Voh's exposition is about freeing the rural man from poverty, encouraging participation in community progress and developing self-reliance as the expression of man's faith in his abilities.⁵⁸

⁵³ Allen, M.A. 2006, *Rural Development: Back on the Agenda in the Western Pacific?* London: Annu Press, pp. 165-176

⁵⁴ Igbozurike, U.M. 1983. Rural Nigeria: Development and Quality of Life, Proceeding of Seminar on Quality of Life in Rural Nigeria, Agriculture and Rural Management Training Institute

⁵⁵ Anriquez, G. & Stamoulis, K. 2007. Rural Development and Poverty Reduction: Is agriculture still the key? ESA Working Paper No. 07-02 www.fao.org/es/esa

⁵⁶ Gana, J. Mamser and Rural Development, in Directorate for Social Mobilisation, p. 35.

⁵⁷ World Bank, 1975. cited in Sessai A.R, Rural Development and Human Rights in Independent India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 22, No 31, p 1291

⁵⁸ Voh, J. Farmers' Level of Satisfaction with Rural Infrastructure in Selected Communities in Kano State.

To Raymond Penn, rural development is the improvement of the situation of low-income families to secure agriculture—non-farm employment opportunities, high-level income stability and purchasing power.⁵⁹ Using illustrations from Botswana, P.V Rensberg explains rural development as an essential complement to modernized development---through the provision of food and raw materials, the marginal increase in rural employment, which will create demand for industrial products to stimulate economic growth. Categorically, rural development is also about sustaining rural livelihood.⁶⁰ At a community level, basic development of agriculture to high-value diversification, according to E.M. Kulp, is the central meaning of rural development. As far as he was concerned, this includes the availability of various kinds of facilities such as roads and markets and cooperative networks essential to support the state of agriculture.⁶¹ The provision of public facilities--healthcare, education, food and nutrition, good working conditions and a chance to share in the distribution of all aspects of well-being, in F.C Okafor's discourse, is the major indicator of rural development.⁶²

F.S Idachaba asserts that rural income distribution, and increasing farm productivity of the rural poor, are significant indices of rural development. Idachaba highlights the components of rural development into three categories. These include; physical infrastructure, social infrastructure and institutional infrastructure. The real evidence of rural development, according to him, are transportation facilities, rail, roads, bridges, ferry services, carnal, ports, foot path, storage facilities, processing facilities such as machinery, equipment, buildings, irrigation, flood control, water resources development facilities, soil conservation and rural roads.

Rural roads according to F.S Idachaba constitute the most important infrastructure in the structural transformation of Nigerian agriculture. This will ultimately ease the delivery of farm products, reduce transportation costs, enhance spatial agricultural production efficiency and public investment in agricultural

⁵⁹ Penn, R.J. 1957. Discussion: Status of the National Rural Development Program to Date, *Journal of Farm Economics*, pp 278-280, p 279

⁶⁰Rensberg, P.V. 1971. A New Approach to Rural Development, *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol 3, p 201

⁶¹Kulp, E.M. 1974. The Ekistics of Rural Development, *Ekistics*, Vol 38, No 224, p 74

⁶² Okafor, F.C. 1983. Social Indicators for the Measurement of the Quality of Life in Rural Nigeria: Constraints and Potentialities, in Igbozurike U,M (Ed) *Rural Nigeria: Development Quality of Life in Rural Nigeria*

production. Moreover, rural development from Idachaba's position could also be said to have occurred when there are: cooperative societies, farmers' union, community development projects made possible through rural self-help institutions, financial institutions (credit societies and institutional banks, post office, savings, banks among others).

During the 1970s, with consensus among stakeholders, mostly based on equity considerations, the focus and definition of rural development turned to the provision of social services to the rural poor. This shift was partially founded on the recognition that even under rapid growth of income in rural areas, the availability or equitable access to social services and amenities was not guaranteed.⁶³ This also prompted several scholars, notably, A Raza, A.J Adejo, A.J Okafor and J.O Oyebanji, to define rural development as the changes in quality of rural life, stable livelihood and upward social mobility. The major effects are, community town hall, electricity, housing, market, motorable roads, place of worship, postal and telecommunication services, public toilet, public transportation, recreational facilities, water supply, cooperative service center, medical and health center, police station, social welfare center, administrative institution, family planning, financial/credit institution and public library.⁶⁴

What more, rural development could also be a process of transforming the environment to improve socio-economic conditions of low-income rural dwellers through the mobilization and rational utilization of their resources and enhancing their capabilities to cope with the daily task and demands of modern life.⁶⁵ These, consequently, will improve the quality of life, the state of the environment and sustain rural livelihood.⁶⁶ According to the 1993 United Nations and World Bank Development Report, rural development encapsulates measures of per capita income and consumption, purchasing power parity, life expectancy, low crime rate, cultural values, availability of living quarters and housing and the existence of useable

⁶³Anriquez, G. &Stamoulis, K. 2007. Rural Development and Poverty Reduction: Is agriculture still the key? ESA Working Paper No. 07-02 www.fao.org/es/esa

⁶⁴See also Igbozurike, U. and Raza, A. 1983. Rural Nigeria: Development and Quality of Life, (eds) Proceedings of the Seminar on Quality of Life in Rural Nigeria, Held at the Agricultural and Rural Management Training Institute, Ilorin July 1978, ARMTI and FDRD.

⁶⁵Okafor, F.C. 1989. Measuring Rural Development in Nigeria: The Place of Social Indicators *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol 21, No 2 pp 234-35

⁶⁶Ibid

infrastructure.⁶⁷ This suggests that its measures must go beyond traditional indices of gross domestic product, capital formation and others to vital indices such as basic needs of the rural farming communities, which include potable water, housing, medical facilities and so on.⁶⁸ Rural development, according to Carney, is when people build upon their strength to realize their potential while, at the same time, acknowledging the effects of policies and institutions on rural life.⁶⁹

Given the complexity of “rural development” as depicted in the above exploration, the study employs the concept to mean improvements in the quality of life and socioeconomic well-being of cocoa producers in Idanre. It also connotes the exploitation of land-intensive natural resources such as agriculture and forestry for the improvement in the living standard of people, entrepreneurship, physical and social infrastructures. The concept is used in this study to also delineate human accumulation of material resources, consumption pattern, social status, class formation and participation in community development. Rural development is essentially used in this study to explain rural livelihood sustainability experienced in Idanre cocoa producing community.

1.8 Literature Review

The study thematically focuses on specific aspects of the cocoa economy and its interface with rural cocoa producing communities in southwestern Nigeria on one hand, and agricultural policies and rural development. Foundational works beginning from the 1950s and 1960s have engaged the contribution of the cash crop to the colonial economy and the development of capitalism and entrepreneurship in Nigeria. For example, J.A Ayorinde, Poly Hill and Sara Berry focus on the relationship between cocoa and capital formation in cocoa producing villages in Nigeria and Ghana, Ezekiel Walker, Famoriyo and P.C Lloyd examines land tenure and labor relations. Gavin Williams and Gavin Kitchen, and Gareth Austin deals with rural social structure and relations of production. While Akin Olurunfemi, O.C Adesina, Ayodeji Olukoju, H.A Oluwasanmi, E.K Faluyi and A. Ahazuen investigate the nature of agricultural exploitation in the colonial and post-colonial epochs, Deborah Bryson, F.S Idachaba, F.C Okafor and Raza concentrates on rural livelihood and

⁶⁷UNDP and World Bank, 1993. African Development Indicators, Washington DC: World Bank

⁶⁸Idachaba, F.S. 2006. *Agricultural Research, Uncertainty and Diversification*, p 107

⁶⁹ Ibid.

rural development of peasant farming areas in Nigeria. R.K Udo and P. K, Makinwa focuses on rural migration. Most recent works, for instance, Saheed Aderinto focuses on conflict and O. G Muojama deal with the international economy, yet Idanre cocoa society has been neglected.⁷⁰

The review focuses specifically on cocoa farming and socio-economic change, cocoa, gender relations, migration and development, agrarian capitalism and rural development in Western Nigeria, agricultural development programmes and rural development in Nigeria as well as works on Nigerian economic history, and inter group relations.

1.9 Cocoa Farming and Socio-economic Change in Western Nigeria

Sara Berry's scholarship is the most appropriate starting point for any serious discourse on cocoa and socio-economic transformation in southwestern Nigeria, not only because she conducted some of the earliest historical research on this subject, but also because her findings continue to have significant implications on agrarian accumulation, rural social structure and socioeconomic transformation in cocoa producing communities in Nigeria. Her corpus of studies on cocoa and socioeconomic development, like Akin Olorunfemi and J.A Ayorinde investigates indigenous initiatives in cocoa evangelization and capital formation.

⁷⁰ See Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press; Faluyi. E.K. 1996. The Role of Government in the Promotion of Agriculture, in Ogunremi G.O and Faluyi E.K (eds) *Economic History of West Africa* Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication; Olorunfemi A, 2003. Adesina, O.C, "Labour Unions and the Decolonization Process in Nigeria, 1940-1960" *Ilorin Journal of History*, Vol. 1, No 1 ;Olukoju, .A Buy British, Sell Foreign" External Trade Control Policies in Nigeria During the Second World War and Its Aftermath, 1939-50" *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, Nos. 2 & 3; Bryceson D.F, Kay C & Mooji J, 2000, Disappearing peasantries: rural labor in Africa, Asia and Latin America, *Intermediate Technology*.; 2002, The Scramble in Africa: Reorienting Rural Livelihoods, *World Development*, 30 (5) ;1999. African Rural Labor Income Diversification and Livelihood Approaches: a Long Term Development Perspective; *Review of African Political economy*, Vol 29: 80; 2004, Agrarian Vista or Vortex: African Rural Livelihood Policies, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol 31, No 102; Makinwa P.K, 1981, *Internal Migration and Rural Development in Nigeria: Lesson from Bendel State*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig) Limited ; Udo R.K, 1971, *Characteristics of Migrant Tenant Framers of Nigeria: A Geographical Study of Rural Migration in Nigeria*, London: African University Press; Aderinto S, 2013, Where is the Boundary? Cocoa Conflict, Land Tenure and Politics in Western Nigeria 1890s -1960, *Journal of Social History*, Vol 47, No 1; Adesina, O.C, 1997, The Colonial State's Wartime Emergency Regulations and the Development of the Nigerian Entrepreneurial Class, 1939-45, *Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies*, , Vol 7; Moujama O, 2011, The Evolution of Inspection and Grading of Cocoa in Nigeria, 1919-1930, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol 20; Moujama, O.G. 2013. Nigerian Cocoa Exports and Global Capitalism, 1914-1960, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History University of Ibadan.

Concerning the effect of cocoa farming on socio-economic change, Berry significantly examines the trajectory of cocoa farming and its relevance to the capital formation of cocoa producing families among the Ife, Ibadan and Ondo people of southwestern Nigeria.⁷¹In her work, entitled“Fathers Work for their Sons”, she examines carefully how farmers struggled to survive economically and influence their children, kinship and community.⁷² Berry’s focus on a particular community, (Ife) pinpoints the divergence between individual and collective rationality. For example, she shows that while individuals continue to see investment in kinship and communal relations as a rational thing, they left little impact on community development.⁷³

With a keen interest in Ife and Iree cocoa producing villages comparatively, Berry asserts, authoritatively, that the uses of agricultural surplus had economic and social implications on community development and shaped the mode of production. Under the colonial regime, the capitalist mode of production facilitated upward mobility and accumulation while exploitation was ushered in by the post-independence agricultural policies. In “Cocoa and Socio-economic Change in Western Nigeria”, Sara Berry, offers no clear support for those who predicted either rural stagnation or peasantization. In fact, she vehemently raises criticism against Neo Marxists, especially dependency theorists that misconstrued the modernization effort of the British colonial regime for exploitation in Western Nigeria.⁷⁴

Following the example of Polly Hill in making an economic study of cocoa farmers, using anthropological methods, Berry notes in her book entitled, “Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Changes in Rural Western Nigeria” that cocoa wealth or (wealth derived from cocoa) made significant social transformation of Yorubaland in

⁷¹See Berry S. 1974, the Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria, in *Journal of African History*, Vol 15 No 3& 1975, *Christianity and the Rise of Cocoa (1968); Cocoa and Economic Development*, London: Oxford University Press.

⁷²Lyold, P.C. 1975. Review of Berry .S.S. *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*,Oxford: Studies, Affairs. Vol, 2 40 pp291-92

⁷³ See Berry, S S. 1985, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. *Cocoa, Custom and Socio- Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1981, *Rural Class Formation in Rural Western Nigeria*, 1974, the Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria *Journal of African History*, 15, 3, 1975, *Christianity and the Rise of Cocoa*, 1968; *Cocoa and Economic Development*. 1970; *Migrant Farmers; Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Changes in Rural Western Nigeria*, London: Oxford University Press.

⁷⁴SeeBerry S, 1985, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press

the first half of the twentieth century possible.⁷⁵ Berry's most striking polemic in "Fathers Work for Their Sons" is founded on the analysis of the means of accumulation derived from agricultural surplus and its implication on the development of the relations of production in Western Nigeria. She sees accumulation as the optimum utilization of resources to sustain the conditions of production and logic of capital.⁷⁶ She deploys accumulation interchangeably with economic change as well as material conditions for cultural norms and mobility for class formation, differentiation and political mobilization.⁷⁷

What is more, Berry tells the story of the spread of cocoa production as a process of capital formation involving the creation of a novel rural export sector through migration, risk and investment in land. She notes that Yoruba farmers were able to accumulate capital, and were encouraged to take the risk in engaging in cocoa farming. However, investment in the cocoa business depended not only on gross receipts but on costs, notably direct labour costs given that hired labour was used from the outset of cocoa farming and forgone opportunities.⁷⁸

The capital formation, according to Berry, occurred due to the ability of the Yorubas to take complex risks in commercial agriculture, in addition to the colonial policy framework and application of the vent-for-surplus theory.⁷⁹ She argues firmly that the vent-for-surplus theory is broadly correct concerning land surplus, but incorrect in assuming that labour was underutilized and could be mobilized without risk or cost. Berry further argues that cocoa farmers in Nigeria are capitalists in their dealings with land and with the market, but not in their relations with labour. She therefore, notes that economic inequality has not been associated with a clear-cut discussion of rural society into self-perpetuating socio-economic classes.⁸⁰ However, her data only comes from the cocoa- growing areas such as Ondo, Ife and Ibadan cocoa farms.⁸¹

⁷⁵Lyold P.C, 1975, Review of Berry .S.S. *Cocoa, custom and socio-economic change in rural western Nigeria*Oxford: Studies, Affairs. Vol, 2 40 pp 291

⁷⁶See Berry, S. 1985.*Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community.*

⁷⁷Ibid

⁷⁸Hopkins, A.G.1977. Review of Sara Berry, Cocoa Farmers in Nigeria,*The Journal of African History*, Vol. 18, No. 3, p 465

⁷⁹Ibid., p 465

⁸⁰Berry, S.S. *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*, p. 27

⁸¹Ibid., p. 28.

By emphasizing the conditions of employment of the labor force in line with other forces of production, Berry contrarily to the position of Dupe Olatunbosun, Onimode, S.O Osoba, J. Ihonvbere and Toyin Falola, Berry established that the consolidation of the state power over the means of accumulation in agriculture has not led to the social and economic disparity between the 'neglected rural majority and privileged elites.'⁸² From the viewpoint of the development of indigenous and foreign capitalist class, the commercialization of agriculture in Berry's eyes contributed to developing a diversified agricultural production pattern, based on a national division of labor.⁸³ She pictures a world in cocoa producing Yoruba land space where labor was not costless, surpluses not vented for instant consumption. Rural cocoa farmers according to Berry operated a myriad of commercial enterprise and catered for families and kinship in the pre-harvest period. Due to the scarcity of land, labor and capital for agricultural production rural farmers engaged in non-agrarian and socially allowed reciprocity to sustain livelihood.⁸⁴

Comparatively, Berry delineates that conditions of accumulation in other agrarian areas, in other regions in subSaharan Africa for instance, favored the reproduction of small-scale entrepreneurs working contrary to the development of labor productivity, but in Western Nigeria accumulation culminated in the advancement of patronage relations and small enterprises that allowed for large army of labor cultivating cocoa on a subsistent level.⁸⁵ Cocoa cultivation in western Nigeria according to Berry created employment opportunities and removed traditional authority's control over the assets and loyalty of their subordinates.⁸⁶ Although colonial authorities capitalized on the communal structure of the Yorubas, to introduce agrarian capitalism, this did

⁸² For argument against colonial capitalism, See Dupe Olatunbosun, 1975, *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, London: Longman,; Olatunbosun D, 1978, *The Role of Commodity Marketing Boards in Agricultural Development*, Ibadan: NISER,; Olatunbosun D. 1972. *Export Crop in Nigeria's Economic Development*, Ibadan: NISER, Olatunbosun D. 1969, *Agricultural Investment Strategy in Nigeria*, Ibadan: NISER; Osoba S.O. 1987. 'The Transition to Neo-colonialism'; Osoba S.O. 2000. *Corruption in Nigeria: Historical Perspectives*, Review of African Political Economy, Vol, ToyinFalola (Ed) Britain and Nigeria: Exploitative or Development, London: Zed Books Ltd; Ihonvbere J and ToyinFalola, 1987, "Colonialism and Exploitation", ToyinFalola (ed) Britain and Nigeria:

Exploitative or Development, London: Zed Books Ltd

⁸³ See Berry S, 1985, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press,

⁸⁴ William J, 1976, Review of Sara Berry, Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Western Nigeria, *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol 14, No4

⁸⁵ Berry S, 1985, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community* p 11

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp 11-12

not destroy the established social structure of the Yoruba people. It rather protected indigenous culture to engender capital formation without class struggle and differentiation.⁸⁷

Contrary to her position in her book entitled, *Father's Work for their Sons*, Berry in two other studies *Cocoa, Custom and Socio Economic Change in Rural in Western Nigeria* and *Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria*, posits that the expansion of cocoa farming was accompanied by the development of agrarian capitalism, analysed in terms of expropriation and commercialization of land and labour.⁸⁸ Land accumulation in the former according to Berry has produced marked inequalities in the size of cocoa holdings but has not led to conflict between landlords and tenants or to a class formation. Against the position of several Neo-Marxist experts on rural agriculture, the commercialization in Berry's opinion created neither a peasantry nor an obvious gap in rural structure, instead allowed farmers, their household and descendants to maximise inherent opportunities in the regional and national economy.⁸⁹

The main reasons for the relative classlessness of Yoruba rural society were the availability of land, which limits the exploitative power of land-holders, and the ability of wage earners to use their relative scarcity to secure reasonable terms from their employers.⁹⁰ Berry's floundering position on whether colonial capitalism affected rural existence in Yorubaland is also revealed in her assertion in her popular article "Debating Land Question in Africa", in which she contends that colonial land policy created strong competition over land accumulation; causing farmers to struggle hard to eke a living, let alone catering for kinship or contributing to community development.

Another weakness of Berry's verdict above is that, Idanre did not participate in the Yoruba civil war of the nineteenth century. It is, therefore, most likely that cocoa cultivation developed exclusively in Idanre based on colonial experimentation with the vent-for-surplus theory.⁹¹ She concluded unconvincingly that the advent and consolidation of cocoa cultivation were propelled by the ingenuity of wealthy Yoruba

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria...p.28

⁸⁹ See Berry S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*

⁹⁰ Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria...p.28 p 28

⁹¹ NAI, appendix No 21/35/1930, Ward price's Report on Colonial Land Use in Ondo Province. P 7

farmers in the deployment of the means of production in purely capitalist venture.⁹² Also, Berry generalized through the ethnographic survey she conducted in Abikini and Abulekeji within Ife area that women's access to the necessary relations of production as well as opportunities for independent accumulation were circumscribed by their husband's fortune.⁹³ This was not a typical and objective reflection of the position of Idanre women in relation to the deployment of available resources such as land and capital in the cocoa industry.

Also, the subjective notion of 'capital formation' in Berry works is obvious in her oversight of the gross real cost incurred by cocoa farmers in the form of extra efforts and sacrifices of traditional leisurely life for surplus exports---and also the various social costs not considered in the pressure of taxation, colonial rapacious land use acts, unfavorable ordinances and erratic inflow of immigrant labour and farmers creating difficult social and political problems for the indigenous people----as in the case of Idanre, in the maximization of the means of production available to them. Berry does not deal with cocoa marketing, as this is a large subject requiring separate study. She is also constrained, presumably by her data, to deal briefly with farm management, cocoa processing and the distribution of tasks within farming units.⁹⁴

From the foregoing, Berry completely overlooked the story of Idanre. Not only did she sketch Idanre out from her focus, but her understanding of development does not capture important issues such as quality of life, sustainable rural livelihood and basic social services of rural cocoa producing areas she explored. Most of Berry's allusion does not correspond with the pre-colonial and colonial social structure, either in terms of relations of production (land acquisition) and historical experiences that shaped the appropriation of economic surplus on community development in Idanre. For instance contrary to Berry's allusion that the internal structure of the Yoruba economy around the turn of the twentieth century does not seem to have been greatly affected by the formal imposition of British rule,⁹⁵ colonial ruthless monopolization of the means of production, especially land in Idanre dramatically transformed social

⁹²Berry S.S. 1974. The Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria pp 83-95

⁹³See Berry S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*. p 28

⁹⁴Hopkins, A.G.1977. Review of Sara Berry, *Cocoa Farmers in Nigeria*, p 465

⁹⁵See Berry S.S. 1975. *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

relations as children of farmers disengaged from house hold production of basic food and other social knitted economic activities that characterized pre-colonial agriculture. This precipitated individualism as opposed to the law of reciprocity that tied the people together in the pre-colonial period.

Contrary to Berry's argument that capitalist penetration did not obliterate established principles of solidarity, communal living and differentiation, the establishment of the colonial state and institutionalization of agrarian capitalism had far-reaching implications for the organization of agricultural production and indigenous mobilization of household's surplus for community development in Idanre.⁹⁶

Notwithstanding, Berry's works reviewed above are of great importance to this study, not only because she extensively traced the history of cocoa production in western Nigeria and its impact on the selected areas she focused on, her studies provides a wider lens in understanding the history of cocoa cultivation in Nigeria.

Another category of works on cocoa in South western Nigeria is E.A Walker's collection. Walker's interesting body of works investigates the travail of cocoa farmers in western Nigeria between the early period of cocoa boom in Western Nigeria until the declining era in the 1970s and 1980s. He however replicated Berry's generalization. He amplified the changes in social relations among cocoa farmers/laborers, factors of production as well as the oscillating growth and decline of cocoa business, also in Ondo, Ibadan, Ijebu and Ife cocoa producing areas.⁹⁷

To identify the problems associated with cocoa in southwestern Nigeria, Walker highlighted three main problems. First, was the inadvertent Nigerian Civil War.⁹⁸ E. A Walker's second point, as regards the declining rural livelihoods in cocoa producing areas of southwestern Nigeria, was the oil boom that halted Nigeria's economy in the mid-1970s. Walker connected the rapid exodus of peasant farmers/

⁹⁶Clarke. J. 1981. Households and the Political Economy of Small-Scale Cash Crop Production in South-Western Nigeria, *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 51, No. 4

⁹⁷See Ezekiel, A. W. 2000. *The Changing Pattern of Labor Relations in the Cocoa Farming Belt of Southern-Western Nigeria 1950s-1990s*, *Journal of African Economic History*, 8,28,1999, Structural Change: the Oil Boom and the Cocoa Economy of South Western Nigeria, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38,1, 2000, "Happy days are here Again" Cocoa Farmers, Middlemen Traders and Structural Adjustment Programme in SouthWestern Nigeria 1986-1990s, *African Today*, Vol 2.

⁹⁸ Ezekiel A. W, 2000 *The Changing Pattern of Labor Relations in the Cocoa Farming Belt of Southern-Western Nigeria 1950s-1990s...*125-127

laborers from the rural cocoa areas into urban areas, to the new opportunities created by industrial jobs as well as the increasing tertiary education.⁹⁹

His third factor is in line with Deborah Bryceson, who attributes deagrarianisation to the negative effect of the neo-liberal policies. Ezekiel argues that the economic downturn accentuated by a slide fall in the oil prices in the 1980s severely affected the commodity producers in Nigeria.¹⁰⁰ Like Bryceson, he copiously asserts that, the removal of subsidies from basic farmer's inputs, deregulation of trade and abolishing commodity boards, caused a sharp increase in labor wages and caused many aged cocoa farmers who were not able to cope with the cost of farms maintenance to the emerging agrarian capitalist class. Some farmers according to him, entered into sharecropping arrangements with their previous laborers.¹⁰¹

This factor, according to Ezekiel Ayodele and Bryceson, led to deagrarianization, as many poor cocoa producing households quitted from their farms.¹⁰² However, Ezekiel Walker like Sara Berry did not examine in specifics, the pattern and nature of cocoa production in different Yoruba cocoa producing communities of Western Nigeria apart from Ondo and Ife.

The "Nigeria Cocoa Industry and the International Economy in The 1930s: A World-Systems Approach" by O.G Moujama is the most recent study on cocoa produce trade in Nigeria. Moujama in this work describes how events in Europe and America dovetailed to the developing world and shaped the socio-political and economic lives of peasant farmers. He uses the Nigerian cocoa commodity export trade to identify the intersection between the Global Great Depression and the third world economies during the 1930s and to demonstrate how the colonial states in Africa were affected and particularly integrated into the orbit of global capitalism.¹⁰³ Moujama deployed the concept "International economy", "global economy" and

⁹⁹ Ezekiel A. W, 2000 *The Changing Pattern of Labor Relations in the Cocoa Farming Belt of Southern-Western Nigeria*.

¹⁰⁰ Ezekiel, A. W. 2000. *The Changing Pattern of Labor Relations in the Cocoa Farming Belt of Southern-Western*, Bryceson D.F, 1999. African rural labour, income diversification and livelihood approaches: a long term perspective...

¹⁰¹ Ezekiel A. W, 2000 *The Changing Pattern of Labor Relations in the Cocoa Farming Belt of Southern-Western*

¹⁰² Ezekiel A. W, 2000 *The Changing Pattern of Labor Relations in the Cocoa Farming Belt of Southern-Western*

¹⁰³ Moujama, O. *The Nigerian Cocoa Industry and the International Economy in the 1930s: A World System Approach*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp 20-25

“world economy” interchangeably to show the relatively free flow of capital in hey days of cocoa planting in Nigeria in the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁰⁴ However, Moujama did not examine specifically, the socio-economic experiences of cocoa farming community and how the Great Depression affected livelihoods, consumption patterns, status and community development.

Moujama, however, deviated from its investigative focus, which is cocoa and the international Economy during the period of the Great Depression. In several ways, Moujama delves into several issues which distract the readers and makes it hard to grasp the major thesis of the book. Although Moujama explored extensive use of archival sources, there is little connection between the concepts of global, international and world economy he deployed with the dynamics and experiences of cocoa producers in the different cocoa farms of southwestern Nigeria. The reality is that societies and people could share similar socio-economic characteristics including mode of production, culture and natural endowments, but historical experiences that underlie the appropriation of the economic surplus of several rural farming communities differed. He uses economic decline, economic crises, recession and economic depression interchangeably. Moujama did not realize that, when a country’s economy declines within the space of one year, it is conventionally described as an economic recession. When it is stagnant, it is referred to as economic immobilism or economic stagnation. When a country’s economy falls for a prolonged period (more than a year) it is called depression and further fall in the economy could be described as an economic crisis. Moujama’s work, however, gives a general survey of the implications of global macroeconomics on Nigerian cocoa farmers without situating his data within a specific social formation.

1.10 Cocoa, Gender Relations, Migration and Development

Jane Guyer deals with the cultural and historical development of the division of labor by sex in two patrilineal societies----notably Yourbaland and Beti cocoa farming communities in Cameroon. Guyer compares the degree to which gender relations shaped accumulation and the socioeconomic development among men and

¹⁰⁴Moujama, O. *The Nigerian Cocoa Industry and the International Economy in the 1930s: A World System Approach*, pp 23-25

women in the cocoa producing areas he explored.¹⁰⁵ Using an ethnographical approach to identify the ratio of men's to women's work over time, their relative values, their adaptation to resources and economic opportunities in cocoa cultivation, show that the degree to which women experienced upward social mobility in Yorubaland was greater than Beti community. Guyer notes that cocoa was predominantly men's occupation in both Beti and Nigeria. Women chiefly functioned as petty farmers and assisted their husbands in planting and harvesting the crop. He argues that sexual division of labor operated under a strong cultural system of male and female differences, despite that the earth divinity (Onile) and the custodian of the Yoruba farm "OrisaOko" is a woman.¹⁰⁶

In the Yoruba and Beti cocoa production system, women, according to Guyer, played significant roles; however, they hardly owned cocoa farms. This economic exclusion, he attributes to the tedious labor for cocoa planting coupled with the nature of land tenure system in Africa. He posited that the growth of cocoa farms in Nigeria and Beti was due to a high level of male involvement. For instance, Yoruba men on average spent 82 per cent of their working time in the farm---Betimen forty percent while women in the two areas hardly constitute five percent. This in Beti resulted to food insecurity and over-dependence on their husbands for their day-to-day upkeep.¹⁰⁷ Jane Guyer argues that women's inability to gain access to essential means of production aided unevenness in social relations among men and women. Women's opportunities to earn their living directly from agriculture were circumscribed by cultural beliefs and required human time and labor needed for cocoa growing.¹⁰⁸

In the same way, Stephen Ekpenyon, and Akinola's studies focus on migration and the social character of production in Western Nigeria and Cameroun differently. Stephen Ekpenyon discusses the consequences of migration on Ikpe cocoa farming community in Cameroun between 1977 and 1980.¹⁰⁹ Before the advent of colonialism, socio-economic development and intergroup relations in the Ikpe community were accompanied by the introduction of cocoa cultivation to the area in

¹⁰⁵ Guyer, J.I, 1980, Food, Cocoa, and the Division of Labour by Sex in Two West African Societies, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol 22, No 3,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

¹⁰⁹ Ekpenyon. S. 1984. Ikpe Migrant Cocoa Farmers of South-Western Cameroon, Africa: *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 54, No. 1

the early twentieth century. Since the 1980s, however, the area has witnessed a large exodus of cocoa farmers due to border disputes in the region. This, according to Ekpenyon, led to population decline in the cocoa producing community.¹¹⁰ Consequently, there was a sharp reduction in the acreage cultivated. He noted that land consolidation in Ikpe villages, compared to the communities in south-eastern Nigeria, could not be sustained.¹¹¹

Stephen Ekpenyon asserts that the emigration of women and children to Nigeria changed the traditional social structure and affected development in the Ikpe community. Absence of male migrants on the cocoa farms Ikpe affected social organization. Similarly, Ofosu Asare investigates the impact of the “meso model” on Ghana’s cocoa sector in general, and the practices and opportunities for smallholder cocoa farmers in connection to Ghana’s efforts to embrace globalization. He noted that Ghana stood up to the IMF and the World Bank by refusing to dismantle its cocoa marketing board (COCOBOD) under the Washington Consensus. Rather, adopted a “Meso Model” of partial liberalisation of the cocoa sector after skillful negotiations, despite the impressive performance of Ghana’s cocoa industry.¹¹²

He further showed that the output of cocoa farmers in general was a function of the prices paid to them, in addition to the overall environment created for production. Secondly, the “Meso Model” Ghana adopted contravened the Washington Consensus because it improved cocoa output and producers’ income. Ghana’s cocoa export and foreign revenue increased during the period. Third, the use of mobile phones by cocoa farmers contributed to the reduction in their transport costs and transformed their mode of operations.¹¹³

Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen, Ester Boserup’s “Accumulation, Reproduction and Women’s Role in Economic Development” is a comparative study of developing countries and their problems. The focus is on gender and division of labour.¹¹⁴ Their studies show, that despite the existence of stereotyped sex roles, there are significant

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Asare, .K.O. 2011. Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the Cocoa Industry in Ghana: the case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers. PhD Thesis awarded by the University of Westminster.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen, 1971. Accumulation, Reproduction, and Women’s Role in Economic Development” Boserup (Ed), *Development and The Sexual Division of Labour.*, London: University of Chicago Press, pp 279-298

differences in women's work across countries and regions. They criticized the dubious generalization that attributes the provision of food to men and stated that women catered for their families in many areas. Her comparative analysis was particularly illuminating for Africa and Asia where she emphasized the fundamental role women played in African agriculture in contrast to their lesser role in Asian countries and in Latin America as well.¹¹⁵

Like Boserup, La Ray Denzer in "Yoruba women: A Historical Study" also examines the role of women and the significant place occupied by Yoruba women in the precolonial organization, religion, family life and the economy. The article stresses that Yoruba women played significant roles within their families and communities. They occupied important positions in the local and state economy. Women established long-distance trade networks, participating in the social, economic, and political development of their societies. In establishing a long-distant trade network, marriage became the basis for women's ability to translate social power into economic and political power.¹¹⁶ The roles of wives at the family and community levels, political and economic relations were examined. The Yoruba family system did not confine women strictly to domestic cores but gave them opportunities to be influential at the family and community levels.¹¹⁷

Chima korieh's work "The Invisible Farmer: Women, Gender and Colonial Policy in Igboland" also show that the situation of women as regards the roles they played in agriculture, trade and market is similar to the Yoruba people. This indicates, that the role of women in the Nigerian economy cannot be overemphasized despite that they face so many challenges. In Nigeria, as elsewhere in Africa, colonial officers discriminated between men and women and made men the primary target of local development policy. Chima focuses on the gendered nature of colonial agricultural policy and its impact on gender relations. Specifically, it considers how colonial policies and the neglect of women farmers in particular, adversely affected agricultural development in Eastern Nigeria.

Chima asserts that the gendered nature of colonial policies is inseparably linked to the changes witnessed in the colonial agricultural system. Whereas the British authorities did not adopt any official policy that discriminated against women, the patriarchal

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Boserup E. 1998. Women's Role in Economic Development., London: George Allen Publishers

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

nature of colonial enterprise meant that they excluded women from education and extension schemes aimed at improving agricultural production.¹¹⁸

O. S. Omadjohwoefe's "Gender Role Differentiation and Social Mobility of Women in Nigeria", examines gender roles differentiation and its effect on the trend and pattern of social development of women in Nigeria. He establishes that, although biological categorization of humans is vital, in reality, the cultural construction of role defined what role males and females play in society. The roles played by males were valued and rewarded than those played by females. The division of roles along gender lines, according to him, placed women in a disadvantaged position, especially, in terms of power, prestige and wealth. He argues that gender role differentiation negatively restricted the chances of women, and affected their mobility pattern.¹¹⁹

Ataman Aksoy and J.C. Beghin's "Global Agriculture, Trade and Developing countries" examines agriculture, trade policy and the developing world's production and trade patterns. It examines the key questions for global agricultural policies, both the impact of current trade regimes and the implications of reforms. And also complements the recent works on agricultural trade that focus primarily on the agricultural issues within the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations.¹²⁰ While these works provide deep historical insight into the social and gendered nature of agricultural activities and developments in the colonial and postcolonial eras, nothing is known about the role played by certain agricultural commodities for example "cocoa cultivation" on rural development and social relations. This is the gap the present study fills in extant scholarship on rural development.

1.11 Agrarian Capitalism and Rural Development in South Western Nigeria

Williams Gavin, Gavin Kiching, Olayemi J.K, Olatunbosun Dupe, Olutayo Akinpelu, Fadayomi T.O et al, sociologically adopt the "mode of production" to discuss the agrarian accumulation and rural social structure in rural cash crop

¹¹⁸Korieh, C. 2001. The Invisible Farmers: Women, Gender and Colonial Policy in Igbo Region of Nigeria, 1913-1954, *African Economic History* Vol 29, pp 117-162.

¹¹⁹Omadjohwoefe, O.. 2011. Gender Role Differentiation and Social Mobility of Women in Nigeria, Nigeria. *Journal of Social science*, Vol 27 No1 pp67-74

¹²⁰Aksoy, M.A.&.Beghin, J.C. 2005. (eds)Global Agriculture, Trade and Developing, Washington DC: World Bank.

producing societies in Nigeria.¹²¹ They examine the means through which African commodity production was integrated into the world economy.¹²² Olutayo Akinpelu examined the origin of underdevelopment and why it persists as one of the features of rural poverty in Nigeria.¹²³

According to him, capitalism was based on the historical separation of workers from the means of production which allowed capitalists to exploit the peasant through an unequal relationship of voluntary wage employment.¹²⁴ He argues that the European's colonial 'imposition of certificates of subordination' on indigenous people hindered the possibility of achieving a sustainable development. This, according to Olutayo, led to intense "ruralisation" of the economy of southwestern Nigeria.¹²⁵ He contends that capitalists' accumulation from rural agriculture in South-western Nigeria was through the exploitation of small-scale farmers.¹²⁶ Akinpelu, clearly shows how agrarian capitalism was weaved through colonial protectionist policies and negatively affected peasant farmers in major cash crop producing towns of southwestern Nigeria. However, he omitted Idanre from his narratives.

Gavin William, for instance, in "Why there is no Agrarian Capitalism in Nigeria", "State and society in Nigeria", "Taking Parts of Peasants: Rural Development in Nigeria and Tanzania" "Social stratification of a Neo-colonial economy: Western Nigeria", "The World Bank in Rural Nigeria", and "Marketing without and with Marketing Boards: The Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria" discusses the impact of agrarian capitalism on rural farmers in Nigeria.

¹²¹Williams, G. 1988. Why there is no Agrarian Capitalism in Nigeria?, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol 1, No 4, 1980, State and Society in Nigeria, Idanre: Afrografika publishers, 1975, Taking parts of peasant: rural development in Nigeria and Tanzania, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol 2, 1981, The World Bank and the Peasant Problem, in Heyer, J. et al. (eds.), *Rural Development in Tropical Africa*, London, Macmillan. Geografisca

¹²²See Gavin, K. 1980. Class and Economic Change in Kenya: the Making of an African Petite Bourgeoisies, New Haven: Yale University, Press... see also Cooper F, 1980, *Capitalism, Class, and African Colonial Agriculture: The Mating of Marxism and Empiricism, in Class and Economic Change in Kenya*; New Haven, CT, Yale, University Press.

¹²³Olutayo, A.O. 1991. The Development of Underdevelopment: Rural Economy of Colonial Western Nigeria, A PhD Thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan. Pp. 1-3.

¹²⁴Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 6

¹²⁵Olutayo, A.O. 1991. The Development of Underdevelopment: Rural Economy of Colonial Western Nigeria. p. 3.

¹²⁶Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 7

William's work entitled "Why there is no agrarian capitalism in Nigeria", identifies various ways in which the peasantry in Nigeria has been tuned to capitalist frequency.¹²⁷ He explains how agrarian capitalism began in human history, tracing it to Europe. Gavin shows how capitalism locally and globally shaped rural economies through government's systemic initiatives designed to subordinate peasant producers for exploitative reasons.¹²⁸ He identifies the roots of the capitalist system of production and the consequences of the colonial government's policies on plantation agriculture and the peasantry in Nigeria.¹²⁹

In 'Why there is no agrarian capitalism', Gavin Williams attempts to understand if the state, through agricultural policies, was able to transform peasant production for capitalist exploitation.¹³⁰ His central thesis in this study is that the capitalists, in Nigeria, as opposed to Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana and elsewhere, only wanted to profit from agriculture without necessarily undermining commodity trade and agricultural production. And that the development of capitalist production in agriculture in Nigeria, could, in no way, culminate in the displacement, or marginalization of peasant producers, even though state support in many cases provided niches for the development of capitalist farming.¹³¹ Furthermore, he notes that Nigeria's agriculture has never been transformed along capitalist lines due to the inability of the state and capital to undermine, exploit and subordinate peasant producers to their dictates.

Williams notes, contrary to his findings in previous works, that the development of capitalist farming in rural agrarian societies in Nigeria was to eliminate peasant productive activities upon which Nigeria's commodity produce trade and capital formation rested.¹³² Nevertheless, Gavin Williams highlighted three significant points. Firstly, he notes that for any meaningful rural development to occur, peasant's production must transcend the subsistence production. This essentially requires unparalleled state (government)'s intervention in rural agriculture

¹²⁷Williams, G.1988.Why there is no agrarian capitalism in Nigeria?...pp 340-342

¹²⁸Ibid. P345

¹²⁹Ibid. P 345.

¹³⁰Ibid 380-387

¹³¹Ibid 34.5

¹³²See Williams, G. 1980.*State and Society in Nigeria*, Idanre: Afrografika Publishers. Seealso William G, 1976, Taking Parts of Peasants: Rural Development in Nigeria and Tanzania, *Journal of Political Economy of Africa*, p 67.

and providing affordable land to peasant farmers to enhance their productive capacities.¹³³

This is indeed consistent with F.S Idachaba's submission that the subsistent nature of peasant production, among other factors, impedes peasant's improved livelihood. It also hinders the possibility of inclusive development. He, however, notes that as long as rural producers practice agriculture mainly on a subsistence basis, their profit margin and purchasing power parity to compete for goods and services, a better quality of life as well as basic social services will remain elusive as producers would lack basic parity to gain access to other social amenities in comparison with their counterparts in the urban settlements.¹³⁴ Therefore, Williams, like Idachaba suggests that state intervention in rural agriculture is germane to achieve rapid agricultural growth and meaningful rural development.¹³⁵

Unlike Kichen Gavin, in "Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of African Petite-Bourgeoisies" Fredrick Cooper "From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Costal Kenya" and Gareth Austin, "Labor, Land and Capital in Ghana; From Slavery to Free Labor in Ashanti" that differently argues within a neo-Marxist purview that capitalist agriculture will undermine the rural productive capacity to accumulate. Williams posits that capitalists cannot gain control of peasants or convert unfree labor into a pad of free wage labor in Nigeria's rural enclave.

Gavin's argument here corroborates the position of other Marxist scholars who assert that industrial progress and the emergence of a proletariat at the center of policy and institutions of any human society is the only way to true development. In other words, capitalism is conversely incapable of engendering sustainable development. He argues that, without a state-directed development program, social-economic transformation and improvement in the standard of living of people in the rural agrarian societies would be a mirage.¹³⁶ Therefore, Gavin concludes that state

¹³³Ibid. P 119

¹³⁴Idachaba, F.S. 2000. Tropical issues in Nigerian agriculture: desirable and workable agricultural policies for Nigeria in the first Decade of the 21th century, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, See also International Cocoa Association "How Many Smallholders are there Worldwide Producing Cocoa? What Proportion is produced by Smallholders?" Online: <http://www.ico.org/question/smallholders.htm>, date accessed July 7 2012.

¹³⁵ See Idachaba, F.S. 2000. "Tropical Issues in Nigerian Agriculture: Desirable and Workable Agricultural Policies for Nigeria in the first Decade of the 21th century" p 28.

¹³⁶See Andre G. F, 1966. *The Development of Underdevelopment in Robert I Rhodes Imperialism and Underdevelopment*, New York: Monthly Review Press; Anthony Brewer. 1990. *Marxist theories of*

intervention in agricultural policy is inevitable. The missing point in “Why there is no agrarian capitalism”, however, is that Williams did not consider the socio-economic effect of government’s capitalist policies on peasant’s livelihood sustainability, quality of life, particularly whether the state will proportionately use economic surplus accrued from rural agriculture to providing basic social services for the rural agrarian people. This was the position of S.L Lennihan in “The Origin and Development of Agricultural Wage Labour in Northern Nigeria.” He contends that as commodity production matures through the capitalist mode of production, a combination of capitalist initiative and economies of scale will enable bourgeois farmers to expand holdings and dispossess peasant farmers.¹³⁷

Besides, Deborah Bryceson also argues that while colonial capitalism and post-colonial government’s adaptation to the capitalist system of production were vital for fostering agricultural production, such system was fundamentally instrumental to undermining integrated rural development by altering peasant’s access to essential means of production such as land, labor, capital and exacting exorbitant taxation on peasants producers, which consequently had a detrimental impact on rural livelihoods and community development.¹³⁸

Although Gavin notes that the capitalist solely depends on the state machinery to monopolize and bypass small-scale farmers in the production process.¹³⁹ He, however, noted that virtually in most agrarian societies, capitalist tends to monopolize and dictate the structure of rural peasant commodity production; either directly, by recruiting peasant as mere wage labor, or indirectly, by dominating the means and

Imperialism; a critical survey 2nd edition: London Routledge and Kegan Paul; Bryceson, D.F, 2002. The Scramble in Africa: reorienting rural livelihoods,” World Development, 30 (5); Bukharin. N, 1980, Imperialism and World Economy: London, Martin Lawrence Ltd Nigeria.; Garvin K, 1980 Class and Economic Change in Kenya: the Making of an African Petite- Bourgeoisies, New Haven: Yale University, Press.; Cooper F, 1980, Capitalism, class, and African colonial Agriculture: the Mating of Marxism and Empiricism, in Class and Economic Change in Kenya; New Haven, CT , Yale University Press

¹³⁷The World Development Report in 2008 sees the future of the rural societies in the third world countries in a state of chronic poverty and underdevelopment, thereby shifting people out of the rural “ghettos” to urban areas; this will however mirrored in line with Nigeria national policy which aims at enabling large scale capitalist fund in an enclave nature to boost agricultural productivity; howbeit allocating factors of production to private firms while ignoring the peasantry. See also Lennihan L, 1983, The Origin and Development of Agricultural Wage Labour In Northern Nigeria. In Leo C, (eds) *Land and Class in Kenya*, Canada: Toronto University Press

¹³⁸Bryceson, D. 2002. The Scramble in Africa: reorienting rural livelihoods. p 53

¹³⁹See Williams, G. 1976. Taking the Part of Rural Peasants: Rural Development in Nigeria and Tanzania

mode of production.¹⁴⁰ The central point of William's study in "Why there is no agrarian capitalism in Nigeria" is that state intervention in rural agriculture is important for rural development.

He posits that agrarian change in terms of improved agricultural production and rural development in Nigeria is impossible without the state fostering agrarian capitalism.¹⁴¹ The relevance of Gavin Williams's work while very stimulating and profound is limited for two main reasons. First, his work is more theoretical than being practical on the prevalent historical realities; as he does not draw copiously from the example of any society. Moreover, he discusses societies generally based on his Marxist leaning.¹⁴² In other words, While Gavin's study is very germane for this present study due to the sociological approach it adopted to unravel the dynamics of agriculture and rural development, even though he did not examine the historical effect of agrarian capitalism on 'inclusive development' measured by the quality of life, sustainable rural livelihood and basic social services of any specific social formations, which is the thrust of this research.

1.12 Agricultural Development Programmes and Rural Development in Nigeria

There is a strong relationship between national economic performance and government framework for agriculture and rural development. In this regard, F.Sidachaba, H.Oluwasanmi, J.A Binns, J.M Cohen, L.A Brown, D.C Funnell, N.A Mujumdar, Mosher, Ruttan, Livingstone, Cohen, Bel-shaw, D.F Bryceson, F.C Okafor, U.M Igbozurike, R. Raza, S. Lerner, J.O Oyebanji, and Omololu's studies illuminate the discussion on the nexus between government's programs for the rural people and livelihoods of farmers in Nigeria. Entitled, "Good Intentions Are Not Enough", F.S Idachaba focuses on the factors which led to the creation of the Agricultural Development Project (ADP) and its impact on small-scale farmers and rural infrastructure.

He enumerates several factors that led to the failure of these programmes. This includes; increase in the demand for food, urban migration and bureaucratic issues at

¹⁴⁰William, G. 1988, Why there is no agrarian capitalism in Nigeria?... 346.

¹⁴¹ William, G. 1988. Why there is no agrarian capitalism in Nigeria?... 372.

¹⁴²Adesina O.C.1994. Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970, p 12

the ministries of agriculture.¹⁴³ These problems, according to Idachaba, brought about the introduction of Agricultural Development Programmes, such as; the extension schemes in Funtua, Gusau and Gombe in 1975; Lafia, Bida, Ilorin and Ekiti-Akoko in 1978/79 and schemes in Bauchi, Kano, Sokoto and Kaduna between 1981 and 1984. Idachaba argues against the conventional theories which favor large-scale farming over the small scale farming.¹⁴⁴ He notes that the pre-colonial and colonial agriculture was based on small scale.¹⁴⁵

In ‘‘Building Institutional Capacity for Agricultural Research in sub-Saharan Africa’’, Idachaba states that the Agricultural Development Programmes and Integrated Development Programmes of the 1980s and 1990s only emphasized new the adoption of fertilizers and modern farming techniques for increase crop output, without palpable result.¹⁴⁶ Like Gavin William, Idachaba further stresses the need for adequate funding and provision of rural infrastructure to boost domestic food security as well as for production and exports of notable cash crops such as cocoa, groundnut, palm, oil, palm kernel and rubber.¹⁴⁷

Idachaba argues that, although the Integrated Development Programmes had a palpable effect on food consumption, the vast majority of the rural farmers in Oyo areas had limited access to modern inputs, in addition to the problem of poor amenities, such as electricity, and good roads which also fueled rural-urban migration from many villages. Moreover, in a section devoted to the impact of the green revolution and agricultural development, Idachaba critiqued President Shehu Shagari’s scheme. He contends that the program failed due to a lack of coordination and proper supervision and lack of continuity in monitoring rural agricultural outputs.¹⁴⁸

On rural development, J.A Binns, J.M Cohen, L.A Brown, D.C Funnell, N.A Mujumdar, Mosher, Ruttan, Livingstone, Cohen, Bel-shaw evaluated individual initiatives, communal, states and non-states schemes and projects in rural agrarian

¹⁴³Idachaba, F.S. 2006.*Good Intentions are not Enough: Agricultural Research, Uncertainty and Diversification*, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, pp70 -78

¹⁴⁴Idachaba, F.S.*The Agricultural Economist as Preacher: Essay in Policy Advocacy on Rural Development and Nigerian Agriculture*, Vol 2, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, pp 2-16

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p 9

¹⁴⁶Idachaba, FS, *Building Institutional Capacity for Agricultural Research in sub-Saharan Africa*, p 52

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p 53

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

areas and also examine the concept itself, particularly using basic social needs and per capita income of farmers as major development indicators.¹⁴⁹ These other scholars, like D.F Bryceson, F.C Okafor, U.M Igbozurike, R. Raza, S. Lerner, J.O Oyebanji, Omololu and others conceptualize rural development in the case of Nigeria's agrarian region to encapsulate the physical quality of life of rural farmers, sustainable livelihood, nutritional status, population structure and social mobility, availability of social services and infrastructure, provision of basic social services, creation of an institutional framework for urbanization, agricultural development project (ADP) and other socioeconomic indices.¹⁵⁰

These works are very relevant to this study in that they provide a basic explanation of diverse agricultural policies and government responses and initiatives for the rural small-scale farmers generally in Nigeria. These works are also useful, given that they conceptually provide suitable indices of rural development such as quality of life, rural livelihood sustainability and basic social services for this study.

From the above review, it has been established that, although Idanre farmers are a critical segment of cocoa farming in Nigeria, very little or nothing is known about Idanre cocoa farms, despite the wealth of literature on primary commodity produce and rural development. Economic historians and anthropologists have paid limited attention to Idanre cocoa industry; perhaps, because it is not as big as other Yoruba towns and cities, and did not play significant role in colonial and postcolonial politics like Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ife, Oyo, and Ondo, among other Yoruba towns.

1.13 Rural Livelihood and Economic Development

Deborah Fahy Bryceson's corpus of literature on rural livelihood and economic development constitutes the major body of literature under this category.

¹⁴⁹Belshaw, D. G. 1977. Rural Development Planning: Concepts and Techniques. *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 28(3): 279-292. Binns, J. A.. 1977. Integrated Agricultural Development: A Case Study from Sierra Leone. *Discussion Papers in Geography* No. 6, Brown, L. A., 1981, Innovation Diffusion. London, Methuen. Cohen, J. M., 1979. The Administration of Integrated Rural Development Projects, Discussion Paper No. 79, Harvard Institute of International Development. 1980: Integrated Rural Development: Clearing out the underbrush. *Sociologia Ruralis*. 20(3): 195-212, Livingstone, I, 1979: On the Concept of 'Integrated Rural Development Planning' in Less Developed Countries. *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 30(1): 49-53.

¹⁵⁰See Bryceson, D.F 2002, The Scramble in Africa: Reorienting Rural Livelihoods, *World Development*, 30 (5), 1999. African rural labour income diversification and livelihood approaches: a long term development perspective, *Review of African Political economy*, 29,80, Okafor F.C 1985, Measuring Rural Development in Nigeria: the place of Social Indicators, *Journal of Research*, 16:1.

Like Sara Berry, Bryceson's scholarship is also very significant for a better understanding of the plight of rural agricultural producers under a capitalist production system. Bryceson's study, "African Rural Labor, Income Diversification and Livelihood Approach: A Long Term Development Perspective, discusses the impact of neoliberal policies on the African farmers. She carefully discussed African farmer's entry into the cash crop economy, wage labor system and the process of "rurbanization" (development) through food production and other agricultural activities. Bryceson investigates the changing pattern of livelihood of low-income farmers.¹⁵¹

Her studies show that rural-urban migration resulted from rural income diversification from agriculture to nonagricultural activities in Northern Nigeria.¹⁵² She argues that the implementation of SAP and economic liberalization throughout subSaharan Africa had debilitating effects on rural development.¹⁵³ She explains how the implementation of SAP and economic liberalization negatively impacted rural livelihood and social improvement of rural households---creating migration, as well as affecting gross domestic product of countries in Sub Saharan Africa that previously depended on rural agriculture.¹⁵⁴

With illustrations from farm villages in the East African region, Deborah Bryceson examines how the colonial labor wage system affected rural livelihood and development beginning from the 1920s. She notes that the colonial productive system was the basis of rampant migration for wage labor that characterized the rural economy in East Africa.¹⁵⁵ She however notes that it took the ingenuity of post-colonial governments in Tanganyika to enforce a statutory minimum wage in 1957, an initiative that helped to reduce urban migration and provided net livelihood possibilities for farmers. This was due to low-cost fertilizers and pan territorial producers' reduction of staple food, which enabled peasant farmers to earn a

¹⁵¹Bryceson, D.F. 1999. African Rural Labour, Income Diversification and Livelihood Approaches: a Long Term Perspective, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol 26, No81

¹⁵² David, L. 1982. Capitalism and Hegemony: Yorubaland and the International Economy, pp 174-175

¹⁵³ Ibid. 175

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Bryceson, D.F. 1999. African rural labour, income diversification and livelihood approaches: a long term perspective Pp. 175. See also Meillassoux C 1981, *Maidens, meal, and money*, New York: Cambridge University Press and Wolpe H, 1972. *Capitalism and cheap labour power, economy and society*,

relatively comparable wage with their counterparts in the urban areas.¹⁵⁶ The crux of Bryceson's polemic is that the relative that which rural people enjoyed in Tanganyika shortly after independence was eroded during the period of SAP. Bryceson for example noted that:

SAP and economic liberalization policies resulted in a plethora of changes in rural productive and marketing infrastructure that often increased rather than reduce uncertainty. Many rural farmers experienced a sharp decline in their gross earnings, while removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs, especially fertilizers, made the production of several peasant crops unviable. Meanwhile, cutback in public funding, i.e. hospital, schools and other social services as well as consumer inflation led to increased needs for cash.¹⁵⁷

Bryceson's take on capital formation in the four cash crop and food-producing areas in Tanganyika, namely Mbeya, Ngonga, Kyimo and Iringa is related to Gareth Austin, Federick Cooper and Gavin Kitchen's dialectics on the nature of land tenure systems.¹⁵⁸ She delineates that capitalist agriculture shaped the labor supply distinctly from what was practiced in other parts of Africa.¹⁵⁹ Her work shows that unlike in many pre-colonial societies where individuals were entitled to whatever family or community land available for cultivation, land acquisition in Mbeya, Ngonga and Kyimo were inherited only by first sons within the family. Bryceson emphasizes that the traditional land tenure system had little or no consideration for peasants, youths, or migrant farmers. This left the peasant and youths without censure and support, except in Kyimo village where the elders showed considerable censure to youths interested in farming.

1.14 Nigerian Economic History, and Inter-group Relations

¹⁵⁶Bryceson, D.F. 1999. African rural labour, income diversification and livelihood approaches: a long term perspective 177. See also Bryceson Household, hoe and the nation: development policies of the Nyerere era, in M Hodd, Ed, *Tanzania after Nyerere*, London: Cambridge University Press

¹⁵⁷Bryceson D.F. 1999. African rural labour, income diversification and livelihood approaches: a long term perspective

¹⁵⁸See Gareth, A. 2005. Labor, Land and Capital in Ghana; From Slavery to Free Labor in Ashanti 1807-1956, Garvin, K. 1980. Class and Economic Development in Kenya: the Making of an African Petite- Bourgeoisies and Fredrick, C. 1980. From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya

¹⁵⁹Bryceson. D.F. 1999. African rural labour, income diversification and livelihood approaches: a long term perspective

Adam Smith's work, "An Enquiry into the Wealth of Nations", which came in four series created a new understanding of what economics should be. The work was a critic of the mercantile economic system. Adam Smith extensively discusses the economic system as it relates to human nature and social dynamics. He discusses the development of the idea of division of labour and its effect on economic development and wealth creation in society. Smith looks at the evolution of societies from the era of hunting and gathering through the era of agriculture to the period of international commerce. According to him, the measure of the wealth of anatomies, stream of goods and services created by the nations made him invent the idea of the gross domestic product which is now central to modern economies. In conclusion, he posits that wealth is created by increasing the productive capacity, expansion of markets, and increase of trade activities. This work is relevant to my research as it borders on the economic history of nations and how the economy grew.

In "Fundamentals of Economic History" by Ayodeji Olukoju et al (ed), the authors define the discipline and how it relates to other disciplines.⁵ They also discuss in detail what the traditional economy is, and the factors that led to its growth and development. The book also highlights the integration of the world economy, industrialization and the emergence of advanced capitalist economies; and regional integration. The issues raised in this book lie at the core of economic history and straddle cognate disciplines. This author makes a case for the nurturing of economic history as an important sub discipline.⁶

Elizabeth Isichei's, "A History of the Igbo People" is notably the most detailed work on the History of Igbo people. In this work, the author narrates the origin of Igbo nation, the middle years of Igbo history, the crises that characterized the middle years of the Igbo people, the trans-Atlantic slave trade as regards the Igbo people, the political and economic change. Isichei discusses how the Igbo people who were slaves abroad during the era of the slave trade were educated. The author also discusses the series of warfare in Igbo land in the nineteenth century, how the wars were fought, and the social and economic changes it brought to Igbo land. It investigates also how the Igbo resisted colonial conquest and reaction to the colonial government's policies. She also discusses the growth of Christianity in Igbo land, education and the growth of social differentiation and the end and effect of colonization on Igbo people. The material has helped to understand the various economic changes that were experienced by the Igbo, at different times.

The work “Nigerian Peoples and Culture”, by Akinjide Osuntokun and Ayodeji Olukoju (eds.), is a collective effort to satisfy a need arising from the paucity of information on a university-wide course on Nigerian peoples and culture.⁷ The writers of the first chapter survey the totality of Nigerian ethnic medley, the ethnic groups and their geographical locations across the country. In the following chapters, the writers discuss the pattern of the history of growth, change and development of Nigerian cultures, the linkage between political culture, urbanization and current environmental problems. In chapter four, the writers discuss the inter-group relation among the Nigerian people. The adjoining chapters, however, discuss how many of our cultures have disappeared and the effect of western religion on Nigerian cultures. There are emphases on the role of the state as regards development while adjoining chapters discuss the effect of imperialism on the Nigerian economy and women including the nationalistic contributions on Nigerian developments and the task of nation-building. In general, this work provides an insight into various aspects of the cultures of Nigerian peoples over the past millennium, analysing this dynamic subject and where necessary, suggest the way forward.⁸

The “History of Nigeria” edited by Toyin Falola et al, touches on all the most important themes on Nigerian history, and incorporates the major findings of new researchers conducted in the last three decades. It also examines the history of centralized and non-centralized communities as it affects the peoples living in the said communities, the indigenous economy, group relations as well as contacts with the west. The works examine Nigeria in the nineteenth century. It also discusses the important changes of the period such as the Jihad, military warfare, missionary activities, new commercial developments and British conquest. Also discussed are the impacts of these changes on the different states and peoples involved. The work is all about the colonial and post-independent periods. It covers the impact of colonial rule, the process of decolonization, the first and second republics, the military and how Nigeria related with other nations. The three volumes of the work are great assets to the present study

“A Survey of the Igbo Nation” by G. E. K. Ofomata presents an account of the various aspects of the history, geography, social and economic life of the Igbos. The work identifies the transformations in the way of life of a people who, while retaining the essential elements in their tradition made progress in their social and economic life. This literature is highly useful. G. T. Basden’s “Among the Ibos of

Nigeria’’ is an account of the Igbo nation with a special focus on its physical features, climatic conditions, wild, economic and traditional practices including sports and pasture.

In the first chapter, the author talks about the historical, cultural ethnographical and ideological background and the basis of Igbo origin, expansion and enterprises as well as the places of Ofo and Ikenga in Igbo world view. The author also looks into some Igbo theories such as theories of creation, authority, Niger Benue confluence and their theory of Jewish origin. He also discusses the concept and meaning of Nri as well as the Igala factor in Nri origin which can be seen in the Nri myths, legends, tradition of Origin, the Omambala River Valley settlements of Aguleri and the Eri factor in Igboukwu history. He discusses in detail, the importance of Yam, Palm trees and their significance in Igbo land and to Igbo people.

According to him, the palm trees are indigenous to the Igbo country. He posits that every part of the palm tree can be used in one way or the other for economic purposes hence the tree is highly valued by the Igbo people. Notwithstanding, the author also discusses other aspects of Igbo society such as war, weapons, trade currency and religion. “Topics in Igbo Economic History”, Obi Iwuagwu in his introductory pages tries to bring to limelight the economic life of the Igbo people. According to him, the economic life of a people is not unconnected with the population of the people, the climatic condition of the area, the kind of labour practiced, the types of plants and animals domesticated. The author elaborates on the three forms of economic activities of the Igbo in the 20th century namely: agriculture, manufacture and trade. The environment, the labour system and the existence of domestic animals coupled with the discovery of natural resources such as coal in Enugu were instrumental to the development of the city of Enugu in the 20th century. He concludes by positing that population, farm and domestic animals and the civil war that ravaged the land between 1967 and 1970 shaped the economic history of the Igbo people in the 20th century.

“Between Tradition and Change: Sociopolitical and Economic Transformation Among the Igbo of Nigeria”, by Apollos O. Nwanwa and EbereOnwudiwe (eds) is a detailed compilation of essays on the socio-economic and political history of the Igbo of Eastern Nigeria. It covers the political economy, civil society, religion and politics, traditional politics, crime and punishment, literature and politics, cosmology, and women in politics. The work also provides an insight into

state formation processes, transformation in societies, norms and political economy since the period of encounter with the West. This includes the impact of Christianity and colonialism on Igbo communal cohesion and traditional norms. The author reveals the importance of understanding the character and trajectory of the transformations that have occurred and how the Igbo responded to these transformations in national, regional and international contexts.

In “The Role of Women in the Economy of Igboland: Historical Perspectives”, Chimee N. Ihediwua throws a big light on the role that women played in the economic development of Igboland in the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and post-civil war periods. Igbo women were known in the pre-colonial period for their support and contributions of the Igbo economy especially from the domestic angle in which they excelled. Ihediwua also posits that Igbo women were not left out in the economic development of Igboland during the colonial period hence they also participated actively in the palm oil trade which was central in the economy of Igboland and accounted for over 85 percent of family income.

He posits that women were in charge of processing and extraction of both the oil and other allied byproducts of the tree. Again, during the Nigerian civil war, Igbo women exhibited an uncommon feat through their doggedness and resilience. They traded and sustained the markets regardless of the numerous air raids by the enemy; and with this, they averted the total collapse of the war economy. He provides an opportunity to assess the changing role of women in relation to different historical epochs and structural changes in the efforts to compliment the efforts of men in driving the economy of Igboland. The work also shows the challenges of women in their effort to contribute to the development of the economy of Igboland, and how those challenges were managed.

An important point to understand in this paper is that ordinarily, the men would not have been able to stabilize the domestic economy all alone. The contributions of women through trade, agriculture, art, craft, and production of various goods such as salt, soap and oil. The author notes that they earned income with which they used to assist the men at home. The author asserts, that the roles of women in the various economic ventures like the co-operative and thrift societies were useful in the economic improvement of the society.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 IDANRE PEOPLE AND SOCIETY UP TO 1900

2.1 Introduction

Idanre was one of the major towns in the Ondo Province of colonial Nigeria. Idanre occupies the mountainous landmass in the present-day Ondo state in Nigeria.¹⁶⁰ It is located about twenty kilometres south of Akure, the Ondo State capital. It was formerly categorized under Idanre/Ifedore Local Government area, with its headquarters at Owena.¹⁶¹ The hills which surround Idanre housed the people for about a millennium before the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the people moved down to settle in the present plain.

¹⁶⁰Odamo, S.F. 1991.*Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills*, Ibadan: Samnice Press. p 6

¹⁶¹Akintan, S.A. 2014.*History of Idanre 'Ufeke': From Beginning Up till Earliest Times*, Ibadan: John Archers. pp 3-4.

Idanre is an amalgam of over (400) four hundred farm hamlets, with Odode, Atoshin and Alade-Idanre, existing within the present Idanre Local Government area, at Owena Idanre. *Ufeke* (Ifeoke), later known as Idanre in the pre-colonial epoch was made up of the hilltop, Oke Idanre and Aweba, an ancient settlement. While *Ufeke* (OkeIdanre) is located on a very high plain, about 444 (four hundred and forty-four metres above sea level, Aweba was at the foot of the hill.¹⁶²At the apex of the hills, nature is benevolent: balmy weather, clear sunless azure sky, and a quasi-Jurassic jungle. Oke Idanre flora is a matrix of tropical rainforest and savannah biomes.¹⁶³

2.2 Geography and the Environment

Idanre lies between Akure and Ondo towns to the south-southwest and east-east north respectively. Alade which is the last town to Idanre is three kilometers from Odode; Idanre's metropolis. Two different roads lead to Idanre from Ondo and Akure through Alade.¹⁶⁴They are within a distance of thirty four and twenty two kilometers to the town.¹⁶⁵ The latitude of Idanre is 90⁰8, while its longitude is 5⁰5 of the equator and Greenwich meridian. Its eastern neighbors are the Binis via Ofosu River which services a boundary between Ondo and Edo States. To its west is Ondo with demarcations at Owena River. To its south are indigenes of Siluko which lay within Delta and Edo States respectively, and Ikale, also of Ondo State. Akure is, however, Idanre's neighbor to the north.¹⁶⁶

The land area of Idanre is approximately 619 square miles (1,584.6 square kilometers). From Onishere to Akure, Idanre's boundary is about forty-two miles (67.2 kilometers). Its boundary with Owena measures thirty-seven miles about 59.2 kilometers from Owena to Ala.¹⁶⁷ Idanre boundary with the Ikale's is about forty-six miles (76.6 kilometers) close to Benin-Lagos Express Road after Ofosu River beyond Onishere.

Idanre Local Government in Ondo State became an autonomous Government on September 23, 1991, when it was carved out of the defunct Idanre/Ifedore Local Government of Ondo State.¹⁶⁸The town lies within the Equatorial region of Nigeria in

¹⁶² Akintan, S.A. 2014.*History of Idanre 'Ufeke': From Beginning Up till Earliest Times*, p 5

¹⁶³ Air Space News, A Publication of the Nigerian Airspace Management Agency (NAMA), Vol.15, No 63, 2017, p 21

¹⁶⁴ National Archive Ibadan (NAI) D.N Adeniyi and A.I Akinjogbin File 975/230/ 57 "Oral Tradition Collected for Yoruba Scheme Project" (September, 1957)

¹⁶⁵ Adeyemi, M.C. 1993.*Ondo Kingdom: Its History and Culture*, Ibadan: Bounty Press, p 10.

¹⁶⁶ Odamo, S.F. 1991. *Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hill*, p 3

¹⁶⁷ Olofin, O. 2001.*Idanre from then till now*, Ondo: Vox Africana Press, pp. 1-2.

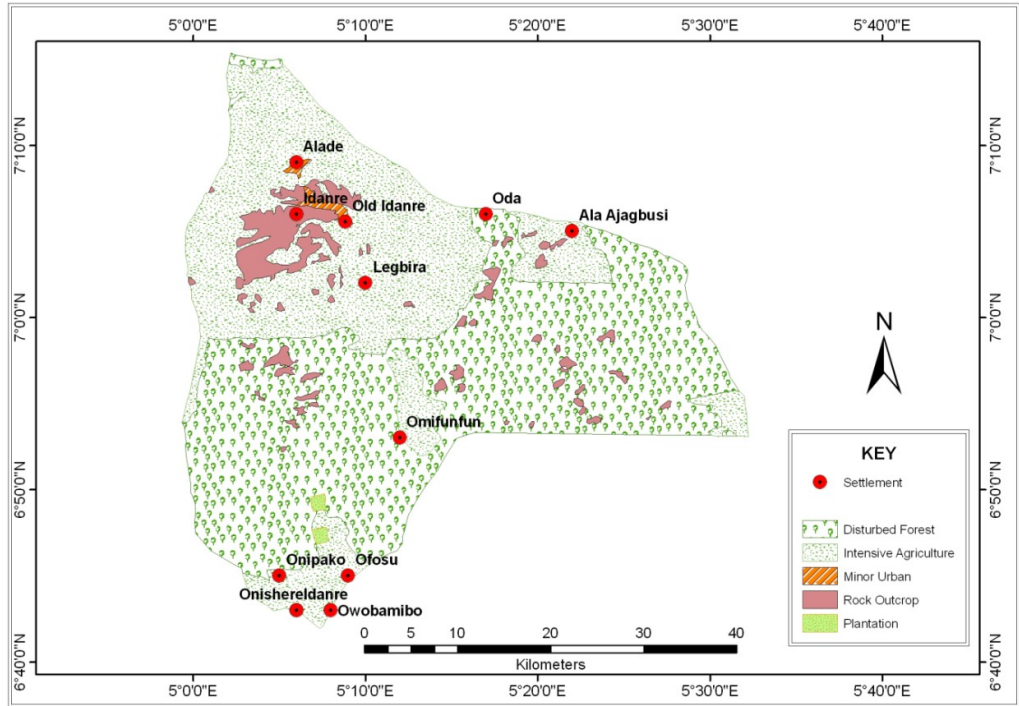
¹⁶⁸ Ministry of Commerce and Industry "Ondo State Investment Guide", *Ondo State Government Magazine*, July 31, 2009 p 21

West Africa. Approximately, the area is situated between Latitude 9°8' North of the Equator and Longitude 5°8' east of the Meridian. It covers a land area of 619 square miles, about 1,584.6 square kilometres. The maps below capture its landmass, cocoa plantation, Forest Reserve and farm villages and other settlements:

The landscape of the study area as described by J.O. Adefila is characterized by lowlands, undulating grounds and rugged hills with granitic rock outcrops in many places. The land rises from the coastal area to the rugged hills in the north. These are the Idanre Hill upon which a tourist centre was built. It is not uncommon to find a chain of high and shining selbergs in Odode and Opositorun in Idanre.¹⁶⁹

Map 2.0: Idanre Environment and Agricultural Landmass

¹⁶⁹Adefila, O. 2013. Spatial Effect of Cocoa Production on Rural Economy of Idanre-Ifedore Local Government Area, Ondo State Nigeria, *Asian Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development*, p 69



Source: GIS and Remote Sensing, Department of Geography, University of Lagos, 2016

Idanre town and villages throughout the year experienced high temperatures. In fact, like in other tropical regions, Idanre experiences its double rainfall peak periods in July and August. The annual rainfall is estimated at 70 inches, though with slight variation from year to year.¹⁷⁰ A thick cloud envelops the town during the harmattan period or dry season. The humidity is more pronounced in the ancient town elevated by surrounding hills up to about 4,200 feet above sea level. This phenomenon reaches climax at the peak of Orosun Hill. For most of August and December, this spot becomes almost invisible as haze perpetually engulfs the hills.¹⁷¹

Nonetheless, between January and July, the temperature averages 78⁰F and 83⁰F respectively. Cool breeze reigns within this period. Thus, humidity which is always high in January could rise to 80 per cent in July. This peculiar equatorial climate facilitates cocoa cultivation and explains the town's reputation as one of the main centers of cocoa production in Nigeria.¹⁷² Also, the nature of the soil equally places the town in this vantage position in agriculture. The soil, as shown in the above GIS map, is a product of chemical weathering of the granite rocks adorning the town. The sand which contained elements of

¹⁷⁰ Akintan, S.A. 2014. *A History of IdanreUfeke from Earliest Times*, p. 1

¹⁷¹ Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, Ojomu of Idanreland 90 Years, 5/09/12

¹⁷² Ibid

salt mixed with clay soil to form dark brown color, was fertile for agricultural activities, especially cocoa farming.¹⁷³

What is more, the town has a lot of tall trees. The trees in Idanre's forest covers were categorized into three parts. The first was usually the areas covered with tall trees. These areas were noted for their wide array of trees distinctly positioned, at about 150 feet forming a quasi-canopy.¹⁷⁴ They are mostly visible between Benin and Ore Road,¹⁷⁵ while the other common species of trees in Idanre are of the families of Mahogany, Iroko, Opepe, and series of hardwood, fruit trees and epiphytes. The trees in this group are of the same variety as other dense forests in the area.¹⁷⁶

Idanre also has a lot of rocks and granites. The ancient town Ufe Oke or Oke Idanre yielded about eighty percent of its landmark to rocks, while about six per cent of a new town Odo-Ode Idanre, is at the mercy of gigantic phenomenal rocks.¹⁷⁷ Femi Odamo has described Idanre town as the "creation of a brilliant artist wearing houses, shrines, and memorabilia while rocks scramble for position".¹⁷⁸ On the mega space available, it seems the settlement was deliberately positioned on the hill. However, it is almost impossible to see the entire ancient Idanre at a glance; because rocks cluster around and demarcate the town from itself many times over.¹⁷⁹

2.3 Idanre Community in the Pre-colonial Period

Oke Idanre in the pre-colonial period was made up of old and dilapidated mud houses roofed in rust-brown iron sheets, a well-laid-out street, magistrate court, Oba's palace and market square at Odeja village. In Oke Idanre there is the Arun River which the people believed had supernatural power to heal all kinds of ailments and diseases. There is also the Agboogun footprint, an attractive spectre of a mystical shoeprint which could fit into the size of anyone who put their foot except that of people with witchcraft spirit.¹⁸⁰ From the bottom of the hill at Ododo to Oke-Idanre,

¹⁷³Odamo, S.F. 1991.*Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hill* p.7

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Chief Orosundafosi, Cocoa Merchant, 71 Years, 22/ 10/13

¹⁷⁵ Akintan, S.A. 2014*A History of Idanre Ufeke from Earliest Times*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷⁶ Cocoa Cultivation in Western Nigeria,) *Quarterly Bulletin of Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN)*, 1991 p 6

¹⁷⁷ Akinde, O.C. 2010.*Idanre Heritage*, Akure: Vox Africana Press, p 12.

¹⁷⁸ National Archive Ibadan (NAI), File 001/ OND1ST912/ 2876 Intelligent Report on Governor Gilbert Carter's visit to Idanre, by Williams Bright.

¹⁷⁹ Ogunboye, W.O. 1999.*Cocoa Production and Marketing in Idanre Local Government Area of Ondo State, in the era of Structural Adjustment programme*, Unpublished M.A Dissertation Department of History University of Ibadan, p. 7.

¹⁸⁰Ibid

tourists would climb about 667 (six hundred and sixty-seven) stairs. The present-day Idanre main town ‘Odode’ is situated just at the bottom of spectacular hills, portraying the ancient kingdom like a walled city and a creation of a brilliant artist.¹⁸¹ Ufeke now referred to as Oke-Idanre was the major Idanre town until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The hilltop has been transformed into a major tourist centre in Ondo State.¹⁸²

The Idanre people cherished their culture and history and this never ceased to draw tourists to the diverse historical sites in the town. Idanreland consists of many towns and villages of which the most prominent are Odode Idanre, Alade Idanre, Atoshin Idanre, Owena Idanre, Onisere Idanre, Opasorun Idanre, Ala, Elefonsan Idanre, Aponmu Lona Idanre Aiyetoro Idanre, Ajegunle Idanre among many others. Odode the mother town, is currently the largest settlement of the Idanre people.¹⁸³ This is where the modern Oba’s palace is situated. The town is blessed with a large forest cover. However, intense deforestation under colonial rule has reduced the forest size and has compressed the town into several farm villages/settlements, apart from Odode, Alade and Atoshin Idanre.

The ancient town Ufeke or OkeIdanre yielded about eighty percent of its land areas to a wide expanse of land, suitable for farming while sixty per cent of a new town, Odo-Ode Idanre is at the mercy of gigantic boulders queuing like huge hippopotami burrowing through the forest.¹⁸⁴ The ancient town is however one of the major pre-colonial African societies. It is endowed with rocky eminences such as the many curved rocks of about 2000-3000 feet and most of sugarloaf configuration. The ecology and climatic nature of ancient Idanre significantly boosted the agricultural activities of the people in the pre-colonial period.¹⁸⁵ These predominantly agrarian inhabitants were endowed with large acres of land of about 1,584 square kilometers, out of which less than 20 percent was inhabited. Farming, lumbering, hunting,

¹⁸¹National Archive Ibadan (NAI), Bovel Jonnes, “Appendix No 8/135/137, Certified Copy of Report on Idanre for D.A Rowse (Acting: Col & Surveyor to H. Alfred Willoughby, the Assistant Superintendent of L.C’’, (April, 1937)

¹⁸² An interview with his royal highness, Oba Olusegun Ayodele Akinbola Agunloye I (The Aladekun of Alade-Idanre, at his royal place) January 10, 2012

¹⁸³Akinyeye, O. A. 1999. ‘‘Iden Festival: Historical Reconstruction from Ceremonial Reenactment’’ in Toyin Falola and Ann Genova (eds) *Orisa; Yoruba gods and Spiritual Identity*, Trenton: New Jersey: Africa Press,, p 88.

¹⁸⁴Odamo, F, S. 1991. *Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills*, 1991, Ibadan: Samnice Press p 10

¹⁸⁵Akin Obalisi ‘Idanre Features’’ *Daily Times News Paper* 26 August, 1991, p 5

craftworks and several trade activities were the major means of livelihood of the people in the pre-colonial era.¹⁸⁶

The town is situated in the present Ondo State in southwest Nigeria. Ondo State was created from the defunct Western State on February 3, 1976. Before its creation, the state existed as the Ondo Province of the old Western State and was one of the major points of cocoa production in South-west Nigeria.¹⁸⁷ Geomorphologically, Ondo State is generally composed of low lands and rugged hills with granite out-crop in several places. The land rises from the coastal part of Ilaje/Ese-Odo areas in the south to the rugged hills in the northern portion of the state. Notable among the hills are the Idanre Hills among the numerous rivers include Oni, Owena, Oluwa, Ala, Ofara, Ofosu, Ose, Ominla, Ero, Ala and Ogbese, in addition to the creeks and lagoons Ilaje and Ese-Odo areas. These waters empty to the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁸⁸

With Akure serving as the State capital of Ondo State, there are about sixteen Local Government Areas in the state. The majority of these areas which were cocoa-producing communities are Akoko, North, Akoko South, Idanre, Owo, Ilaje/EseOdo, and Ifesowapo. Agriculture has been the mainstay of the Ondo State economy.¹⁸⁹ It employs over seventy per cent of the active labor force. Ondo state is a large producer of cocoa, cashew, cassava, rice, yams, plantain, kola nuts, palm produce, coffee, rubber and timber. Since the 1940s, Ondo State has been the largest producer of cocoa in Nigeria, with Idanre being the major producer.¹⁹⁰ Map 2.1 shows Idanre among other cocoa producing towns in the colonial Ondo Province.

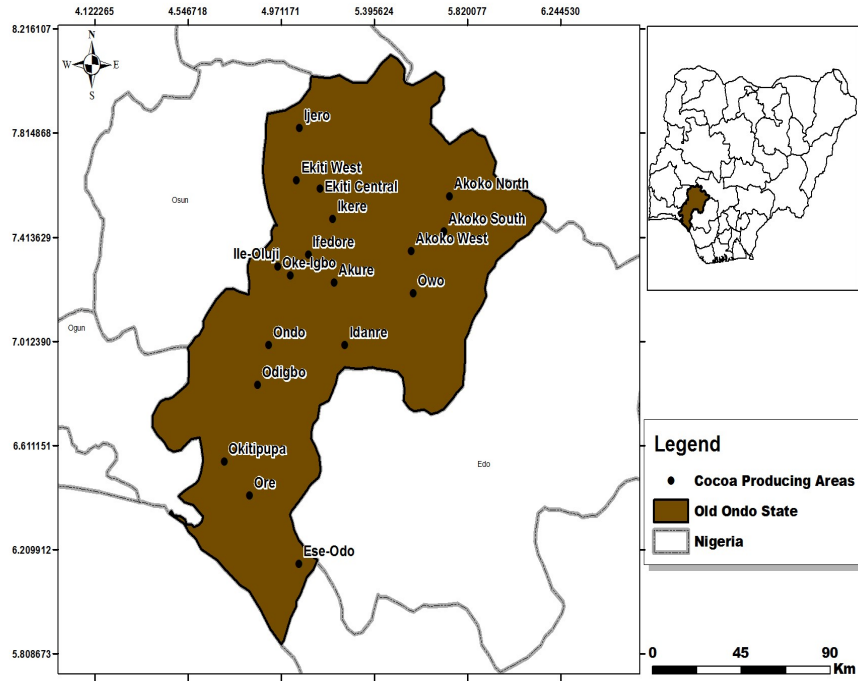
¹⁸⁶ Akintan, S.A. 2014. *History of Idanre 'Ufeke': From Beginning Up till Earliest Times*, p 5

¹⁸⁷ Investment Guide of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ondo State, Nigeria 2004, p 5

¹⁸⁸ Odebiyi, O. 1988. Ondo State: Investment Climate and Opportunities, in *Giant Strides*, (Ed), Nigeria: VBO Intentional Limited, pp 411

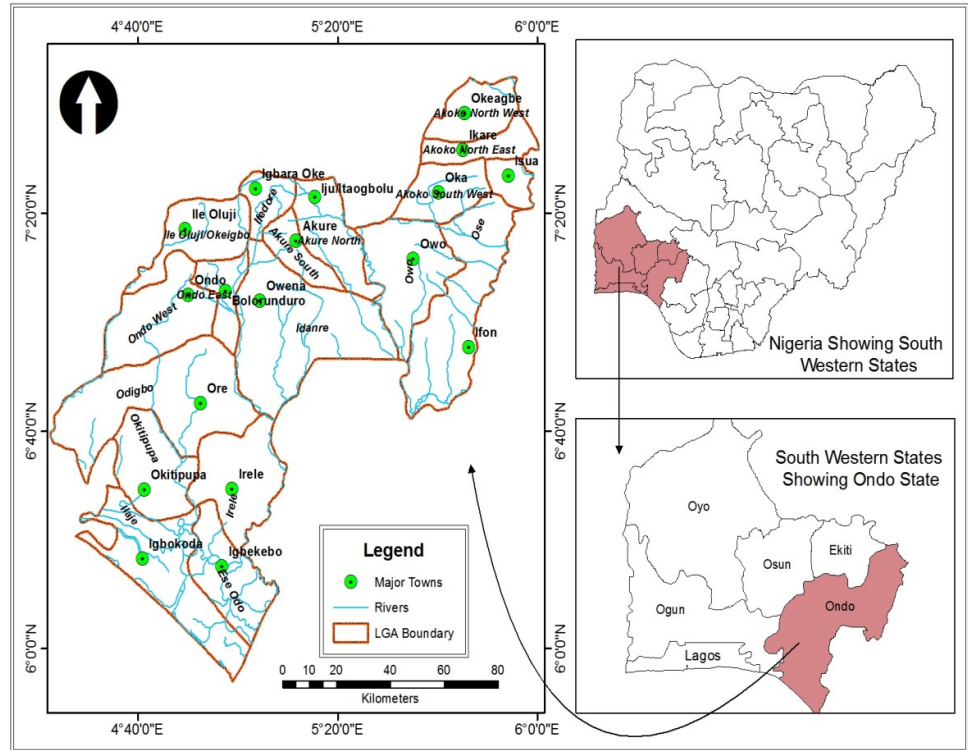
¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p.412

¹⁹⁰ Ibid



Map 2.2: Idanre in the Old Ondo Province

Source: Source: GIS and Remote Sensing, Department of Geography, University of Lagos, August 2016



Map 2.2: Southwestern States, Ondo States and Idanre

Source: GIS and Remote Sensing, Department of Geography, University of Lagos, August 2016

Pre-colonial Idanre was made up of Oke-Idanre and the new Idanre. While Oke Idanre is located on a very high land about 444 metres above sea level, though the same is contemporaneously deserted, the new Idanre is situated just at the base of those spectacular hills which surround it and make the town look like a walled city and creation of a brilliant artist.¹⁹¹ The soil texture and environmental conditions of the town determined the crops grown in the area. Such crops are cocoa and kolanut, among others and they can only thrive well in rocky basement areas which give rise to ferruginous soil group with high clay content and good drainage that is rich in humus, derived from the decay of heavy leaves fallen off from the trees.

Idanre is blessed with wide agricultural land areas, suitable for the cultivation of several foods and cash crops. Until the late 1990s, Idanre has the largest Forest Reserve in the state. This has been cleared due to intense deforestation.¹⁹² Before the introduction of cocoa cultivation in the early twentieth century, food crop farming,

¹⁹¹ Akin Obalisi "Idanre Features" *Daily Times News Paper* 26 August, 1991, p 5

¹⁹² National Archive Ibadan (NAI), Mr H.L Wood-Price, "Intelligence Report on Idanre Land Tenure in the Yoruba province" File 236/08/1917/377, (November, 1934)

hunting, trade, lumbering and local crafts industry at “Ufeke” (Oke-Idanre) were the major livelihood of the people.¹⁹³

These predominantly rural agrarian people were endowed with large acres of land of about 1,584 square kilometers, out of which less than 20 percent is inhabited.¹⁹⁴ The dominant occupation of the people was farming. They grew food crops like plantain, yam, maize, vegetables, coffee, and fruits like cashew, oranges and pineapple. With the introduction of the cash economy by the British government in the early twentieth century, cocoa became the major income earner that sustained the livelihood of the people under colonial capitalism. The amazing topography of the town could attract the attention of strangers many kilometres away. Governor Gilbert from colonial office also captured this in a memo to the secretary for colonies about his visit to Idanre in 1894:

Personally I will prefer rather to spend a couple of months among these delightful mountains and hospitable vegetation than at the canary Island. One curiosity is not fully satisfied until a scene is witnessed of indescribable beauty and grandeur, while tropical vegetation runs riot in every crevice on one hand, on the other hand rocky eminences and fancies are such as at least from 2000-3000 feet and mostly of sugar loaf configuration, being a series of long curved masts of rock, which look like huge hippopotami burrowing through the forest¹⁹⁵

Situated halfway up a massive granite formation, some 3,000 feet in height, the town is hilly and mountainous. The area is well watered throughout, being bounded on the West by the Owena River and on the East by the Ofosu River, which is not far from Idanre, the middle of the area being served by the Rore River. Between the River Owena and Ofosu was the Government Forest reserve approximately 280 square miles that became open for cocoa farming.¹⁹⁶

2.4 Early History and Development

¹⁹³ Interviews with High Chief S.A Akintan, 90 Years, Ojomu of Idanre, at Odode Idanre, 25/ 12/2014

¹⁹⁴ National Archive Ibadan (NAI), File No 171/ OD160/124, “Intelligence Report on Idanre Forest Reserve in the Ondo Province, Extracts from Memorandum of the Resident to the District Officer, Ondo Province, 1916, p3

¹⁹⁵ National Archive Ibadan (NAI), Bovel Jones “Intelligence Report on Idanre Topography of Idanre District” File 374/ONDPROV27893, (September, 1935)

¹⁹⁶ NAI CSO 26 File No 30052, Intelligence Report on Idanre District, Ondo Province.

Oral tradition says that Idanre ancestors were among the numerous descendants---children, lieutenants, servants and siblings--- of Oduduwa that departed Ile Ife after his demise.¹⁹⁷ Like many Yoruba groups, the Idanre people moved out of Ile-Ife around the 12th century A.D. From Ife, the Idanre and Benin people went to a place called Ajagba; and then to Irede having crossed over the Rore River.¹⁹⁸ They were led to the present site by Olofin who was also called Aremitan in Idanre dialect. The people stopped in many places before they arrived at Utaja or ‘Ufeke’ (Ife Oke). From Utaja, they moved up to Oke Idanre, where they found refuge from abductors and external aggression.¹⁹⁹ The group set on a south-eastward journey which first terminated at Ajagba.²⁰⁰ From Ajagba, the group crossed River Rore to Irede when discontentment arose among them. Olofin Aremitan, perceiving insubordination and conspiracy against him among the fold at Irede,²⁰¹ parted with the Binis who consequently proceeded to Benin. It was after the departure of the other group to Benin, that the Idanre settled at Utaja,²⁰²

To safeguard his leadership position and the possessions of the crown (Ade), cow tail (Irun), clothing materials with supernatural power (Otitibiti) and beads (Ileke) inherited from Oduduwa, Olofin cursed the dissident faction. The tongues of the belligerents were said to have changed as a result of the soil spell cast on them by Olofin. They were no longer understood by others and neither did they understand each other’s language again. Consequently, however these factions departed from Olofin’s camp and sojourned in Benin or Ado, under the headship of Okoro while the Idanre faction remained with Olofin.²⁰³

The Idanre people stopped in many places before they arrived at Utaja or UfeOke as they called the place. It was from Utaja, a small camp around Aweba, that they moved up to Oke Idanre, where they found refuge from kidnapers and external aggressors. According to Idanre legend, Olofin, was already aged, when he led the

¹⁹⁷Odamo, S.F. 1990. “*Idanre Beauty and Cultures on the Hills*” p. 13

¹⁹⁸NAI CSO 26 File No 30052, Intelligence Report on Idanre District , Ondo Province

¹⁹⁹Interview with High Chief Samuel AgboolaAkintan, 87 Years, at OdodeIdanre, 23/092012

²⁰⁰ Interview with High Chief Charles O. Akinde (Osore of Idanre Kingdom) age 72, at Owa’s Palace, 23/11/2011

²⁰¹ Interview with High Chief AgboolaAkintan (The Ojomu of Idanre) 86 Years, at his residence 23/12, 2011

²⁰²NAI CSO 26 File No 30052, Intelligence Report on Idanre District, Ondo Province

²⁰³ Ibid.

people to Utaja. He was about a centenarian, and lived long enough to see the people through to ‘Ufeke’ (Ife-Oke) now popularly referred to as OkeIdanre.²⁰⁴

When Olofin became weak in body and soul, he called his people together and informed them about his imminent demise. He however promised to remain with them, especially in periods of crisis, pestilence, famine or epidemic, subject to an annual sacrifice, Aare (a stranger) must be sacrificed to appease his spirit twice in a year.²⁰⁵ The stranger (Aare) would voluntarily walk into the town with a forbidden leave, “ewe Are”, in his hand at the approach of the period for the sacrifice. This invariably suggests that Olofin himself mystically provided the human beings required for the sacrifice.²⁰⁶

The debate about the actual location of Olofin’s grave remains a subject of controversy in Idanre. However, the diverse accounts concurred that he died at a very old age having walked personally into a cave known as “UWAKOTA”. This is the place the people conjectured Olofin stayed to oversee the affairs of his people²⁰⁷ having led the people on the journey from Ile-Ife. Olofin was regarded as the founder of the Idanre people; hence, they are called “Idanre Omo Olofin”, meaning, Idanre, descendants of Olofin. Also in recognition of his unique paraphernalia and leadership spirit and idiosyncrasies, Olofin was deified by the Idanre people.²⁰⁸

It is important to note, that throughout the over eight hundred years that the people sojourned at ‘Ufeke’ Oke Idanre, until the period of colonial intervention in Yoruba land, the Idanre people observed Olofin’s ritual of human sacrifice at the specified period of the year.²⁰⁹ The practice was carried on to Ufe-Oke from Utaja. This later became known to their immediate neighbors, notably the Ondos, Ikale, Ekiti and Benin, who referred to them as “Onidan Are” (the magicians who offer human beings as sacrifice). “Idan” means magic “Are” means human beings or strangers in Idanre dialect. “Onidan” is a magician. Put together, therefore “Onidan Are” connotes the magician who uses human beings to make charms.²¹⁰ They were feared and respected by their neighbors. This appellation of “Onidan Are” was with

²⁰⁴Ibid

²⁰⁵ Interview with Mr. Tayo Obakusi, (Journalist) age 52, during Orosun Festival, 2011

²⁰⁶ Interview with Mrs. Bernice Fajumiye, age 90, 5th January, 2012

²⁰⁷²⁰⁷ Interview with High Chief Agboola Akintan (The Ojomu of Idanre, at the Owa’s Palace 3/11/2011

²⁰⁸ Odamo, S.F. 1990. *Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills*” p. 13 – 14

²⁰⁹ Interview with Bajulaiye Olaseinde, age 90, at Irowo quarters, Odo Ode, Idanre, 27th January 2012

²¹⁰ Interview with Akinrola C.A. (an indigene) age 60, at his family resident, Alade Idanre, 5th January, 2012

time shortened to ‘Idanre’. The nick name eventually eclipsed the original name of the town, Ufe-Oke. There were also other versions and legends, but this seemed to be most widely professed by the people.²¹¹

Another interpretation of the popular name of the town, “Idanre”, emanated from the exclamation of fright by the indigenes on arriving at the settlement on top of the hills (Ufeke), when they sighted some Stone Age species.²¹² These original inhabitants of the settlement were said to have large noses, ears and eyeballs described by an informant, a retired zoologist, as a class of ‘Homo-Erectus’.²¹³ The species, according to myth, were very tall and hairy. The immigrants from Utaja, led by Agbogun exclaimed “Idan re” (this is strange) at the first sighting of these primates: Joined together, this exclamation no doubt reads ‘Idanre’.²¹⁴

There is also a third legend about the origin and meaning of the name of the town. This emanated from a popular economic activity of some male indigene shunting for bat. On returning from the expeditions, the Idanre would hawk their games among their neighbors. To attract potential buyers, the hawkers chanted “Idanre o. Idanre o” meaning “here are bats, here are bats. This hunter’s penchant for bats, as advertisement slogan, “Idanre”, eventually became some kind of gibe and identification mark for the hunters. Again, together, the gibe sounds ‘Idanre’.²¹⁵

As mentioned, the Idanre people traced their roots to Ile-Ife through Olofin, ‘the brother to Oduduwa. The latter being the progenitor of the Yoruba race and founder of the Yoruba kingdom in Ile Ife. Since this assertion and legend has not been denied, the Idanre people opined that Olofin came with Oduduwa from the East, Upper Egypt. This period was dated to the epoch preceding the downward migrations of the aboriginal black stock in Egypt.²¹⁶ It has been noted by historians of Yoruba origin, that Oduduwa may have come from Upper Egypt during one of the four migrations of black peoples from Egypt. The first wave of these migrations was probably between 2000BC and 500BC.²¹⁷

²¹¹ Interview with Mrs. Bernice Fajumiye, age 90, 5th January, 2012

²¹² Interview with High Chief OjomuAkintan, age 69, in the exclusive world magazine, Vol. 3, 2010

²¹³ Interview with Professor Adekunjo Raphael, A Retired Lecturer, 73 Years, at Ojota-Idanre

²¹⁴ Michael C, *History of Nigeria*. London: Ferber and ferber.1962 p 13

²¹⁵ The Hykos invasion (2000-1500BC), caused some of these southward migrations. Many of the black Egyptians seemed to have moved to Yoruba land during this period.

²¹⁶ Akinde, O.C. 2010. *Idanre Heritage*, Ondo: Africacana Press, p. 11

²¹⁷ Ibid. p. 10 See also Samuel Johnson, 1921, *The History of the Yorubas ...*

As noted above, the Idanre people lived at *Ufeke* ‘‘Idanre hills’’ for over eight hundred years before they started coming down to occupy the three major communities in the town---notably Atoshin, Alade and Odode. Emigration from the Hilltop (OkeIdanre) was in three phases. The first set of people who came down from the hilltop, were the traders who had encounters with Christian missionaries and educated Yorubas in the late 19th century. This category of people was stimulated by the desire to acquire western education from St. Andrews College Oyo, and when they got to the bottom of the hill they saw that it was good.²¹⁸ The first three people were Mr. Nusi Akinjo, Mr. J.M Akinbola and Mr. D.O. Akintan and they started pressurizing Kabiesi and his chiefs to come down and plant farms at the bottom of the hills.²¹⁹

Oba Atoworoloye Arobiefin is remembered for receiving the first white men (colonialists like Governor G.T. Carter) who visited the town in 1894. Atoworoloye was the 25thOwa of Idanre Kingdom. It was also during his reign that the people decided and finalized arrangements to move down from Oke Idanre which was eventually carried out in 1928.²²⁰ The first man to move down to Alade was Chief Akinbola whose grandson eventually became the first king of Alade Idanre.²²¹ According to his Royal Highness Oba Olusegun Akinbola,

The first settler in Alade in 1928 came under my late father Pa John Adeola Akinbola who was then the first ruler of Alade. He was specifically known as (Baba Egbe) of the Church. Church in Idanre then, had Baba Egbe, which the Owa of Idanre, who now had become the Oba Adegbele Aroloye was the first Baba Egbe. My father was the second Baba Egbe who led them down to Alade Idanre due to the severe hardship, persecution and terror unleashed on the Christians by the idol worshippers and traditionalist at Oke Idanre.²²²

The first coming down from Oke Idanre in 1928, was a function of the colonial government gazette of May, 1928 which informed the chiefs of the exigencies to constitute permanent settlement at the foot of the hills for effective administration and incorporation into the British capitalist enterprise. In addition,

²¹⁸Akintan. S.A. 2012.*A History of Idanre: Ufeke*, p 26

²¹⁹ Interview with Salokun Akinboye (Teacher) 67 Years, Alade Idanre, 23/01 2012.

²²⁰ Interview with High Chief Agboola Akintan (Ojomu) age 86, Moore Festival, 24 December, 2011

²²¹ Interview with his HRH, Oba Olusegun Ayodele Akinbola, Agunloye 1, Oba Alade Idanre, 78, 26/12/ 2011

²²²Akintan, S.A. 2012.*A History of Idanre Ufeke*, p 60

Oke-Idanre was congested and could no longer accommodate the growing population. This phase was spearheaded by the then Owa of Idanre, the grandfather of the present Oba Olusegun Ayodele Akinbola, Agunloye 1.²²³

Thus, Ufeke or Oke-Idanre was the mother town that birthed Atosin, Alade and Odo-Ode, the three major and large communities. Idanre is at least about a thousand years old. The hills shielded the ancient city from the insecurity that ravaged Yorubaland during the period of the nefarious Trans-Atlantic Slave trade and the Yoruba civil war. To set the record straight, the beginning of the twentieth century marked the development of new settlements as the people began to seek new opportunities in land and other relations of production to embrace the agrarian change characterized by the adoption of cocoa planting as a new means of livelihood in Yoruba land.²²⁴

It is important to note that, of the three settlements in Idanre, the first to be established was Atosin. The name of the man who founded Atosin was Chief Otoogbewa from Irowo quarters in 1815, and the settlement was directly under the control of the Owa of Idanre. This was because a chief from Oke Idanre descended with the consent of the Owa of Idanre to establish the settlement. The next settlement to be founded was a popular market square proximately close to Atosin. It was known as Ilu-Titun presently called Alade, (1830- 1840). Throughout the nineteenth century, the indigenous people traded there with their neighbors who travelled to buy and sell in Idanre.²²⁵

The settlement was established by Aduranjan who was installed as Sasereelokun of Idanre by the Owa of Idanre.²²⁶ Adunranjan later brought his brother called Adajadawon- gere-rodo who planted ‘‘Ifon’’, just half a mile away from Atosin. They had their own identity and began to expand.²²⁷ Despite the rapid wave of migration to Alade, Atoshin and Odode in the early 1900s, Ufe-Oke (OkeIdanre) was not totally deserted until the middle decades of the twentieth century. Idanre has had twenty-seven Owa of Idanre (Oba) since the death of Olofin the founder of Idanre.

Table 2.1: List of Oba in Idanre

²²³ Ibid

²²⁴ Ibid., p 14

²²⁵ Akintan, S.A. 2012. *A History of Idanre: Ufeke*, p 60

²²⁶ Ibid. p. 15

²²⁷ Interview with Mr Oyemilade Loyola (Retired Teacher), age 75 during Moore Festival, 15/12/ 2011.

| | |
|----|-------------------|
| 1 | Agbogun |
| 2 | OwaBanganju |
| 3 | OwaBeyoja |
| 4 | OwaJarungan |
| 5 | OwaOgbogbomudo |
| 6 | OwaAgunmayan |
| 7 | OwaAmuwamo |
| 8 | OwaBosede |
| 9 | OwaShofin |
| 10 | OwaAganyeri |
| 11 | OwaOluodu |
| 12 | OwaObajo |
| 13 | OwaOluwarere |
| 14 | OwaResilebite |
| 15 | OwaElegbehoro |
| 16 | OwaOgbedemeru |
| 17 | OwaOrile |
| 18 | OwaYiworo |
| 19 | OwaKulowo |
| 20 | OwaArowojoye |
| 21 | OwaAjikansekun |
| 22 | OwaAginleye |
| 23 | OwaArubieifin I |
| 24 | OwaArubieifin II |
| 25 | OwaArubieifin III |
| 26 | OwaArubieifin IV |

Source: HRM Oba Federick Aroloye (Owa of Idanre)

The present Owa is the 27th Oba, and it was towards the end of the reign of his father in 1928 that the remaining people finally moved downward from Ufeke (OkeIdanre) to occupy the present-day Idanre communities.²²⁸ Oba Atowurojoye Arubiefin IV, was the ruling *Owa* when Governor Thomas Gilbert Carter visited the town in 1894.

2.5 Pre-Colonial Political Structure in Idanreland

The pre-colonial political system of government in Idanre was characterized by bureaucratic decentralization. Although the *Owa* Oba was the sole authority, his sole authority was derived from the *Ugha* Council of Chiefs. The *Owa* of Idanre and his *Ewarefa* formed the nucleus of the upper chamber known as *Ugha*. This council of chiefs was the autochthonous political structure laid by the Agbogun the first *Owa* Oba and son of Olofin the progenitor of the people.²²⁹

The “Ugha” was vested with the authority to legislate for the entire kingdom of Idanre and also had profound executive power. It also retained the power to punish citizens for any offence committed under the laws of the people. The (Owa) Oba and his “Ugha” Council had the power of life and death over Idanre citizens.²³⁰ The Owa was the head of the Council. At the apex of the “Ugha” Council of chiefs was the “Owa” oba who presided as the sole authority. He was followed by the Lisa and other Ewarefa Chiefs, in a pyramidal order, the Ewarefa Chiefs were followed by the War Chiefs, Odunwo and Ojumu.²³¹ Next to the Ugha chiefs were the Edibos “first class chiefs” and the War Chiefs were led by High Chief Sasere. Other chiefs in this category included Logbosere, Lisagha and Osore.

These three groups mentioned above were also a major component of the Upper Chamber of the “Ugha” Council of Chiefs. They were fourteen in number and were referred to as Eghare. The Lower Chamber comprised the Adaja of Idanre and his group of six chiefs. They were called Edibo-Osi Chiefs. The next group was

²²⁸Idanre in the olden days had a nomenclatural order of counting the number and reign of kings. This was done through a chronological array of bull horn engulfed with mystical memorabilia. Presently, Oba Fredrick Aroloye is the twenty sixth Owa of Idanre.

²²⁹Ugha “ the traditional council” could be likened to the House of Chiefs and the first six members are called Egharefa with the Owa as President.

²³⁰The second rank are the war chiefs-Odunwo, Sawo, and Ojumu; the third rank if chiefs are called Edibo Otun (Right hand) and made up of Sashere, Logbosere, Lisagha,Osore, while the Edibo Osi (left wingers) consists Adaja- the leader, Manare,Lejuwa, Ayadi,Beepie, and Egbedi

²³¹Interview with HRM Oba Fedrick Adegunle and some Prominent Members of the Ugha Council 14/02/13.

Egbediowu, a major class of chiefs that represented the Idanre community generally within “Ugha” Council. The last group in that order was the Osinle group of chiefs. Owing to space constraints, the role of these chiefs and their respective responsibilities cannot be mentioned here, what is however important, is that the office of the “Owa” Oba and the “Ugha” council of chiefs constituted the central source of power and authority in pre-colonial Idanreland.²³²

In theory, the “Owa” was an institution, and all the chiefs formed a source of his power in practice. This explains the popular saying, “Owa-Okan, Ile-Kete-Okan”, meaning the Owa is half of the Ugha Council while all the Chiefs form the other half of “Ugha” Council.²³³ Moreover, the “Ugha” was segmented into two parts. The “Owa” and his first Class and second Class Edibo Chiefs formed one component; the Odunwo, and the Egbediowu groups represented the entire Idanre Community. Every group within “Ugha” council was referred to as “Out”. Otu, Lisa, Odunwo and Sasere, formed the next Upper Chamber, while Otu Adaja, Otu Egbediowu and Otu Osinle formed the Lower Chamber. A full house of Ugha Chiefs sitting either at the Owa’s was called “ILE”.²³⁴ This included Lisa, Ojomu, Sama, Lobu, and Osolo. Above all, the Owa was the first member of the Ewarefa group.²³⁵

This, however, shows that the people, before the advent of colonial capitalism, in Idanre, like in many African societies, practiced a decentralized system of administration. The council advised the Owa on matters concerning the town and district and carried out any decision reached in the council. The Owa was informed of the day-to-day affairs of the state by his lieutenants.²³⁶ As regards the Iwarefa Chiefs, Lisa was considered the most senior of the chiefs. He acted as the head between the period of the death of one Owa and the ascension to the throne of another. He was also head of the Ipares which is a term used for all the people in Idanre community who held no title and was the chief judge in all cases of offences against the state. The Ojomu was the treasurer of the community and all public funds collected were in his custody. These funds consisted of fines imposed on the public through sanctions,

²³² *Ibid*

²³³ *Ibid*.

²³⁴ National Archive Ibadan (NAI) D.N Adeniyi and A.I Akinjogbin File 975/230/ 57 “Oral Tradition Collected for Yoruba Scheme

²³⁵ Odamo S.F, 1991, *Idanre Beauty and Culture on the Hill*. p 34

²³⁶ *Ibid*.

money collected from public functions, such as entertainment of strangers and money paid by private individuals on the assumption of titles. There were also minor titleholders who played no great part in public affairs: these were the Shingbuwa, Lomafe, Bemuwa and Gbagegha, who were referred to as the Gbage and were stewards to the Iwarefa Chiefs whenever the Owa held a meeting in his house; they tasted and apportioned out the food on these occasions

Above all, the Owa (Oba) was the supreme ruler, however, he was assisted by representatives of the various quarters, chiefs and selected elders in the day-to-day affairs of the town. He was the sole authority on every matter, and his verdicts were sacrosanct. Villages under the Idanre also respected the supremacy of the Owa. The family and quarter heads played important roles in the social and political structure of pre-colonial Idanre. Family heads controlled members of their households and settled disputes within the family. The main age grade (Egbe (s) or Otu (s) in the quarters (Idimi). were the heads of the quarters. Olori-Idimi were the important persons in the social organisation of the town. Each quarter had a quarter head and a group of elders called *Agba*.²³⁷

Representatives of each quarter were selected from members of each family in the quarters. They had judicial and executive powers. Not only did they settle the conflict and ensured orderliness, but they also coordinated the collection of funds for public needs.²³⁸ Above all, the symbiotic and communal economic system of pre-colonial Idanre enhanced the welfare of the entire community, but the family and the head of the family played very little role in the organization of the town. The head of the family, apart from controlling members of his household and settling petty family disputes, was not regarded as a very important person. The essential unit in the social organization of the Idanre community was the age-grade (Egbe or Otu) in the quarters (Idimi). The functioning of the age classes rested on the heads of the Quarters (Olori Idimi). Each quarter had a head and a body of Elders (Agba) and although in some quarters some chiefs were considered senior to these Quarter Heads, the actual affairs of the quarters were left in the hands of the latter.²³⁹ In all, there were seven quarters in Idanre, and each had a quarter Head.

²³⁷Interview with HRH (The Oba of AtoshinIdanre) 26/12/2012 at AtoshinIdanre

²³⁸NAI, H.L Wood-Price “Intelligence Report -Paragraph 17/377/ 236/19” on Idanre Land tenure in the Yoruba provinces.

²³⁹NAI CSO 26 File No 30052, Intelligence Report on Idanre District , Ondo Province

Table 2.2 Different Quarters in Idanre

| Name of Quarters | Title of Quarter Head |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Irowo | The Oshinle |
| Isalu | Kogunomwo |
| Idale | Lemikan |
| Odoba of Okedo | Manare |
| Odeja | Salaja |
| Isunrin | Ajana |
| Ijomu | Orunfunsin |

Source: Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, Odode Idanre, 27/11/ 2016

The quarter heads ensured orderliness in their quarters and the collected funds when the need arose for important obligations.²⁴⁰ The family heads, however, played a minimal role in the indigenous organization and although family heads were recognized, yet, they enjoyed limited administrative privileges. The basic unit of organization as mentioned was the quarter and the internal organization of the quarter is dependent on a system of age grades. All grown-up males were naturally admitted as became a member of their respective age grades in the quarters. Each grade was controlled by a titled person who was selected from any family within the quarter. Such individuals progressed with his age class, assuming the title of the leader of the most senior grade as he climbed higher, except in the quarter.²⁴¹

2.6 Pre-colonial Social Structure in Idanreland

The pre-colonial social structure in Yorubaland, like in Idanre, was considerably homogenous in terms of the kinship-bond and reciprocal social system that characterized the socio-economic activities, especially the appropriation of

²⁴⁰NAI CSO 26 File No 30052, Intelligence Report on Idanre District , Ondo Province

²⁴¹Ibid

surplus.²⁴²In the pre-colonial era, access to the means of production was through family units and access was governed by the principle of authority and distribution.²⁴³ In other words, land and other natural resources were obtained through kinship affiliation.

In the pre-colonial Idanre society, similar to what Samuel Johnson observed in other Yoruba societies, the household played significant roles in social relations, production and the process of capital formation.²⁴⁴ A household in Idanre consisted of a man, his wife (or wives) and his children, kinship and other relationships such as the immediate and extended members of his lineage.²⁴⁵ The concept of family was weightier in pre-colonial Idanreland than its connotation in western or contemporary Yorubaland. This was because the people lived together without any regard for individualism. Social stratification, class differentiation, could have logically occurred at some point in Idanre, however, the gap between the rich and the poor was not very wide. The people focused more on the collective development of the family than the personal individual accumulation of wealth. For example, in Idanre, the rich needed to help the poor.²⁴⁶

There was a deep sense of communal ties, mutual obligation and reciprocal socio-economic system.²⁴⁷ The property of the wealthy member of the family was regarded as the common property of all. This communal system however enhanced inclusiveness, since the irrational accumulation of wealth and ostentatious living were rare in the community.²⁴⁸ This, perhaps, was because the surplus income or estate of the rich people was usually spent on his benevolence, which included his immediate and extended family members. The ultimate aim of the communal and kinship system was to empower each member of the family and to ensure that the less privileged, such as the old, the sick and the unemployed were not neglected to suffer.²⁴⁹ This “unwritten social theory” arguably enhanced combine and integrated development

²⁴²Hopkin, 1973, *An Economic History of West Africa*, p 173

²⁴³Berry, S.S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p 8

²⁴⁴Samuel, J. 1921. *The history of the Yorubas: from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate* p.98.

²⁴⁵Ibid.

²⁴⁶Akinde, O.C. 2010. *Idanre Heritage*, p 9

²⁴⁷Davidson. B. 1992. *The Blackman's Burden: African and the Curse of the Nation State*, New York: Time Brook, p 14

²⁴⁸Interview with HRM (Owa) Oba Fredrick Adegbule Aroloye (Arubief in the III) 93 Years 24/12/12.

²⁴⁹Akinyeye, O.A. 1999. *Iden Festival; Historical Reconstruction from Ceremonial Reenactment*, p. 91.

and social orderliness in the town.²⁵⁰ The mode of production was based on the doctrine of equality, cooperation and combined development.²⁵¹ Economic activities were conducted essentially to maximize social cohesion rather than economic values.²⁵² Nevertheless, there were a number considerable number of commodity markets, means of selling land, hiring labor, and raising money.²⁵³ Claude Ake observed that:

Societies in Africa were invariably patrimonial and communal; everything was everybody's business, engendering a strong emphasis on participation. Standard of accountability were even stricter than in western societies. Chiefs were answerable not only for their own actions, but for natural catastrophes such as famine, epidemics, floods, drought.²⁵⁴

Cases of expropriation, extortion, stealing and undue exploitation of people in Idanre were prosecuted in the presence of the whole town, with the Lisa presiding as the judge.²⁵⁵ The presence of robbers and extortionists indicated that the indigenous "social welfare" system of pre-colonial Idanre was not perfect. Or, that economically marginalized people existed even though the people helped one another. The judicial officers, consisted of Alaworos (Orosun adherent), selected from a particular family, wherewith, the Owa (Oba) was represented among the Alaworos by the Odofofin and among the Orosun officers invariably.²⁵⁶ Minor cases of debt were usually settled by the head of the compound, especially in cases where debtors and creditors lived within the same compound.

Unsatisfactory verdicts of the family or compound head were subjected before the "OloriIdimi" (quarter head) who settled unresolved matters within the family. Cases of debtors and creditors who lived in different quarters were customarily resolved by the "OloriIdimi" (quarter head). Any unpleasant decision by the quarter head was often taken to the "Owa" (Oba) for the final verdict. It was only major cases of indebtedness, particularly the ones involving strangers that were directly brought

²⁵⁰Ibid.

²⁵¹Ajiola., F.O. 2012. *The Economy of Idanre, 1900-1960*, pp 27-28

²⁵²Hopkins, A.G, 1973.*An Economic History of West Africa*, Longman, London p.26

²⁵³Ekundare, R.O. 1975.*An Economic History of Nigeria*, Longman, London p.10.

²⁵⁴Ake C, 1991, *Rethinking African Democracy*, *Journal of Democracy*,

²⁵⁵Oral Interview with HRM Owa (Oba) Fredrick Aroloye Adegbulu, 24/12/12

²⁵⁶Ibid

before the Owa (Oba). A portion of debt could be bequeathed to the debtor's family if he or she was unable to pay.²⁵⁷

Customarily, in pre-colonial Idanre, crimes were divided into three categories, namely; offences against the laws of Olofin (the progenitor of the Idanre people), offences against the laws of Orosun or Iyamode (a deified goddess and Olofin's wife) and offences against the state or the entire community. With regards to the first, the judicial officers who presided over such cases included: the Laja, Olofin, Sama, Lorin, Ajana, Aremo and the Jogoro chiefs. These chiefs constituted the Iwarefa in Idanre. Examples of offences against the Olofin included the following:

- i. It was a taboo for a woman to bear twin: in cases where such incident occurred in the town, the parents of the twins were prosecuted, while the twins were eliminated or killed;
- ii. Drumming was prohibited at certain times of the year for example during the Orosun and Olofin Festival: offenders were strictly prosecuted;
- iii. Making of yam heaps and the eating of yam before the apportioned period of certain ceremonies was abominable and had grave consequences.²⁵⁸

However, to ensure that these laws were strictly obeyed and enforced, a one-man representative was selected from each quarter of the town. They received titles tied to the name of their compounds, for instance, the Laiye of the Irowo quarter, the Rinja of the Isalu quarter, the Ewi of the Idale quarter, the Ajero of the Odoaba or Okedo quarter, the Ewi of the Odeja quarter, the Ajero of Isunrin and the Oro of the Ijomu quarter. These household representatives were coordinated by the Agbakin who lived in the Irowo quarter.²⁵⁹ Offences against the laws of Orosun were adjudged by the osolo, (Iwarefa) Lobu, Aro, Asunrin, Gbenen and the Aranopon. These groups were also selected from a particular family. The Owa (Oba) was represented by the Olofin in this group. Besides, it was also taboo for a woman to conceive, if she had an infant below age one. The breaking of plates and pots was also abominable.

²⁵⁷Ibid

²⁵⁸Ibid

²⁵⁹*Ibid* 21/07/2014

Offenders were fined a dog.²⁶⁰ Offences against the community were tried in the presence of the whole town with Lisa as the chief judge.

Murderers in the town were usually tied to a tree and clubbed to death. Possession of evil charms was forbidden. Offenders were flogged, and the diabolical charms were confiscated. It was an abomination to commit adultery with the Owa (Oba)'s wife. Violators of this law were usually tied to a tree and clubbed to death. In 1894 a chief named *Lajuwa* was eliminated and the Owa's wife was beheaded. Offences against any member of the 'Ugha' chiefs were penalized, and the fine was a goat.

5. Woman refusing to become the Owa (Oba)'s wife: the culprits were usually banished.²⁶¹

However, from the foregoing, it is difficult to differentiate taboos from laws because much of what the people defined as laws had its origins in established taboos. Also, it may be out of place to argue that, Idanre had no form of social stratification, except for the age classes, and the selected representation from certain quarters and families, to assist the Owa (Oba) in the quotidian administration of the town. The gap between the rich and the poor was not very wide, or the people focused more on integrated collective development of the family than the personal individual accumulation of wealth. The fact that robbers existed, and there were many economically marginalized people in the kingdom, suggests that the indigenous "social welfare" system of pre-colonial Idanre was not perfect. Nevertheless, communality based on membership of quarters in pre-colonial Idanre enhanced social cohesion and community development.²⁶²

2.7 Pre-colonial Economic Structure

The pre-colonial mode of production and means of accumulation was predicated on household farming, and reciprocal economic activities, usually within the kin, age group and other communal affiliations. The social conflict did exist among the various groups of people in Idanre, but the conflict did not degenerate into large-scale violence that threatened public order. With this, expropriation, class domination, social and economic

²⁶⁰Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, Odode Idanre, 27/11/ 2016

²⁶¹Ibid

²⁶²Ibid,

development disparity, was virtually nonexistent in Idanre,²⁶³ until the British colonial subjugation influenced relations of production and the pre-colonial social structure.²⁶⁴

The pre-colonial economic system in Idanre was conducted with an eye on widening social affinity, inclusive development and tightening cultural bond rather than accumulating wealth and economic surplus for individual aggrandizement. The most important economic unit in pre-colonial Idanreland was the household,²⁶⁵ which reflected the character of each family. In addition, the household was profoundly capable of adapting its gross domestic output to meet communal "basic needs" and enabled decent communal quality of life, existential satisfaction and to cope with undesirable circumstances, such as famine, epidemics and others.²⁶⁶

As highlighted above, a household in pre-colonial Idanre consisted of a man, his wife (or wives) and his children with a considerably large collateral attachment to closely knitted and extended families, claiming blood or kinship affinity with him. Above all, each household divided itself into several smaller units, though without necessarily breaking up the family bond.²⁶⁷

2.8 Pre-colonial Agriculture

Agriculture was an important economic activity in Idanre kingdom, during the pre-colonial era. It absorbed a large number of people, and many other economic activities revolved around it.²⁶⁸ Agriculture in Idanre in the pre-colonial period was carried on with simple and traditional homemade implements, namely: hoe, cutlass and axes. The principal articles of food grown were yams, Palm oil maize, pepper, calabash, cocoyam, fruit and cotton. Since primitive implements were used, productivity was quite low and relatively substandard, but the farmers were not aware

²⁶³Interview held with Ologunlana Akinade 82 Years, Cocoa Farmer, at Atoshin Idanre 10/7/14 with Chief Bamisaiye Famiye, Cocoa Merchant 65 Years, at Tejugbola farm-Idanre, 10/7/14

²⁶⁴The term agrarian capitalism has although been used to delineate an epochal transformation in mode of production and social structure in Europe, prior to the era of colonial capitalism in Africa. However, it became flooded in most literatures of Neo-Marxist orientations for instance Immanuel Wallerstein, Federick Cooper, Karl Polanyi etc. With regards to Nigeria, and Africa in general, it became rampant in neo-Marxists, works such as Gavin Williams, Gavin Kitchen, Claude Ake, Fredrick Cooper, et al.

²⁶⁵Ake, C. 1991. Rethinking African Democracy p 34

²⁶⁶Interview held with Oba Atoworoloye A. (The Oba of Atoshin Idanre) at Atoshin Idanre 26/12/12

²⁶⁷Odamo, S.F. 1991. Idanre Beauty and culture on the hills, pp.9-11.

²⁶⁸Ibid.

of it because all they needed was production, essentially required for household consumption.²⁶⁹

This traditional model of agriculture in Idanre land in the pre-colonial period, nevertheless made it possible to create, accumulate and appropriate wealth in the forms of foodstuff and cash crops. It also encouraged urbanization which endemically made it possible to engage in and finance nonagricultural activities. Nonagricultural occupation consisted of clearing of lands, mat making mounds, sowing, weeding and craft workmanship.²⁷⁰ Pre-colonial agriculture in Idanre was quite efficient. Though it is difficult to quantify the production level of agriculture, but it is obvious that production farm produces out-weighted domestic consumption. This is because key crops and animals were exchanged for other goods and services from their neighbors.

Put succinctly, the Pre-colonial Idanre society was predominated by agrarian families and their economic enterprise largely revolved around farming, hunting and a chain of inter societal trade.²⁷¹ The farmers used “locally manufactured implements” such as the hoe, cutlass and axes.²⁷² The main food crops grown, included yams, palm oil maize, pepper, calabash, cocoyam, fruit and cotton. Since crude implements were used, productivity was quite low because the people deployed their subsistent food production to cater, essentially, for household consumption.²⁷³

The farmers involved members of their families in their endeavors. They probably could not do otherwise, because of the time-consuming and energy-sapping nature of their system of farming. The farmers therefore devised some systems of collective labor on one another’s farm to ease this strenuous farming condition. Three classes of such group farming are identified with the people of Idanre. The first emanates from the willingness of male members of the same (Patrimony) family to work together. They work on a family land under the supervision of the eldest man. The proceeds of such labor belong to all members of the family. This was either shared out or used,

²⁶⁹Ogunremi, G.O. and Faluyi E.K. 1996. *Economic History of West Africa*, {eds) Lagos: Rex Charles / connel Publication p. 1

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 2

²⁷¹ National Archive Ibadan (NAI) D.N Adeniyi and A.I Akinjogbin File 975/230/ 57 “Oral Tradition Collected for Yoruba Scheme

²⁷² Odamo. S.F. 1991. *Idanre Beauty and culture on the hills* pp.9-11

²⁷³ Ogunremi. G.O & Faluyi E.K. 1996. *Economic History of West Africa*, p 11

wholly or partly, to discharge obligation incurred by the family or a member, for example acquiring wives for eligible bachelor within the family.²⁷⁴

Male youth were organized into various small groups for communal labor, either in their parents' farms or in their plantations to promote or to speed up manual labor. This practice is called *Nabo* or *Abo*.²⁷⁵ *Abo* in Idanre dialect) it was a form of labor exchange among age-mates. The youths helped one another on their respective farms rotationally. The host at any occasion however, was obligated to feed his colleagues after the day's work.²⁷⁶

Historically, the people of Idanre inherited from their progenitors a system of dividing their days, weeks or months between staying on the farm or at home, usually located many kilometers outside the metropolis.²⁷⁷ Some people spent an equal number of days, weeks, or months at home or on their farms. Others vary their habit slightly, depending on the season of the years. During harvesting or planting season, more time is spent on the farm.

The wealthy indigenous farmers on the other hand, employed laborers to man their farms continuously.²⁷⁸ They only visit the farms once in a while, or through representation, to keep the workers alert to their responsibilities. As stated above, subsistence farming was the basis of the economy before the advent of the European. The people only bothered with food crops for consumption and in case of surplus, to be disposed of either in the local or inter-town market or exchanged through trade by barter.²⁷⁹ Cotton was one of the few cash crops cultivated by the people centuries ago. Timber felling later joined as a major revenue earner. In fact, timber later became the highest revenue earner for the community. Availability of timber nonetheless was a natural endowment resulting from the thickness of the surrounding forest.²⁸⁰

However, the relatively non-capitalistic pre-colonial economy and communal mode of production enabled moderate accumulation and to cater for immediate family, kinship and contribute to community development. The pre-colonial agrarian economy allowed for diversification into trade and nonagricultural activities, such as

²⁷⁴ Odamo, S.F. 1991. *Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills* p. 11

²⁷⁵ Interview with MrFajuyiAkinlure, Farmer age, 76, Alade- Idanre 12 /05/2014

²⁷⁶ Ibid

²⁷⁷ Odamo, S.F. 1991. *Idanre Beauty and Culture of the hills*, p. 9

²⁷⁸ Akinjogbin.AI. 1958. *Origin of the Yoruba*. Oral traditions collected by Akinjogbin in Idanre for the Yoruba scheme,

²⁷⁹ An oral interview with Dr. Rufus Orosundafosi Falofosi, (Cocoa farmer), age 67. p. 24

²⁸⁰ An Oral interview with Oladele Akindunoye (Cocoa farmer) age 55, 25th February, 2012

mat making, sowing, weeding and craft workmanship, without jettisoning agriculture.²⁸¹ It must be mentioned that the pre-colonial agrarian economy of the Idanre people supplied the required capital and material incentives needed for livelihood sustainability, basic social and “combine development”. Although, it is difficult to quantitatively determine the scale of the pre-colonial production, nevertheless, the agrarian production out-weighted domestic consumption. Surpluses were exchanged for other goods and services from their neighbors.²⁸²

As G.O Ogunremi has rightly noted, land was in abundance. It was unimaginable that a prospective farmer would have any difficulty obtaining land for use. A farmer was entitled to any unoccupied land within his family land.²⁸³ In cases where a stranger migrated to Idanre, he could initially assume temporary tenancy over such land that he needed, or he could, at least, function as a sharecropper.²⁸⁴ Farmland was generally not a constraint on agrarian development in pre-colonial Idanre land.²⁸⁵ Labor was the most important of all factors of production. Hopkins, in fact, also posited that many lands were uncultivated because of inadequate labor.²⁸⁶ Idanre people would have further maximized their large expanse of land had it been that they had enough labor to work on the abundant land areas that were underutilised as a result of low population.²⁸⁷

²⁸¹ The people enjoyed a deep sense of mutually acceptable reciprocity in the deployment of the means of production as well as appropriation of economic surplus to fasten cultural ties. See also K. Olufemi, “The Role of Politics in Human Underdevelopment in Nigeria”, in Dipo Kolawole, (ed) *Issues in Nigerian Government and Politics*, Ibadan: Dekkal Publishers, 1998 pp 93-94.

²⁸² Similar to Julius Nyerere’s polemic that it was difficult to locate poverty on the main street of Tanzania, prior to the advent of European capitalism and colonialism, in pre-colonial Idanre, also the economic growth derived from communal agrarian system was unconventionally sustainable for rural livelihood and combined social development and moderate accumulation. Although the people generally, subsistence farming was the basis of the economy prior to colonial epoch, the Idanre people were not in much times bothered by basic survivalist means of livelihood, in fact surpluses in food crops, were usually, to be subsidized at the local or inter-town market or exchanged through trade by barter.

²⁸³ Faluyi, E.K. 1996. The Role of Government in the Promotion of Agriculture, in Ogunremi G.O and Faluyi E.K (eds) *Economic History of West Africa* Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, pp 176-182

²⁸⁴ Odamo. S.F. 1991, *Idanre Beauty and Culture on the Hills*, p 8

²⁸⁵ NAI Forest Reserves-Ondo Province telegram/No, 2734 of 5/9/1923 from the resident Ondo province to the secretary, southern provinces, (Lagos) out of which less than 20 percent is inhabited. It may be useful to note also that despite the enormous inflow of migrant cocoa farmer to the town between 1930s and 1960s, coupled with the rapacious colonial deforestation of Idanre forest reserve, especially in the areas stretching beyond ‘Irele reserve. Owena reserve, Oluwa Reserve and Otu Reserve’ Idanre land was still largely uncultivated

²⁸⁶ Hopkins. A.G. 1975. *An Economic History of West Africa*, p15

²⁸⁷ Ibid

It is important to mention, at this juncture, that shifting cultivation and bush burning prevailed extensively in pre-colonial Idanre society.²⁸⁸ The Idanre people shared their weeks or months between their homes and the farms.²⁸⁹ Some people spent equal number of days, weeks, or months at home or on their farms. Others vary their habit slightly, depending on the season of the years. During harvesting or planting season, more time was spent on the farm.²⁹⁰ Idanre people during this period practiced two types of farming, *igo* (farms within the town) and *okoigbo* (distant farms). *Igo* is often within two to six kilometers radius of the metropolis, where food crops were grown. The other farm *Oko-Igbo* is often laid in a far distance away from the town. This is where the indigenes now plant cocoa and other crops in large quantity and for this they require enormous farmland.²⁹¹

The farmers involved members of their families in their endeavors. They probably could not do otherwise, because of the time-consuming and energy-sapping nature of their system of farming. These farmers therefore devised some systems of collective labour of helping one another on their farms. Three classes of such group farming existed. The first emanates from the willingness of male members of the same (Patrimony) family to work together. They work on a family land under the supervision of the eldest man. The proceeds of such labor belonged to all members of the family. This was either shared wholly or partly to discharge obligation incurred by the family or a member of the family; for example, acquiring wives for eligible bachelor within the family.²⁹²

The next type was *Abo* in Idanre dialect. It was a form of labor exchange among age-mates. These youths tacitly vowed to help one another on individual's farm in rotation. The host at any occasion however, was obligated to feed his colleagues after the day's work.²⁹³ *Owe* (working bee) was the last of the farming group. This was practiced among relatives and in-laws. The object is to come together to help a needy member. There was no rotational labour exchange. It was simply

²⁸⁸ Interview with Rufus Orosundasi-Folafosi, Cocoa Merchant, 73Years, 23/5/14

²⁸⁹ Afolabi, J.G.O. 1973. Journey to Agricultural Work in Yorubaland, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 63, No 1 pp 85-86

²⁹⁰ Ajiola. F.O. 2012. The Economy of Idanre, 1900-1960 p.48

²⁹¹ Odamo. S.F, 1991. *Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills* pp.11-13.

²⁹² Ibid

²⁹³ Ibid

giving a helping hand. The beneficiary was not bound to reciprocate. He demonstrates his appreciation by feeding his benefactors after the day's work.²⁹⁴

Nonetheless, there was also a lesser-known method known as *Nabo*. In this system, Idanre youths helped one another to work rotationally on their parents' farms. This practice was seasonal, even in some circles. It was popular among the youths because of the feasting which usually rounded off the day's work. *Nabo* was somehow similar to *Aro*. The difference was that youths worked on their father's farm in *Nabo*, and not on their farms as in *Aro*. Participants in *Nabo* were younger than those in *Aro*. The youths in *Nabo* were still dependent on their parents or guardian, but independent in *Aro*.²⁹⁵

In addition to farming, the ancestors of Idanre people were famous for animal husbandry. The animals for husbandry were domestic; such included dogs, goat, chicken and pigs. These animals supplemented the source of meat, or sacrificial offering, for their owners. Exclusive vocations for men in ancient Idanre included hunting, blacksmithing and carpentry. Hunting was the oldest occupation among males in ancient Idanre. The men went to the forest to hunt through which meats were provided for the family.²⁹⁶ Hunting was limited to a selected household that had expertise in that regard. This was because it was regarded as a special occupation, restricted to men who possessed requisite charms to overcome metaphysical hazards in the forest. They used traps, clubs, bow and arrows and later guns. The animals killed were either sold or consumed by the family.²⁹⁷

2.9 Pre-colonial Industries

Jewelry, beads and glass were of great significance to the Idanre people. The Idanre people were manufacturers of beads and jewelries. These industries were of great socio-economic importance to the people. Manufacturing was more diverse in mining. Several objects were made from plants, mineral and animal products.²⁹⁸ Among the leading articles were foodstuff, cloth and leather, wood and ceramic products. Some people specialized in tanning and dyeing animal skin which was in turn used to manufacture bags, cushions and apron. The people also exhibited great craftsmanship

²⁹⁴ Ibid

²⁹⁵ Interview with Bodede A, The Iyalaja of Idanre, 60 Years, 7/11/14

²⁹⁶ Interview held with Mr Sarokun Andrew, 68 Years, Hunter, at Abule Lisa Idanre 17/ 11/14

²⁹⁷ Ib.

²⁹⁸ Odamo S.F. History of the Yorubas, London: Route ledge and Kegan, 1921, p.34

in the making of kitchen utensils, ritual and decorative works. The cloth industry according to record appeared to be the most widespread and the one which engaged a large number of people in the production of cotton, yarns, threads and dye.

Weaving was another major component of the people's economy in the pre-colonial period. Weaving was carried out by both men and women, although there were variations in production. Men weaved cloth of narrow breadth about five inches wide called Alawe. The loom was operated upon with both hands and feet. The tread of the warps was so arranged that they were open and close by a mechanical contrivance worked by both feet moving alternatively as the pedal of a harmonious, whilst the shuttle about eight by two inches carrying the woof is tossed and caught by the right and left hand alternatively through the opening, the disengaged hand being rapidly used in ramming in the thread.

The weaving of cloth and calabash was also a major source of income to women in the pre-colonial Idanre.²⁹⁹ Clothes were weaved in one long strip, and then cut to the required length and tacked together. They also learned the art of harvesting cotton which they dried and spun into threads. Simple looms were built-in family compounds for women to practice the art of weaving. They also had large pots within the family compounds for dyeing clothes with fresh leaves called ELU harvested from certain local shrubs grown on the hilltop and beyond. Oral traditions revealed that the art of weaving became very much lucrative in Idanre during the reign of Owa Orile, the seventeenth (Oba) of Idanre in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³⁰⁰ Tailoring was done mostly by men only as it is only men's dress which required tailor. It includes embroidery made in the neck and breast of men's gowns.

This pre-colonial economic system in Idanre, before the colonial subjugation, catered for the livelihood and development needs of the people. All the sectors of the economy were capable of generating surplus and sufficient revenue and brought about inclusive development.³⁰¹ Some surpluses in different quarters were voluntarily lavished on the Owa of Idanre, to enable him to administer the territory and engage in

²⁹⁹ A figurine displayed near the old palace at Ufeke (OkeIdanre) depicts that the Idanre women were skilled cloth weavers during their historic sojourn at the old Idanre.

³⁰⁰ A number of wooden relics kept in a spot at *Ufeke* (OkeIdanre) viz., the mode of dress for indigenous women during their periodic 'Orosun festival speaks volume of the nature of economic activities of the past women.

³⁰¹ Interview with Chief S.A Akintan, Ojomu of Idanreland at Odode Idanre, 13/9/13

distance trade.³⁰² This partly explains why trade and market were the backbones of the pre-colonial Idanre economy.

2.10 Pre-colonial Trade and Market

The barter system, known locally as *agberopero*, increased as the economic structure of the community responded to internal and external changes; however, pattern of exchange still replicated the communal system; exchanged of items relied heavily on mutual trust, kindness and reciprocal gesture.³⁰³ Cowries, brass, iron and copper object were common means of transaction.³⁰⁴ Three varieties of currencies were however notable. The first was cloth currency; the second was agricultural products, and the third, the Cowry shells.³⁰⁵ Cowries served as an effective measure of value and a unit of account which made it quite convenient to know the value of one goods, in relation to another and to fix prices to all kinds of products.³⁰⁶ The use of cowry shells for exchange gave more impetus for capitalization and market growth. The small-scale credit institutions like the *esusu* among the Yoruba people in the nineteenth century played an important role in creating financial resources to meet the needs of individuals and groups.³⁰⁷ There were also indigenous bankers, money lenders and exchange banks that enabled traders to secure credit.³⁰⁸

Markets in pre-colonial Idanre were designated sites where traders and consumers met to transact goods and services. People also displayed goods in front of their homes; many hawked essential items from one community to another. As the population increased, the people realized the need for more markets. Subsequently, every quarter had its market, for example, Isalu market, Itogun market, each within its quarters.³⁰⁹ These Idanre markets were mostly held every five days. The various markets were later merged into a major market, popularly known as “Alade market”

³⁰²Falola T, 1989. The Yoruba Toll System, *Journal of African History*, Vol 30, No1, pp 70-72.

³⁰³Azikwe. N. 1980, *Ideology for Nigeria: Capitalism Socialism and Welfarism?* Nigeria: Macmillan Publishers, p 52

³⁰⁴Olofin. O. 2010. *Idanre from then till now*, p.14

³⁰⁵Lovejoy.P, 1974, Interregional monetary flows in the pre-colonial trade of Nigeria, *Journal of African History*, p 282

³⁰⁶Odamo. S.F. 1991.*Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills* p.24

³⁰⁷Samuel. J, 1921, The history of the Yorubas p.93

³⁰⁸Interview with Rufus Orosundafosi-Folafosi, Cocoa Merchant, 62 Years, during Moore festival OdodeIdanre, 2/12/11

³⁰⁹Interview with the HRM (Owa) Oba Federick Aroloye at his Palace 6/9/12

in 1924.³¹⁰ There were diverse external trading networks in addition to local trade networks in Idanre. The trade involved the exchange of goods between the people of the town on one hand and the people of immediate environs on the other. Local trade in Idanre operated daily but witnessed disruption during socio activities such as the Olofin festivals, Orosun week and other social events that restricted the movement of people around the town.³¹¹

Before the formation of the “Alade market”, the people, according to legends, seemed to have operated a similar large market structure during their sojourn at *Ufeke* (Oke Idanre). A market, according to oral tradition, operated near the foot of the hill and attracted traders from Akure, Ondo, Benin and Owo.³¹² Another account retrieved from the Baale of Alade also revealed that, before the advent of modernization in a colonial era that motivated the founding of Alade Idanre, there had been a functional market at the present Alade town. The present Oba Olusegun Ayodele Akinbola Agunloye, (the Aladeokun of Alade-Idanre) stresses that:

There was an age long market established by about sixteen Obas. We met the market there, adjacent to Okerisa, a hamlet, (Talupo) which was a small settlement in Idanre. This is now part of Alade- Idanre. We also met some people there e.g. Lisajero who played important roles in the Oba’s installation at Alade. Alade market, for many centuries, was the only notable market in Idanre. It was formally popularly known as Aladepade meaning (a place to meet). We soon shortened it to Alade, and adopted the name for our settlement while we jettisoned the foundational appellation Ilutitun³¹³

The British Assistant District Officer, Bovel Jonnes, in his report, noted that the principal market in pre-colonial Idanre was the Alade market. He elucidated that residents of Akure, Ondo, Owo and Benin attended the market which was coordinated by chiefs responsible for different aspects of trade transactions.³¹⁴ For example, the Adeniken chiefs were appointed to coordinate trade with the Benin people. In the same way, the Oshonu chiefs were empowered to regulate trade with the Owo people,

³¹⁰ Interview with HRH Oba Olusegun Ayodele Akinbola (Agunloye 1, the Aladeokun of Alade – Idanre) at his residence, Alade Idanre, Over 60 Years, 26/12/11

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid

³¹⁴ National Archive Ibadan (NAI), “Appendix No 8/135/117 Certified copy of Bovel Jonnes’s report on Idanre, signed in the presence of D.A Rowse (Acting: Col & Surveyor to H. Alfred Willoughby, the Assistant superintendent of L.C.(September, 1934)

the Odundun, related with the Ondo traders, while the Owayega monitored trade affairs with the Akures.³¹⁵ The chiefs stationed in the market at Benin, Akure, Ondo, and Owo appeared to have occupied a position similar to that of a vice-consul in a small British colony: they looked after the interest of the Idanre traders and ensured they do not get into trouble.

Transportation in Idanre in pre-colonial Idanreland was invariably similar to other parts of pre-colonial Nigeria. Transportation by land was by head portage and pack animals. The traders either carried the goods themselves or employed the services of portage, slaves or family labor. Then, people were capable of carrying between eighty and one hundred and twenty pounds of load and walk a distance of about three kilometers an hour.³¹⁶ The pre-colonial social and economic structure in Idanre was predicated on a communal mode of production. The non-capitalization of the society permitted a high degree of social uniformity, reciprocal participation, sustainable growth and combined development. Everyone in the ancient town was his or her brethren's keeper. There was a strong sense of co-existence among all classes. In pre-colonial Idanre, nobody perceived the problem of his neighbors as none of his business, even strangers who stayed in the town were integrated into this egalitarian society.³¹⁷

2.11 Indigenous System of Land Ownership in Idanre

The pre-colonial land tenure system in the region that would later be known as Idanre district in the early twentieth century was different from what was obtained in other parts of Yorubaland. It was however similar to the one practiced in the Benin kingdom.³¹⁸ The pre-colonial system of land ownership in Idanre was divided into two: (a) Town land for building purposes and (b) Country land for farming purposes.³¹⁹ Town land in pre-colonial Idanre was customarily allotted to indigenous

³¹⁵Ibid.

³¹⁵Ibid.

³¹⁶ Oral interview with HRH Oba Olusegun Ayodele Akinbola (Agunloye 1) the Aladeokun of Alade-Idanre) on 26th December, 2011

³¹⁷ The above argument corroborates assertions and polemic of dependency and underdevelopment theorists that societies in pre-colonial African societies were organised along non capitalist mode of production and expropriation. The same point justifies the point that pre-colonial societies in Africa were able to generate sustainable progress, growth and development to a high degree that everyone in the society was relatively comfortable.

³¹⁸ Ake. C. 1991. Rethinking African Democracy, p 34

³¹⁹ Interview with Oba Awosoye, Ogunlowo of AtoshinIdanre, at AtoshinIdanre 26/12/12.

families by the Owa (Oba) or king of Idanre, who was considered the owner of all the lands.³²⁰ Land allotted to certain households or family by the Oba (Owa) became the legal property of the family and was inheritable³²¹

Town lands were also bestowed to other non-indigenous families or strangers who had been integrated into the socio-political life of the community.³²² However, in cases when land (s) given to particular households or families was found uncultivated or unused for a specific time frame, such land (s) were usually retrieved from the family to ensure that all lands were judiciously used. Such lands, were reclaimed by the family after paying fines or other penalties.³²³ Transfer or commercialization of land was uncommon; however, sales of land from one person to another was conducted with the use of cowries, or by barter; subject to the approval of the (Owa) Oba of Idanre.³²⁴

The main principle that governed town land was that, once a house had been built on the land, the land belonged to the owner of the house, but he could not sell it. The renting of town land for building purposes was strictly disallowed in pre-colonial Idanre society. It was only the Owa who could freely, or with little pecuniary reciprocation, give land to families in need of such property.³²⁵ Also, the renting of houses to natives of Idanre and strangers was uncommon. This was because the ownership of houses was vested in the family, and not in individuals; hence, mortgaging town land and houses was not prevalent.³²⁶

Agricultural land was cultivated through rotation or shifting cultivation. Due to the difficulty of farming with simple implements, group-farming evolved as a method of maximizing agricultural output. Commercialization of land did not arise due to the communal pattern of appropriation. Consequently, the mode of surplus appropriation was through extra-economic means. In other words, the appropriation of nature (through the ownership of land privately) and the appropriation of surplus (through the private ownership of the means of labor) were disjointed. These made it

³²⁰Ibid.

³²²This was although very much common in the early twentieth century when cocoa cultivation started in the colonial period.

³²³Interview with Pa M Akinduro, Retired Farmer, 102 Years at Isalu Idanre, 3/8/2014

³²⁴National Archives, Ibadan (NAI) File 236/08/119, Paragraph 17 of Mr H.L Wood-Price's report on Idanre, pp 17-21

³²⁵Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, Ojomu of Idanreland 90 Years at Odode Idanre 11/ 7/2014.

³²⁶W.B. Morgan, Some Comments on Shifting Cultivation in Africa, *Research Notes*, Vol 2, No. 9, 1957, p 1, see also Morgan W.B, Agriculture in Southern Nigeria (excluding the Cameroon)" *Economic Geography*, Vol, xxxv, 1959, pp.138 – 150

impossible for a few individuals to dominate the economic prosperity of the larger community.³²⁷

It is important to note that, country land for farming purposes was considered to be communal. For example, land acquisition under the native custom was controlled by the head of a community for the common benefit of such a community. In effect, the Owa was the head of a large family, and the disposal of all lands was in his hands.³²⁸ Moreover, towards the beginning of the colonial epoch, “country” town land was divided into two: (a) land for food crops; for example, yam and corn among others. (b) land under permanent crops such as kola and, later, cocoa.³²⁹ As regards land for major food crops, if a man abandoned a piece of land which he had cultivated without expressing any intention of returning to it after it had been allowed to lie fallow for a long period, such land was seized by the (Owa) Oba. Thus, any other individual was permitted to use the land.³³⁰ Interestingly, that all land was communal can be illustrated by the fact that a native living in another quarter or village in Idanre was allowed to use land outside his jurisdiction. For example, a farmer of Irowo quarter or Idale quarter was eligible to obtain farmland in other quarters such as Isalu or in Aweba, Abababubu or Onisere villages, provided he sought the permission of the Owa (Oba) of Idanreland.³³¹

In the pre-colonial, and colonial eras, sales and mortgage of crops on the land were permitted even between strangers, provided that the strangers obtained the Owa’s permission. Sales and mortgages between natives of Idanre were not usually reported to the Owa.³³² In the case of town land, once a stranger had built a house, he was regarded as the owner of the land; meaning that such house was inheritable by his family on his death. Although, migrants, or non-indigenes, to whom land was granted had to recognize the Owa (Oba) as their overlord.³³³ The Owa and chiefs had the prerogative to evict an occupier of land from the site required for communal

³²⁷ Olutayo. A.O. 1991. Development of Underdevelopment: Rural Economy of Colonial South-western Nigeria, p 61

³²⁸ National Archive Ibadan (NAI), “appendix No 8/135/1917 Certified copy of Bovel Jonnes’s report on Idanre, signed in the presence of D.A Rowse (Acting: Col & Surveyor to H. Alfred Willoughby, the Assistant superintendent of L.C p 11.

³²⁹ National Archives, Ibadan (NAI) File No 230/34/1William Bright, “Intelligence Report on, Idanre Forest Reserve- from resident officer Ondo to the secretary of Southern Provinces” File ONDIV 2734 / 59/ 097, (June, 1923)

³³⁰ Interview with the Oba Frederick Aroloye, Owa of Idanre 93 Years at Odode 23/7/14

³³¹ National Archive Ibadan (NAI) Bovel Jones, “Intelligence Report on Idanre, File ONDIV 178/9/’17 (August, 1934 p 21)

³³² Interview with the Oba Frederick Aroloye, Owa of Idanre 93 Years at Odode 23/7/14

³³³ Ibid

purposes. The occupiers of such lands were properly compensated with other plots for his crops or house.³³⁴

Inheritance law allowed relatives and children of a deceased person to inherit his land and other estates or property. Both the Owa and relatives of the deceased were entitled to the crops on the deceased farm.³³⁵ However, the deceased relations took the greater share, because they were mandated to pay the debt or other deficit left by the deceased. This practice continued under colonial rule. In the case of cocoa trees, the Owa was entitled to one cocoa tree, not by compulsion but out of individual-collective rationality of the indigenous people to contribute to the wellbeing of the Oba who was the sole administrator of the land.³³⁶

Before the establishment of colonial rule in the first half of the twentieth century, no economic value was attached to trees. The commercialization of trees increased under colonial rule due to the monetization of the economy. No one was permitted to cut down an Iroko tree because the timber from the trees was sacredly reserved for the Owa's coffin.³³⁷ This however explains why the Owa and his chiefs, since the colonial era have received all the royalties from timber without any complaint from the people except during the 1920s when the British colonial government began intensive monopolization of timber by granting concession of timber extraction to Miller brother.³³⁸ This decision denied the Owa and his chiefs their regular remuneration from the timber business.³³⁹ It was customarily, however not obligatory for the sawyer to give a few planks to the man on whose farm the trees were fell. Trees that fell on uncultivated land would be considered to have been on communal land, which belonged to the Owa or held in trust for the people. The Owa and chiefs in the late 1930s after the intense colonial deforestation of the Idanre Reserves, agreed, that in the future no royalties should be paid to them on timber extraction.³⁴⁰ Generally, land in pre-colonial up to the early twentieth-century Idanre was allowed to lie fallow between the period of ten to fifteen years.

³³⁴Ibid.

³³⁵Ibid

³³⁶Ibid

³³⁷Interview with Mr Akinrolayo Ajiola, Son of Akinoujomu: Previous Ojomu of Idanre and 26/02/11

³³⁸National Archive Ibadan (NAI), File 236/08/19/Paragraph (VII) of Mr H.L Wood-Price's report on Idanre Land tenure in the Yoruba provinces. p.13.

³³⁹Interview with HRM Oba Federick Aroloye Arubiefin III, Owa of Idanre, 93 Years, At his Royal Palace Odode Idanre, 11/24/14

³⁴⁰National Archive Ibadan (NAI), File 236/08/19/Paragraph (VII) of Mr H.L Wood-Price's report on Idanre Land tenure in the Yoruba provinces. p.15.

In summary, the pre-colonial Idanre society was homogenous but also varied in some ways to other Yoruba-speaking societies. The farmer made use of simple agricultural implements such as machete to till the land for the production of food crops to meet the daily demand of the expanding population. Idanre people, from inception, had developed a suitable mode of capital formation, production, distribution, exchange and consumption which formed the bedrock of rural livelihood. The pre-colonial socio-economics of the people was laced on communal social relations, similar to what was prevalent in other African societies. Primitive appropriation of surplus, expropriation of land, labor, capital and individualistic accumulation were virtually nonexistent under the pre-colonial communal system because the law of reciprocity profoundly moderated relations of production. Groups, kinship and sex interchanged labor and capital for the creation of further wealth and combine development. The people had reached an advanced stage in the satisfaction of their basic amenities of life before European intervention. They conveniently produced their food, clothing, and shelter. Their economy was also diverse to incorporate craft and art-making.

From the foregoing, it has been established that Idanre society like many pre-colonial social formations in Yorubaland, enjoyed a high degree of social, economic and political coordination. Indeed, the pre-colonial African political system of administration and organized economic structures that made for social harmony, as well as its religions and sophisticated belief systems demonstrated not only the intensity of responsibility, accountability and coherence but also revalidated the authenticity and vitality of indigenous structures.

2.12 Age Grade System in Idanre

The traditional political institution in the ancient Idanre operated at two different levels: at the quarter level and at the chief's level in the palace. At quarter level, each of the seven quarters in Idanre was divided into some age grades or groupings called Otu, depending on the size of each quarter. Thus, Irowo quarter had seven age grades in ascending order. They are: Afaja, Lijoka, Bashorun, Aro, Liiken, Legiri and Orangun. Isalu quarter had six age grades: Liiken, Losare, Lijoka, Aro, Agbakin and Orinja. Idale quarter had six age grades: Liiken, Loisan, Aro, Bashorun, Leegbo and Egwi, while Okedo quarter had only four age grades: Bashorun, Aro, Legiri, and Ajero. Odeja quarter also had only four age grades: Bashorun, Aro, Liiken and Egwi. Isunren quarter had only three age grades: Liiken, Bashorun and Ajero

while Ijomu quarter equally had only three age grades: Bashorun, Liikan and Aro. The table is as follows in descending order:

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Irowo | Isalu | Idale | Okedo | Odeja | Isunrin | Ijomu |
| Orangun | Orinja | Egwi | Ajero | Egwi | Ajero | Oro |
| Legiri | Agbakin | Leegbo | Legiri | Liken | Bashorun | Liken |
| Liken | Aro | Bashorun | Aro | Aro | Liken | Bashorun |
| Aro | Lijoka | Aro | Bashorun | Bashorun | - | - |
| Bashorun | Losare | Loisan | - | - | - | - |
| Lijoka | Liken | Liken | - | - | - | - |
| Afaja | - | - | - | - | - | - |

Every adult male free-born citizen of Idanre as from the age of about twenty-one years old, after performing Arapon festival, was compulsorily initiated into the lowest age grade in his quarter where he must compulsorily serve for eight years called *odun mesan*, before moving to the next Otu or age-grade where he also had to serve another eight years until he got to the topmost age grade in his quarter. On graduating from the highest age group in his quarter, he and all members of his Otu class would, if they so liked, be conferred and honoured with chieftaincy titles, each of his own choice, by the Owa of Idanre.

It should be reiterated, however, that in the largest quarter having seven Otu age-grades, it would take fifty-six years for any youth to climb all the seven age classes before graduating out of the last age class, thus, if he was originally initiated into the lowest Otu at the age of twenty-one years and he spent eight years in each Otu grade, he would be seventy-six years old before receiving a chieftaincy honour, and somebody living in a quarter with only three Otu classes would take only twenty-one years to get to the highest Otu class at the age of only forty-two years. However, the movement upwards from one Otu to another was often so arranged in each quarter, such that a member might have to jump two or three Otu grades in his quarter while a member in a smaller quarter might have to stay two terms in one Otu class before getting to the top.

The result of it all was that the average age for graduating out of the highest Otu class in any quarter would be between the age of sixty and sixty-five years. On the conferment of a chieftaincy title on an individual, he would become a quarter

chief called Agba Adugbo or Ojoye Elegbeta. When the leaders of all the age classes came together as a group, they were together called “Otu Iranmanwile”, Iranmanwile means the group preventing any trouble from getting to the Idanre community. All the other groups combined whether at each quarter level or at the level of all quarters put together, were called “Otu Gbaagba”, meaning the group of all youths. It was from this Otu Gbaagba group that people were drafted for communal service of any nature, including military service, when necessary.

2.13 Conclusion

The pre-colonial Idanre social formation was homogenous but also varied in other patterns in some ways to other Yoruba-speaking societies. The farmer made use of simple agricultural implements such as machete to till the land for the production of food crops to meet the daily demand of the expanding population. Idanre people from inception had developed a suitable mode of capital formation; production, distribution, exchange and consumption which formed the bedrock of rural livelihood.

The pre-colonial socio-economics of the people was laced on communal social relations, similar to what was prevalent in other African societies. Primitive appropriation of surplus, expropriation of land, labor, capital and individualistic accumulation were virtually nonexistent under the pre-colonial communal system because the law of reciprocity profoundly moderated relations of production. Groups, kinship and sex interchanged labor and capital for the creation of further wealth and combine development. The people had reached an advanced stage in the satisfaction of their basic amenities of life before European intervention. They conveniently produced their food, clothing, and shelter. Their economy was also diverse to incorporate craft and art-making. From the foregoing, it has been established that Idanre society like many pre-colonial social formations in Yorubaland, enjoyed a high degree of social, economic and political coordination.

Indeed, the pre-colonial political system of administration had organized economic structures that enhanced social harmony. Pre-colonial religions and sophisticated belief systems demonstrate not only the intensity of responsibility, accountability and coherence but also revalidates the authenticity of African civilization and combine development. If the pre-literate Idanre kingdom could record such phenomenal achievement through a communal pattern of social interaction, western capitalism and neoliberal democracy, going by the historical experiences of

Idanre society, was a misleading pathway towards achieving development in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 DEVELOPMENT OF COCOA FARMING IN IDANRE UNDER COLONIAL RULE, 1900-1960

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the historical development of cocoa production in Idanre. It highlights the factors that shaped the livelihood of cocoa producers and how they affected community development in Idanre. The first section deals with the growth of cocoa and the opening of forest reserve areas in Idanre. It is followed by land ownership under colonial rule, the establishment of cocoa plantations and farmers/ laborers migration to Idanre. Effect of World War II on cocoa production and rural development in Idanre, Cocoa Marketing Board and rural development in Idanre as well as impacts of cocoa cooperative unions on Idanre rural development are extensively discussed in this chapter.

At the beginning of British colonial rule, Idanre District formed a part of the Ondo Divisional Native Administration, with a land area covering approximately 619 square miles. In the 1930s, it had a population of 32, 311. The density of the population was 118 per square mile.³⁴¹ The British colonial governments' strong motive for promoting export production paved the way for the growth and expansion of cocoa farming and commercial activities in Idanre. The incorporation of Yoruba rural communities into the international network of commodity production and supply through migration, risk, and investment under colonial capitalism set several Yoruba people in motion for accumulation and upward mobility, on one hand; and exploitation and uneven development, on the other hand.³⁴²

British colonial capitalism at the beginning of the twentieth century encouraged the development of cocoa farming.³⁴³ This was done through the establishment of the Royal Botanical Garden at Ebute-Metta and later at Okokomaiko in the mainland of Lagos in 1888. Although it was through Emmanuel Akintan, a native of Idanre, that cocoa spread to Idanre as will be discussed subsequently, the colonial government introduced experimental schemes to test specimens of known

³⁴¹NAI CSO 26—File No 30052, Intelligence Report on Idanre District, Ondo Province, 1935

³⁴²Berry, S. 1993. *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub Saharan Africa*, London: University of Wisconsin Press p 110

³⁴³Adesina, O.C. 1994. *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, ObafemiAwolowo University, Ile Ife, p 77

trees and plants of commercial values such as; cocoa, cotton, Rubber, Kola, palm oil³⁴⁴ and staple food items in western Nigeria.³⁴⁵

It is important to note, that Governor Gilbert Carter and Sir Roger Goldsmith visited Ondo in 1872; and Colonel Hewlett in 1880, but none of them got to Idanre. However, in 1892, information got to Idanre through a notable Yoruba indigene, Akinbade Olurinde, an interpreter, also representing the British colonial interest in Lagos. Olurinde informed the Owa of Idanre (Oba) Towurojoye Arunbiefin I. that he had brought a message of goodwill from the government in Lagos. He explained to the chiefs that the government in Lagos represented the Queen of England who preached peace and was opposed to the slave trade and all forms of human trafficking. Mr. Olurinde further told the Owa that the Lagos government was equally against any form of inter-tribal warfare and was determined to restoring peace to Yorubaland.³⁴⁶

Mr. Olurinde went further to assure the people that representatives of the government would soon visit Idanre; therefore, the Owa of Idanre and his people should be prepared for their visit. The message was so joyfully received by the Owa of Idanre and members of the Ugha (Traditional Council of Chiefs) that on the departure of Mr. Olurinde, the Owa sent an elephant tusk to Governor Gilbert Carter in Lagos.³⁴⁷ That was a gesture of appreciation.

Governor Carter arrived in Idanre in 1898 to sign a treaty of colonisation with the Owa. The Governor was accompanied to Idanre by a convoy of about 200 people, prominent among whom was Mr. D.A Rowse, the acting Colonial Surveyor. This marked the beginning of British colonial capitalism in Idanre.

Colonial capitalism had far-reaching effects on rural income, employment, productivity and development in Idanre in the first half of the twentieth century. It introduced among other things, wage labour, a new pattern of recruitment and accumulation besides changing the indigenous land tenure system in Idanre.

³⁴⁴ Ayorinde, J.A. 1965. Historical Notes on the Introduction and Development of Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, *The Nigerian Agricultural Journal*, Vol 3, No 1 P 1

³⁴⁵ Faluyi, E..K. 1995. A History of Agriculture in Western Nigeria, 1900-1960, PhD Thesis, Department of History University of Lagos, 1996, The Role of Government in the Promotion of Agriculture in Ogunremi G.O and Faluyi E.K (eds) *Economic History of West Africa* Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication. p 176-182

³⁴⁶ British Archives, Public Records of Office, (P.R.O) Appendix of Governor Gilbert Carter's Report on Idanre to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

³⁴⁷ British Archives, Public Records of Office, (P.R.O) Appendix of Governor Gilbert Carter's Report on Idanre to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

The British colonial government in South-western Nigeria during the opening decade of the twentieth century encouraged the production of cash crops over staple domestic food crops. The spread of commercial and wage employment in the early years of the colonial rule provided many indigenous food-producing farmers with the means to engage in cocoa production.³⁴⁸ The growth and expansion of commercialized farming greatly affected the Idanre people and their environment. As a result of the experimental programmes that were also carried out in some areas in Idanre at places such as Owena, Tejugbola farm, Okenifon, Atoshin and a host of others between 1901 and 1910, and coupled with the efforts of some Yoruba Christian farmers who propagated the crop through several indigenous representatives in the Anglican and, later, Methodist churches, cocoa emerged not only as a major export crop produced in Idanre, but the main livelihood of the people.³⁴⁹ Cocoa cultivation subsequently spread through the encouragement which the Christian Missionaries and European merchants gave to the people. The colonial agents also assured the people that the cultivation of the crop would bring socio-economic transformation to the town.³⁵⁰

3.2 Early Introduction of Cocoa to Idanre and Its Development

The debate on the introduction of cocoa seed to Nigeria remains a subject of controversy among scholars.³⁵¹ While some believe that cocoa came to Nigeria through Calabar, others assert that a European botanist and Christian missionary named J.P Davies was the first to plant cocoa at Iju village in the present-day Agege area of Lagos in the 1870s.³⁵² Sara Berry, J.A Ayorinde and L.A Opeke, asserted that that it was Squiss Ibanigo who brought cocoa to Nigeria. He was believed to have carried the seed along with him from Fernando Po in 1874 and propagated it beyond

³⁴⁸Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p 11

³⁴⁹NAI, 236/08/19, Paragraph 2/377 of Mr H.L Word-Price's Report on Idanre Land Tenure in the Yoruba Provinces, 1912

³⁵⁰Adesina, O.C. 1994. *Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1900-1970*, Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, p 70

³⁵¹Faluyi, E..K. 1995. *A History of Agriculture in Western Nigeria, 1900-1960*, PhD Thesis, Department of History University of Lagos, p 34

³⁵²Alabi, W.O. 1999. *Cocoa Production and Marketing in Idanre Local Government Area of Ondo State*, (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation) Submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan, p. 85.

Bonny Island. However,³⁵³Denereth and a handful of other scholars have argued that cocoa was first introduced into Calabar by David Henshaw, a West African who brought cocoa from Fernando Po before Squiss Ibanigo.³⁵⁴

In Idanre some factors and actors influenced the processes through which cocoa came to the town, as noted in the first chapter. The propagation of cocoa farming in Idanre was partly connected to Henry Venn and T.F Buxton's doctrine of the Bible and the Plough on one hand, and the Vent-for-surplus theory on the other hand. The Christianization of the Yorubas through the activities of the Christian Missionary Society, (CMS) which was supported by the British colonial government in Nigeria facilitated the adoption, spread and growth of cocoa agriculture in the Yoruba hinterland.³⁵⁵The CMS mission in the Ondo province and districts played a significant role in the development of cocoa farming and the social environment that welcomed it. The evangelistic activities of the Christian missionaries led by Bishop Charles Philips resulted to the spread of cocoa seedlings to the people of Idanre, as was the case in many communities in Ondo town during the early twentieth century.³⁵⁶

The British agricultural experiment programme that began in Ebute Meta botanical station, Lagos in 1893 aided the spread of cocoa planting in the hinterland.³⁵⁷ Although cocoa seedlings had initially come into some villages such as Owena, Tejugalola, Atoshin and few other farm hamlets in Idanre through the activities of some Yoruba Christian farmers and indigenous traders in Lagos since the late 1880s, cocoa cultivation in Idanre did not become a major means of livelihood of the Idanre people until 1910.³⁵⁸ The intensive dissemination of cocoa seedlings by the African Christian missions was driven by the belief that cocoa cultivation would

³⁵³ Berry. S. 1975. *Christianity and the Rise of Cocoa*; 1968 *Cocoa and Economic Development*, Oxford University Press, Berry S, *Cocoa, Custom and Socio- Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*, Oxford: Clarendon Press; Ayorinde J.A, 1985, *Historical Note on the Introduction and Development of Cocoa Industry in Nigeria*.

³⁵⁴ Dennett, R.E. 1919. *Agricultural Progress in Nigeria*, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol 18, No 72, Oxford University Press, see also Howes, F.N. 1946. *The Early Introduction of Cocoa to West Africa*, *African Affairs*, Vol 45, No 180, pp 152-153

³⁵⁵ Adesina, O.C. 2004. *Modern Agriculture in Nigeria: A Historical Exegesis*, *Benin Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol 4, No 1-2, p 60-61

³⁵⁶ NAI, File No 36722 Intelligence Report of Cap J. Harriss on the Christian Missions in Idanre. P 3

³⁵⁷ NAI, Telegram No 2734 Of 5/9/1961, Memorandum, from The Resident Ondo Province, to The Secretary Southern Provinces, Lagos, 0/171/1916

³⁵⁸ NAI, 236/08/19, See Paragraph 17/377 Of Mr H.L Wood-Price's Report On Idanre Land Tenure In The Yoruba Provinces

improve the quality of life and enhance material conditions of the growing Christian congregations.³⁵⁹

Some people and agencies also aided the spread of the crop in Idanre. The first was the Miller Brothers Company. By 1901, the British government had granted series of economic concessions to the Miller Brothers, a notable European firm that operated in the area until the early 1900s, with the monopoly rights to extract timber and exploit available resources. The company, before the colonization, had acquired some cocoa seedlings in Lagos, planted and sold some to the indigenous farmers. For instance, the company planted cocoa at Ala, Ofosu axis and other remote timber forests where it operated in Idanre.³⁶⁰

In 1916, Emmanuel Akintan, an Idanre indigene at Oke Idanre, also received information that some Europeans were felling trees around Ajebamidele and were using young men's labour to roll the logs into Ajebamidele River which would then flow to the coast where they would be loaded into the sea-going ships for export to Europe. He left his Oke-Idanre residence for the site to also render his labour for a fee. While working at the site, he was able to interact with educated people as well as meeting some of the sailors who told him that the boat also plied Brazilian ports which had similar vegetation as Nigeria and that cocoa was growing in commercial quantities there. The sailors promised to bring cocoa pods for those of them who might be interested in cocoa plantation farming.³⁶¹ He also met some educated Nigerians who promised that they could assist in educating any of his relations. That prompted him to return home to bring his immediate younger brother, Daniel Akintan, whom he handed to the expatriates. That was how Daniel Akintan started schooling and ended up a graduate of the prestigious St Andrews's College, Oyo. He became the second Idanre to graduate from that college after one Akinjo.³⁶²

The sailor brought cocoa pods from Brazil as promised and taught the people how to grow cocoa and produce them for export. Emmanuel Akintan carried some cocoa pods and trekked from Ajebamidele to the River Owena and planted the seedlings there. He named the place, which is currently the Idanre Local government Headquarters, Aiyetoro Owena. The whole area, up to about half a mile to the

³⁵⁹ Adesina, O.C. 2004. *Modern Agriculture In Nigeria: A Historical Exegesis*, P 63

³⁶⁰ NAI, CSO 20 File No 37414 'Intelligence Report Compiled By Bovel Jones, Assistant District Officer on Cocoa Production 19/7/1919

³⁶¹ Interview with Justice Sunday Akinola Akintan, 75 Years, 19/9 2017

³⁶² Ibid.

present-day Atoshin Idanre, was demarcated as Forest Reserve by the British Colonial Administration. Some of Emmanuel Akintan's friends got the news and decided to follow suit. Among the early indigenes to plant cocoa were Pa Akinboro, Pa Olatunji, who later became High Chief Lisa of Idanre and Pa Akinyeye, who later became the High Chief Sasere of Idanre. All these people moved to Apomu on the present Idanre-Akure road, which is about five miles from Owena where Emmanuel Akintan had settled. Others from Idanre joined these early pioneers of cocoa farming in different parts of the then "Forest Reserve area".³⁶³

When the British government discovered that these people had pockets of farming settlements in different parts of the old Ondo-Akure road, the Colonial administration decided to put a stop to the growing encroachments across the road. This was how the government created a Cocoa Research Centre at Owena- Idanre, then known as West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI). The centre was to cater for cocoa research for the British colonies of Nigeria and Gold Coast (now Ghana) with its headquarters in Accra. The centre coordinated all cocoa growing activities in Idanre; and by extension, Nigeria, until 1957. When the Gold Coast attained independence in 1957, like Ghana, Nigeria pulled out and its nomenclature was changed to Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) and its headquarters was created at Onigambari, Ibadan.³⁶⁴

Apart from conducting researches into the development of cocoa production and disseminating their research output to the cocoa farmers in the cocoa-producing areas of Nigeria, the staff of the Research Institute in Idanre ensured that Idanre farmers never encroach on the land across the Ondo-Akure road between the Owena River and Apomu. This was how the colonial government was able to preserve the Forest Reserve between Owena-Idanre and Igbara-Oke. However, the land, including the entire area to the right of Ondo-Akure road between old Owena Bridge up to Apomu extending to Atoshin and Alade Idanre, was fully encroached upon by the Idanre people who planted cocoa there. This was how cocoa was introduced to Idanre area and it could also explain, in a way, how the town took the lead in cocoa production in western Nigeria.³⁶⁵

³⁶³Ibid

³⁶⁴Public Record Office, File No 872/ 23 Government Gazette'' 1922

³⁶⁵Interview with Justice Sunday Akinola Akintan, 75 Years, 19/9/2017

The stationing of CRIN at Idanre brought development to the town. Apart from offering technical services to the farmers, CRIN sold seedlings and other farm inputs to farmers at affordable costs. As it will be explained in the following section, CRIN warehoused government grants which supported the activities of the Department of Agriculture and cooperative societies in Idanre. In Aweba and Ofosu farms in Idanre, informants recounted that cocoa farming started there through some Yoruba farmers who had worked as laborers on cocoa plantations in Lagos and Ibadan before returning to Idanre to acquire farmland.³⁶⁶ The willingness of these migrants to come to Idanre was informed by the surplus land in Idanre. The Acting Governor in 1910 noted as a matter of fact that:

There has been an enormous development in cocoa dissemination in the year to the Yoruba hinterland, in the western province. In eastern province, there has been some further development, but the farmers have not taken up cash crop business to the same extent as the desire and ingenuity of Yoruba natives has stimulated the propagation of cocoa to the interior.³⁶⁷

By this period, the campaign for cocoa farming had spread intensively to Idanre. At town meetings, worship places, as well as markets, Idanre people were advised to embrace cocoa production as their main livelihood.³⁶⁸ By the 1920s, the Ugha (First Grade Chiefs) had been incorporated into the colonial administrative structure. These chiefs, the missionaries and quarter heads were remunerated to sensitize people on the need to cultivate cocoa for export.

3.3 Pattern of Cocoa Production in Idanre

At the beginning of cocoa cultivation in Idanre, it was the Amelonado variety, which matured after ten years, that was first introduced. The Amazon, a far superior variety came into Nigeria through Ghana and got to the Idanre farmers in 1940s. Some other varieties were subsequently introduced from Trinidad between 1951 and 1952.³⁶⁹ The first step in the cultivation of the crop was farm clearing. The farmer cleared the trees and weeds, but left some of the trees to serve as wind breaks. Cocoa was planted from

³⁶⁶ Afolabi, G.J O. 1973. Journey to Agricultural Work in Yorubaland, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol 63, No 1, pp 85-86

³⁶⁷ N.AI, Colonial Annual Report on Cocoa 1911, p 17

³⁶⁸ Odamo. S.F. 1991. Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills, p10

³⁶⁹ Cocoa Association of Nigeria (C.A.N): News letter, July – December, 1997, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp.1

fresh seeds, and usually, three to five seeds were put in each hole which was four to six inches deep. The holes were four yards apart and in parallel rows.³⁷⁰

During the eighth year, the trees began to bear its first fruits which were usually very small yields. During this stage, the trees attained full maturity, and subsequently, the average yield of cocoa was estimated to be one pound of dry cocoa per pod. After this, the plant grew to a minimum of about 20 to 25 feet; its leaves were broad, fairly thick, and green.³⁷¹ The base of a full-grown trunk attained a thickness of about twelve inches. The bark was coarse and hard. The blossom was small and pinkish 'white and grows directly out of the main trunk and branches after fertilization and germination, the petals fell off, and from the stamens, within twelve weeks, an oblong pod developed. The pod was golden in color and contained twenty to thirty grains of cocoa enveloped in a juicy fibre.³⁷²

In the spaces between the cocoa trees, Idanre farmers planted other crops, such as palm trees, and plantain. This was done to provide shade for the cocoa plant as well as providing a source of income for the farmer in pre-harvest times. The cocoa tree started bearing fruits after six years, at about nine feet height. In the first few years, the plant was pruned occasionally to enable it to grow and bear fruit in due time.³⁷³ By a continuous process of selection and breeding new varieties which were of high yield in terms of their commercial qualities and were adapted to the ecological condition of the area, the F3 Amazon variety was widely adopted. The West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI)'s Cocoa Hybrid series II, which was more superior to F3 Amazon was also planted in Idanre in the colonial era.³⁷⁴

Predominantly, cocoa beans from ripe pods were harvested and packed in polythene bags of 15cm X 10cm lined under prepared bamboo and palm fonds or netting shade. Nursery commenced around October to prepare the beans or the seedlings for planting by the following rainy season. The growing seedlings were watered when necessary for optimum water intake. As the seedling grew, the farmers

³⁷⁰Kalada, K. 1964. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, Master Thesis, College of Business Administration, Boston University, p 32

³⁷¹Ibid. pp 32-33.

³⁷²Kalada, K. 1964. Management of the Cocoa iIndustry in Nigeria pp32-33

³⁷³Ibid. p 33

³⁷⁴Ajayi, W.O. et.al “Managing Uncertainties and risks inCocoa production and Marketing in Nigeria” in Adegeye A.J. and Ajayi W.O. (eds) *Proceedings of a Nation Seminar on Revolutionizing Nigerian Cocoa Industry*, Ibadan: University Press,1995.p 7

protected them from leaf-eating caterpillars.³⁷⁵ The leaf-eating caterpillars were controlled by the use of light formulations of insecticides. As the seedling developed and the Cotyledons broke off, the canopies were reduced by removing the palm fronds to make their stems and leaves sturdy.³⁷⁶ The size of cocoa farms in Idanre varied, ranging from two acres worked by a farmer and his family to the plantations of fifty acres which employed a regular labour force. Many of the farms were small and owned by individual families. Due to the growth of towns and overcrowding at the main towns, farmers had to acquire lands in the distant forest, such as; Aweba, Ajebamidele among others, to cultivate on a large expanse of land. As a result, farmers had to travel out of the main town with their families to the farms to return home fortnightly. In some camps, their collective efforts were adopted in sustaining the production and marketing of cocoa in the town.³⁷⁷

Cocoa field planting in Idanre required enormous planting into already prepared fields which took place as soon as the rain became steady. The seedlings were inserted into the holes after removing the polythene. The soil dug was used to fill the space over the seedling. Rainfall constituted a major factor that determined the survival of cocoa trees in Idanre. During the colonial period, most cocoa grew in rainfalls above 125cm (50 inches).³⁷⁸ The extent to which cocoa grew rapidly in Idanre was dependent on the distribution of the fall and the capacity of the soil to hold moisture. Cocoa production in Idanre, from inception, required proper growing conditions which were equivalent to high humidity, and the degree of humidity was influenced by rainfall and temperature. The lower relative humidity of the dry season accelerated the loss from the tree by transpiration.³⁷⁹ The average yield of dry cocoa per acre was estimated in the 1940s to be 900 pounds. The average acreage in Idanre, like a few cocoa farms in the Ondo province, ranged between 1.5 acres and 1.8 acres, and the aggregate yield per acre throughout the bearing period was 80 cwt. On a good farm, three pickings could be made in the main crop season, which was between

³⁷⁵ Rohan, T.A. 1963. *Processing of Raw Cocoa For the Market*, Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, p 36.

³⁷⁶ Interview with Mr. Sunday Adewusi Adewale (Cocoa farmer) Gbalegi Idanre April 2011

³⁷⁷ Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria, (CRIN) Nigeria Cocoa Survey, Annual Bulletin, 1958, p 1

³⁷⁸ Augustine, B.W. 1953. *A Report on Cocoa Research in Nigeria*, London: Macmillan, pp. 8-10.

³⁷⁹ Rohan T.A., *Processing of raw cocoa for the market*, Rome: FAO Agricultural studies, 1963, p. 42

October and February, and one to three in the offseason, between March and September.³⁸⁰

By the 1940s and 1950s, Idanre cocoa farms had grown to be one of the largest in the Ondo Province in Nigeria. From the entire land area of 619 square miles, (1,584 sq km), cocoa plantations had covered over 360 square miles.³⁸¹This partly explains the towns' leading position in cocoa exports.³⁸² Cocoa business and production spread virtually in all parts of the ancient town of Idanre. One of the informants noted that:

I could remember that from Alade, Atosin, down to Odode Idanre, the smell of cocoa oozes in the atmosphere in the 1960s when I was growing up. Almost every street in Idanre was seen with shops spreading cocoa seeds on a sack to sun-dry and also selling dry cocoa seeds.³⁸³

3.4 The Growth of Cocoa and the Opening of Forest Reserved Areas in Idanre

Within the expansive forest land of Idanre, the British colonial government in 1918 carved out over 280 square kilometres into what became known as the *Idanre Forest Reserved Area O. A. 5* and ruthlessly deforested a larger portion of the same between the 1920s and 1958 for the development of cocoa farms.³⁸⁴The intensive deforestation was due to the need to raise more revenue from the cash crop.³⁸⁵ It was also occasioned by the increasing market demand for a specific variety of cocoa beans

³⁸⁰ Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria, (CRIN) Nigeria Cocoa Survey, Annual Bulletin, 1958, p 4

³⁸¹ NAI, B.V Jones, Intelligence Report on Idanre District in the Ondo Division of the Ondo Province, NP/10996/1934

³⁸² Interview with MrMakinwa Sunday, Chairman Cocoa Farmers Association Alade Idanre, 5/7/2016

³⁸³ Mr Akinrolayo Claudius, (Retired Banker) and Indigene of Idanre, at Ikorodu Lagos, 23/092015

³⁸⁴ NAI, Intelligence Report, Idanre Forest Reserve Area O.A 5," OndoDiv, File, No178, 1928 See also Afolabi G.J O, 1973, Journey to Agricultural Work in Yorubaland, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 63, No 1, pp. 85-86

³⁸⁵ Britain during the period, was concerned with the exploitation of mineral and non mineral resources of her Colonies. This was based on the philosophy that colonial areas were solely gold mine for the extraction of raw materials and open markets and a field free to all foreign enterprises. See Ekundare, R.O. 1971. *An Economic history of Nigeria*, London: Longman. p 15. See also Fredrick C, 1981, *Africa and the World Economy*, African Studies Review, Vol. 24, No. 2/3, Social Science and Humanistic Research on Africa: An Assessment, pp 231-234

cultivated in some areas in West Africa, amongst which was Idanre cocoa farm in Nigeria.³⁸⁶

In 1916, the British government in Idanre had compelled the Native Authority in Ondo and Idanre to sign an agreement for the preservation of certain forest such as ‘Area A.O.5’ that constituted a chain of over four hundred (400) farm settlement among which included Irele, Otu, Oniserere, Abababubu, and Ofosu, along the Benin highway.³⁸⁷ This understanding was tacitly welcomed by the Native Authority in Idanre, as depicted in the memo of the Native Administration:

We the undersigned traditional chiefs agree to grant his Excellency the Governor General all that land bounded as follows to be made into a Forest Reserve in accordance with sections 4 (III) and 5 (II) of the Forestry Ordinance 1916. For the joint purposes, use and benefit of Government and of the Native Communities owning the land but on the condition that the Royalties on all Timber cut down from this forest will be paid to the native council and that our hunting rights within this forests remains sacrosanct and that we retain our farming and legal right over all the land as provided for under section 23 (1) (a) of the forestry ordinance, 1916.³⁸⁸

Consequently, the vast forest land area of about (280m) stretching from Idanre, by the Ondo-Idanre road, to the Owena river, linking its junction with Ohusu ‘Ofosu’ river, by Allilogun stream, to its intersection with Idanre-Akure road via Irele, Oluwa, Owena, Onisere, Abababubu, Otu, Abule Lisa among others, were preserved as forest reserved areas titled Area ‘A.O.5.’ Two years later, the British government introduced another land ordinance which repealed the ‘Area A.O.5’ agreement with the Native Authority in Idanre.³⁸⁹

With the massive influx of migrants coming to cultivate cocoa in Idanre in the 1920s, coupled with the movement of many indigenes leaving ‘Ufeke’ or Oke Idanre (hilltop) to settle at Odode, Alade and Atoshin to build houses and plant cocoa, the colonial government decided to open up the forests for cocoa farming. Ipoba farm

³⁸⁶Bukharin, N. 1980.*Imperialism and World Economy*:London, Martin Lawrence Ltd, 11. See also Akinyeye Y, 2014, Clothing Others while Naked: West Africa and Geo-politics, Inaugural Lecture Presentation, University of Lagos Press

³⁸⁷NAI, No 171/1Idanre Forest Reserve, Ondo Province: extracted from memorandum from the Resident to the District Officer, Ondo Prof 1916. pp3

³⁸⁸ N.A.I, Forest Reserved 302/335/17 ‘A Reaction of the Native Authority in Idanre to the District Officer, Ondo Province, 16/7/1916

³⁸⁹ NAI, File No 2734/ 120 “Idanre Forest Reserves- Ondo Province” A Memo from the Conservator of Forest Ondo Province to the Secretary Southern Provinces-Lagos, 5/9/1923 Ondo Prof

village that connected Idanre with Akure along Atoshin, was founded in the 1930s to accommodate migrants and indigenes that needed land for cocoa cultivation. Apomu, Ogbese, Irore, Owena, Atoshin, Arisin, Aiyetoro, Okenifon, Okerisha, Okedo, Odode and Alade also grew rapidly due to cocoa production and sales. Other major areas which developed in the “ Forest Reserved” areas due to the presence of indigenous and migrant farmers included Omifunfun, Ipinlerere, Olorunto, Ajegunle, Ajegbale, Ala, Okerisha, Ajegunle among others.

Unlike the pre-colonial land tenure system which gave the people rights to use lands within their limit of family’s jurisdiction, the British colonial government commercialized land to create competition among cocoa growers in the area.³⁹⁰ By the Colonial Gazette of 1928, the British government began to allocate the forest land previously preserved in the 1916, 1918 and 1920 government’s ordinances as Idanre Forest Reserved Area, popularly described as “Area A.O.5” to influential cocoa merchants and producers. These included ‘Irele Reserved Area 18’ which was about 75 square miles, Idanre Reserve, which was about 280 square miles, Oluwa Forest Reserved of 38 square miles, Otu Forest Reserved, covering 25 square miles Oniserere, measured about 120 square miles.³⁹¹’

Furthermore, the British colonial gazette of 1928 stated that:

The Forest Reserved Area in the above section is secluded beyond the custody and ownership of the Chiefs. Moreover, this land will be commissioned for the development of agriculture and nothing can be done until the question of land supply for cash crop production is settled, except that the head of the community mentioned in my paragraph 4 will be entitled to Royalties on Timber felled within the area. The native community owning the land will also continue to enjoy (a) farming right south of the proposed line marked on the deforested land,(b) hunting right are therefore subject to the conditions of the game laws.³⁹²

To be sure, all the asterisked land b b nu;ly7l.in the forestry act of 1916 ordinance ‘Area A.O.5’ as Idanre forest areas, covering Irele, Oluwa, Onisere, Otu, Okerisha, Okedo, Owena area, Okenifon, Aiyetoro, and Irore, were opened and sold

³⁹⁰ NAI, “ Area A.O.5, Idanre Forest Reserves”, No 3734 of 5/9/1928 Ondo Prof

³⁹¹ N.A.I Telegram No 27345 of/9/1928, Forest Reserved- Ondo Province, memo of the Acting Governor to the Conservator of Forest, Gazette No 75/2/20, compiled by H.L Sankey

³⁹² N.A.I Telegram No 27345 of/9/1928, Forest Reserved- Ondo Province, memo of the Acting Governor to the Conservator of Forest, Gazette No 75/2/20, compiled by H.L Sankey

to the well to do indigenes and migrants This according to Bovel Jonnes, a colonial district officer in 1928 was to curtail the rapid influx of migrant farmers and facilitate the development of cocoa industry in the town.³⁹³

The Forest Reserve following Section 4 (III) and 5 (II) of the forestry ordinance of 1916, and some unoccupied land areas reserved for the cultivation of staple food crops in the pre-colonial era, were endorsed for cocoa cultivation. From the Irele--Onisere road to the Onisere axis about 10 miles to the Irele Forest Reserve, was intensively opened for cocoa farming.³⁹⁴ The British Conservator of Forest in a memo noted in 1921 that :

the boundaries of Akure, Ikere, and Ado have been roughly demarcated by the Forestry Department for rapid agricultural development, but those of Ise and Emure-Ise will be opened in due course³⁹⁵

By January 1921, the Conservator of Forest directed that twenty-five percent of reserved lands in Idanre be allocated mainly to cocoa growers. This regulation meant that nobody could use forest land without the approval of the Native Authority. Again, this was not peculiar to Idanre. In Owo Division, several forest reserved areas such as Owo Reserve, Okeluse and Ifon were expropriated by the colonial government. Forest resources in Owo Division like in Idanre came under the control of the colonial Forestry Department which ensured that nobody used it for other purposes, except cocoa cultivation.

Gareth Austin noted that similar developments occurred in the cocoa farming areas in the Gold Coast. In Asante, all forest and community lands were seized from the Asante chiefs and farmers and were expropriated by capitalist and foreign merchants. A similar trajectory was introduced in Kumasi and Accra, where indigenes' access to communal lands was taken over by the colonial government for the development of capitalist agriculture.³⁹⁶ Colonial capitalism changed the land

³⁹³ NAI, 178/9/17 intelligence Report on Idanre, Compiled by BovelJonnes, OndoDiv 1934 p 21

³⁹⁴ N.A.I Telegram No 27345 of/9/1928, Forest Reserved- Ondo Province, memo of the Acting Governor to the Conservator of Forest, Gazette No 75/2/20, compiled by H.L Sankey

³⁹⁵ N.A.I Intelligence Report on Akure District, Ekiti Division, Ondo Province to the CSG, Compiled by Captain N.A.C Weir 3//1935 pp1-2

³⁹⁶ Gareth, A. 2005. Labor, Land and Capital in Ghana; From Slavery to Free Labor in Ashanti 1807-1956 , USA, University of Rochester Press, p 165

tenure system in Idanre, as Gareth also noted in Ashanti, it rapidly facilitated cash crop production and growth.³⁹⁷

These land-use policies, however, led to the development of several remote villages in the town. Abababubu, Abushoro, Apefan, Arowona, Lejuwa and other major farm hamlet downhill were part of the new areas developed during the period.³⁹⁸ Onisherere was opened up not only for cocoa plantation, but to accommodate the migrants. Also, some settlements had sprung up within Oniserere. They include Eriju, Ibishere, Yalowo, Ipinlerere, Degbaju, Owomofe, and Owobande communities developed by cocoa farmers. The more people settled in the deforested areas, the faster villages evolved and were occupied by either indigenous or migrant farmers. The increase in rural income and growth in cocoa output in Idanre brought socio-economic change to the various settlements in Idanre.³⁹⁹

The breaking up of Idanre Forest Reserve led to the transformation of the environment and development of many villages. The establishment of these communities brought about demographic and economic changes in Idanre. The opening of the Idanre Forest areas expanded the scope of cocoa cultivation in Idanre.⁴⁰⁰ Migrants and indigenes who moved in and settled in the new areas lived there with their children and families cultivating cocoa. This explains why the town suddenly became a major producer of cocoa in Nigeria. Many non-Yoruba migrant farmers and laborers, especially from the Benin Republic that came to Idanre interacted socially and economically with the indigenous people and adapted to the culture of the society. This marked the beginning of rural development in Idanre. However, due to the increasing presence of migrants in Idanre in the 1930s conflict over land developed. Competition over land created social differentiation and class conflict in Idanre.⁴⁰¹

3.5 Land Ownership, Social Changes and Conflict in Idanre

³⁹⁷ Ajiola, F.O. 2012. The Economy of Idanre 1900-1960, Unpublished M.A Thesis, Department of History, University of Ibadan, pp 72-74

³⁹⁸ NAI, 178/9/'17 Intelligence Report on Idanre, Compiled by BovelJonnes, OndoDiv 1934 p 21

³⁹⁹ Berry S, 1985, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p 56

⁴⁰⁰ Berry, S. 1975. Cocoa, Custom and Socio- Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria, cited in Aderinto, S. 2013. Where is the Boundary? Cocoa Conflict, Land Tenure and Politics in Western Nigeria 1890s -1960, *Journal of Social History* Vol 47, No 1:178

⁴⁰¹ Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 10

The indigenous system of land ownership in Idanre has been discussed in the previous chapter. Land in the pre-colonial Idanre society was the common property of the family, usually members of the same lineage. The land had enormous cultural value, but could not be easily monetised. Land in Idanre was held to be a gift of nature, which should not be sold, but a group of kinsmen could preserve their right to a piece of land for posterity.⁴⁰² Free land, once appropriated and cleared by an individual, belonged to his descendants in perpetuity. But the terms of these rights were collective, not individual. Control was exercised by the head of the lineage or family concerned and he apportioned the land based on need. An occupier of land had no right to alienate his land without the consent of the group. Indeed, migrants or non-indigenes in the town got unused land by making periodic gifts to those who had the title of ownership of such land. In most cases, the money realized from such sales or rents was shared among the members of the family or spent on the collective obligation of the group.⁴⁰³

While other relations of production were insufficient for production, the land before colonial rule did not constitute any obstacle to agricultural activities in Idanre.⁴⁰⁴ Prior to the beginning of colonial capitalism and the commercialization of agriculture, access to uncultivated land was linked to membership in a compound or descent group.⁴⁰⁵ Every indigene was customarily entitled to the land within his family's influence. Migrants known in Idanre dialect as *Aare* were allowed to cultivate, or assume temporary tenancy on a family or community land provided he paid *Isakole* (tribute).⁴⁰⁶

With the colonial rule, access to land and other means of production was usually mediated through membership in various pre-existing social units, which were tolerated by colonial officials, as long as their leaders professed loyalty to the colonial government, but often were deliberately incorporated into the colonial administrative apparatus. The growth of cocoa farming and the scramble for cultivable land existing

⁴⁰²Kalada, K..1964. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, Master Thesis, College of Business Administration, Boston University, pp 20-21

⁴⁰³Kalada, K..1964. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria., pp 22-25

⁴⁰⁴Akintan S.A. 2014. A History of Idanre; Ufeke From Earliest Times to the Present, Ibadan: John Archers. p23

⁴⁰⁵Berry, S. 1985, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 65

⁴⁰⁶Odamo, S.F. 1991. Idanre Beauty and Culture on the hills, Ibadan: Samnice Press. See also Ogunremi G.O and Faluyi E.K) *Economic History of West Africa*, p 7-11. See also Hopkin. A.G, 1973, *An Economic; History of West Africa*, London: Longman

within the family units created clashes within kinships due to the refusal of family heads to relinquish or share family lands equitably among members.⁴⁰⁷ There was also the reason that many could not afford the cost of lands that the colonial governments administered in the forest reserved areas.

However, in some cases, juniors worked on their senior kinsman's farm in return for future assistance in establishing independent farms or enterprises of their own, but often time, individuals tended to cycle in and out of a given farming enterprise and farmer's household in search of land.⁴⁰⁸ Competition over land created protracted crises not just within family units, landlords and tenants mostly migrants but Idanre people and the Akure chiefs and farmers. Proximately after World War I, the token offered to landowners as *Ishakole* by migrants were turned into money or in most cases a share from harvested cocoa. This caused a rift between landowners and tenants. Consequently, Idanre farmers and migrants stretched towards the Idanre-Akure border to acquire land.

A critical review of the 1912 memorandum of understanding between Idanre and Akure revealed that the Owa of Idanre and the Deji of Akure signed a timber license for area 147 to Messrs Kirstein. The royalties were also divided between the two monarchs – the Deji of Akure and the Owa of Idanre. Both the Deji of Akure and the Owa of Idanre had agreed that all their subjects could farm indiscriminately between Akure and Idanre without any boundary line separating the two kingdoms and therefore, farmers of both Idanre and Akure were absolutely free, unfettered and legally right to farm and continue to farm between Idanre and Akure as of right. In 1913, a joint declaration by the two monarchs there started to be few disputes between the farmers of Akure and Idanre over land, one the one hand and the Native Authorities collecting tributes for the Obas.⁴⁰⁹

This affected the pattern of social relations among farmers in Idanre. The colonial intelligence report documented by Bovel Jones on Idanre forest areas pointed to the fact that the conflict between Idanre and Akure started as a result of colonial land use ordinances in Idanre which pushed many land-seeking farmers beyond the

⁴⁰⁷Berry S. 1985.*Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 15

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid

⁴⁰⁹Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, The Ojomo of Idanre age- 89, at OdodeIdanre, January 2016

bounds of their community, resulting in boundary conflicts between Idanre and her neighbours. A case in point was the Idanre-Akure land crisis that began in the late 1930s.⁴¹⁰In April 23 1927, the Resident, Ondo Province after perusing the joint report of November 27, 1926 wrote to the District Officer Ondo Division that:

I have today seen the Deji and he informs me that he has no objection to a boundary line being cut from Owena River through Kinoro's farm as far as the Ofosu River; what he does object to is the boundary being carried on from the Ofosu River to the Ogbese River.⁴¹¹

On January 13, 1930, Captain A. R. A. Dickins, District Officer, Ondo Division, Captain A. P. Pullen, District Officer Ekiti Division, the Owa of Idanre and the Deji of Akure met at Owena Rest House and, "a suggestion was made by the Deji of Akure that there should be no boundary between Akure and Idanre was accepted by the Owa reluctantly and as a temporary measure." On March 13, 1931, a further meeting of the District Officers of Ondo and Ekiti Divisions with both the Owa of Idanre and the Deji of Akure was held at Owena Rest House where the Owa of Idanre signed an agreement with the Deji of Akure relinquishing his claim to the areas between the Ala village and Ogbese River for the area between Owena River and Aponmu River. This agreement was to adjust the boundary line to agree with Deji's request of the April, 23 1927, objecting to the Idanre boundary extending from Ala to Ogbese River. Soon after the meeting of March 13, 1931, the District Officer Ekiti Division reported to Resident Akure as follows:

⁴¹⁰Falola T, 2010. Neighbours at War: Conflict over Boundaries in Colonial Nigeria, *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol 19, p 1

⁴¹¹

At the meeting, the Deji of Akure and the Owa of Idanre on the advice of the District Officer Ondo and myself agreed to the alteration of the Divisional boundary between Ondo and Ekiti Divisions as laid down in the agreement dated 13th March, 1931, attached in duplicate (Idanre was in Ondo Province). The District Officer Ondo Captain H. B. de Montemoroney and I were of opinion that the River Ala was the most suitable natural boundary.⁴¹²

The growth of cocoa cultivation stretched the Idanre demography and landmass beyond the conventional pre-colonial boundary. It should be noted that the founding of many Idanre villages, settlements and camps within the Idanre-Akure boundary at Apomu, Ogbese and other disputed areas had been recognized by the Owa of Idanre and the Deji of Akure.⁴¹³ The villages belonged to Idanre in the early 1920s. Between 1912 and 1920 the Owa of Idanre and the Deji of Akure had both declared free farming zones for both Idanre and Akure communities within their respective territories. September 19, 1912, a District Commissioner for Ondo Division, Major S.H Wood had reported the following statement of the Deji of Akure:

The Idanre people farm on the East side of the Idanre-Akure road as far as Ofosu River and as far as Akure Land---that Akure people farm as far as Idanre land---and during his life (Deji) he never heard of a boundary between Akure and Akure---that the Deji's Mother was an Idanre woman. We have a long history with the Idanre people and we have decided ages ago that a boundary was not necessary between us and the Idanre.⁴¹⁴

S.H Wood also quoted an Owa's message to the Sashere, an Akure High Chief about the land and boundary issues saying:

I, the Owa of Idanre say that Deji's Mother was an Idanre woman—that he the (Owa) is the owner of all the land from Idanre to Akure and

⁴¹²Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, The Ojomo of Idanre age- 89, at OdodeIdanre, January 2016

⁴¹³NAI, "Idanre Forest Reserves- Ondo Province" A Memo from the Resident Officer Ondo.

⁴¹⁴Akintan, S.A. "Boundary Dispute Between Akure Local Government and Idanre Local Government" Memorandum Submitted on Behalf of the Owa and Idanre Community to the Ondo State Boundary Technical Committee of Ondo State Boundary Commission, December 1995.

the Deji is the owner of the land from Akure to Idanre---that there never was any boundary—that the land was used jointly.⁴¹⁵

Consequently, the District Officer for Ondo Division and District Officer for Ado Ekiti Division after a tour of the two areas submitted a joint report to the Provincial Office. They identified forty-three (43) villages from Idanre and twenty-nine (29) from Akure. He noted that:

It would appear to that there had never been a dispute and the well marked boundary between the Idanre and Akure, but that they have always lived together amicably, farming together for very many years... Broadly speaking it would appear that villages to the south of Kinoro's farm are inhabited by Idanre farmers who attend Idanre Native Court, while Villages to the North are inhabited by Akure who attend Akure Native Court. Therefore, we submit that the boundary should be fixed from Owena River to Ogbese River running due East and West and Crossing the Idanre-Akure Road in the vicinity of Kinoro's farm.⁴¹⁶

The British colonial land tenure system paved the way not only for conflict as a result of colonial land sales, tax collection and the competition for *Ishakole* between the two towns from cocoa farmers.⁴¹⁷ This marked the beginning of a boundary dispute between Idanre and Akure, as well as class conflict among the Idanre people. Land purchase and registration under the colonial Native Administration became the major source of the tension. As regards *Ishakole* farmers gave one-tenth of the proceeds from their farms at the end of cocoa seasons to their respective Oba, while 7/6d or 5 shillings were paid by farmers as taxes to the colonial government. This dispossessed many indigenous farmers of their lands; a host of whom later took to sharecropping.⁴¹⁸

It is significant to note that by 1924, the principle of direct taxation had been introduced, and the Owa (Oba's) palace was saddled with the task of collecting taxes

⁴¹⁵ Ibid

⁴¹⁶ Exhibit P to Suit W/40/1939, Presented by Agbo Akintan on Behalf of the Owa and Idanre Community to the Ondo State Boundary Technical Committee of Ondo State Boundary Commission. 1998.

⁴¹⁷ Larry, D. 1987. Class Formation in the Swollen African State, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4, p 491

⁴¹⁸ Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, The Ojomo of Idanre age- 89, at OdodeIdanre, January 2016

on land under use especially for cocoa farming in his areas of jurisdiction.⁴¹⁹ Tax receipt books were given out to the heads of large villages. The elderly chiefs, especially Chief Ojomu collected taxes on behalf of the Oba from the natives living within their vicinities. The receipt books were later submitted to the accounting clerks after the collection of taxes, for documentation. The taxes generated were further paid into the Native Administration office.⁴²⁰ The Native Administration Treasurer often endorsed two receipts in respect of the taxes (money) paid into the treasury; and district heads, probably acknowledging the receipt of the tax; and the other for the village head, accepting that the money had been remitted to him.⁴²¹

This practice was, however, circumvented. That was apparent in the prosecution of the Native Administrative Treasurer, two Accounting Clerks, a top-ranking Police Officer and a subordinate, for fund embezzlement. Another more effective system was introduced between 1932 and 1933 under the land registry in Idanre District. Under this system, the tax receipts and books were given to the village heads responsible for treasury matters under the Idanre Native Authority. It was the duty of the village heads to collect land and crop taxes from individual farmers (migrants and indigenes). By 1934, the colonial government had placed Owa (The Oba) of Idanre and some of his chiefs on Salary. The Owa was on £200 per annum, Chiefs; Lisa on £60 Osolo, Ojomu, Sashere and Logboshere on £30 each. A recommendation was however made to the colonial government in 1934 to review the salaries of these chiefs.⁴²²

The demarcation and commercialisation of land led to hostilities between Idanre and her neighbors. The situation however changed, in the 1950s, when the issue of alienation of land to strangers became a major source of tension between the Idanre farmers in Idanre. The problem started when some Idanre farming on the Idanre-Akure boundary, were obligated to pay *Ishakole* (tribute) exclusively to Idanre Native Administration to retain their cocoa plantation. Only indigenous farmers and the stranger whose farm contained other cash crops, such as rubber, palm tree, coffee, kola were exempted from paying *Ishakole* provided that the farmers had a

⁴¹⁹Akinde O. C. 2010. Idanre Heritage, Vox African press Ondo, p.7

⁴²⁰Johnson, S.1920, The history of the Yorubas, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Press, p. 41.

⁴²¹Odamo S.F. 1991. Idanre beauty and Culture on the hills, p. 124

⁴²²NAI. Intelligence report compiled Bovel Jones, 1934

“Certificate of Consent” issued by the Native Authority.⁴²³ In most cases, farmers who defaulted due to inability to meet the condition paid *Ishakole* for the land thus acquired.

From 1953 onwards, the colonial government in Idanre ensured that strangers (migrants) who had secured interest in farming on land within Akure’s jurisdiction applied to the Native Authority for its consent to such acquisition. This time, application for land for cocoa cultivation was with the agreement of the Deji of Akure and the Owa of Idanre. The District Office in Ondo as a matter of concern, wrote to the Native Administration in Akure and Idanre respectively to relate issues of land alienation with mutual interest and commitment to ensure steady gratification of “Ishakole”. By October 7, 1952, the issue of tax had generated controversy at Alade-Idanre that the Idanre Native Authority passed that required all farmers to register under the Akure Native Authority. Penalties were stipulated for defaulters including migrant farmers who hesitated to register.⁴²⁴ Some farm arrests were made at Alade and Ipoba in 1952. In these areas, for example, all cocoa farms were closed until defaulters complied.

This worsened the crises between Idanre and Akure on the one hand and the colonial government on the other hand. This problem had started when Akure rose in 1938 to repudiate the joint agreements made by the Deji of Akure with the Owa of Idanre due to the issue of tax and royalties. It is important to note, that since the introduction of proper documentation of cocoa activities, the Idanre Native Administration had continued to mount pressure on Idanre indigenes that went to the farm in Akure to pay *Ishakole* to the Idanre Native Authority. Thus Idanre farmers who registered under Akure were regarded as strangers and must pay *Ishakole* to Akure Native Authority and as well pay tax and other royalty to Idanre.⁴²⁵ To ensure that farmers paid their tribute to Idanre, the Idanre Native Authority deployed tax collectors to Apomu to collect taxes for the colonial government and *Ishakole* for the Owa. The Idanre tax agents collected 7/6d from individual applicant instead of the

⁴²³NAI,Telegram AK. N.A. 40/120/ 1952, Control of Alienation of Land to Strangers: Idanre Farmers on Akure Land

⁴²⁴NAI, File No 110/491, Divisional Office, Ondo Division, 1952.

⁴²⁵NAI Telegram Akure, 6, No AK.N.A. 40/139, Native Administration Office Akure, 21, October 1952

5shillings as annual fee.⁴²⁶ Consequently, migrant cocoa farming community at Ipoba and Sama vehemently reacted to what was considered unbearable taxation. This for instance was captured in the report of the group to the Deji of Akure on October 26, 1952:

We the undersigned people of Ipoba and Sama have the honour most respectfully to put this report before you. That we paid our taxes to Akure native Authority since 21/9/1952 to 1953 according to the instruction given us that we must pay our taxes to the Akure Native Authority,...now the Idanre people are forcing us to register our farms and to be paying another tax to Idanre Native Authority. Idanre people arrested two of our brethren on October 25, 1952 and received the sum of two pounds from the said two parties for their tax fee.⁴²⁷

The nature of land allocation, royalty, ‘‘Ishakole’’ and taxes under colonial rule changed drastically with the massive growth and expansion of cocoa cultivation in the latter years of the British colonial capitalism in Idanre. Despite the myriad of mediation and several strategies introduced by the British colonial officials in the areas, such as the ‘‘Joint Committee’’ of six representatives from the Native Authority at Alade-Idanre and Akure to discuss the registration of farms and tax collection, taxation land registration strained the relations between the Idanre and the Akure people. The Native Administration office, Ondo Division directed Native Authority’s constables, James Olanrewaju and James Falusi with two Court Messengers Josiah Ayodele and Issaih Olorunsola on November 5, 1952, to patrol the Idanre on Akure farms and invite those who wished to register their cocoa farms to converge at Mr. D Akinbore’s residence in Alade Idanre every Friday.⁴²⁸

At Apomu and Aiyetoro-Owena Idanre, the district officer of the Ondo Division had also deployed councillor Adegbola with some members of Akure Native Authority staff, including Native Authority’s Police Constables to take the census of all Idanre people living or farming on Akure adjudged land and numbering their

⁴²⁶ NAI Telegram: Akure 23, File No 40/230/ 1952, from Land Registry Akure to The District Officer, Ondo Division ‘‘ Idanre Settlers on Akure Land’’

⁴²⁷ NAI Report of Forcing Registration, from Ipoba Sama People, Alade, Via Akure, Through the Deji of Akure to the District Officer, 26/9/1952

⁴²⁸ NAI, Telegram Akure 6, No. AK. NA.40/146/10/1952, ‘‘ Idanre Settlers on Akure Land

dwelling houses.⁴²⁹ These inspectors ensured that individual farmers journeyed to Akure for registration of their new farms.⁴³⁰ The Owa of Idanre was strongly opposed to this decision and vigorously responded firstly in a memorandum to the District Officer, Ondo Division and the Native Authority, Akure that such method does not conform with the Seventh Schedule of the Akure Native Administration's control of alienation of land to strangers. This measure was disregarded by Idanre farmers and settlers on the ground that the numbering of their houses and camps contravened previous strategies of the Joint Lands Committee that allowed individual farmers to pay taxes and *Ishakole* in his homestead.⁴³¹ Some Idanre farmers, to avoid land registration and payment of *Ishakole* diplomatically maintained two homes, claiming descent to Akure during registration exercise and returning to Idanre in post-harvest to observe festivals.⁴³²

Consequently, the writs of summons in suit W40/1939 was served on the Owa of Idanre in his palace on top of Idanre hills by a Court bailiff escorted by two Policemen sometime in 1939. The bailiff briefly explained the writ to the Owa of Idanre who immediately, summoned his most important Chiefs to the palace. Neither the Owa, his Chiefs nor anyone in Idanre understood the implications nor what to do next on the summons.⁴³³ When it was time for litigation, the seat of the hearing was shifted from Akure to Ondo township on February 16, 1943. The presiding judge was his Honor, Mr. Justice Olumuyiwa Jibowu, an assistant high court judge who hailed from Egbaland. The Deji of Akure Oba Adesida the first was present as plaintiff. He was represented by Mr. Soetan an experienced lawyer who hailed from Egbaland. The surveyor for the plaintiff, the (Deji's Kingdom) was Mr. Victor Coker also from Egbaland. Rev T.A.J Ogunbiyi was also summoned as a leading witness among the nineteen witnesses for the Deji of Akure. The leader of Akure's nineteen witnesses was Pa Oladipo Adegbola, a noble indigene of Akure. He headed the team of Akure witnesses. Ladipo Adegbola was a friend to Rev T.A.J Ogunbiyi and also the Deji of

⁴²⁹ As a result of his tour of Idanre farms, Councilor Adegbola told the Committee that there are vast acres of Idanre farms on Ajure land. He discovered that they cultivated more cocoa areas than he was told, total acreage owned by each person were not disclosed in order that they might pay less money for "Ishakole" Extracts from the Minute of the Executive Committee Meeting held in the Deji's Upstairs on Wednesday, the 21st April, 1954

⁴³⁰ NAI From Native Office, Idanre the District Officer Ondo Division, No 492/48/22.1953

⁴³¹ Ibid

⁴³² Ibid

⁴³³ Akintan, S.A. 2014. Ufeke: A History of Idanre From Earliest Times to the Present, p 92

Akure's best friend, he also served some Colonial Official stationed in Akure as interpreter.⁴³⁴

High Chief Osinrugboye, was sent by Oba of Ondo to give evidence as a witness for the Deji of Akure. On the side of Idanre, the Owa of Idanre appeared as the defendant. His counsel was Mr. Olajide Alakija, a very young lawyer with little experience at the bar at that time, who incidentally also hailed from Egbaland including Idanre surveyor Mr. Oke Aiyede. For reason best known to Mr. Alakija (Counsel for the Owa of Idanre) only six witnesses among the twenty-five people earlier prepared for Idanre were allowed to give evidence in defense. This boundary conflict continued between Idanre and Akure farmers and the general relations between the two kingdoms throughout the twentieth century.⁴³⁵

What mattered, logically, to the colonial administration, was the effective collection of taxes and a proper accounting system both from indigenous farmers and migrants. The Divisional Office, Ondo Division on November 13, 1952, announced that the registration fee of 10 pounds per head was to be paid and that all parties must conform and ensure that farm registration and collection of taxes go on smoothly.⁴³⁶ The tone and tenor of correspondences between Idanre and Akure continued to drag with acrimonies throughout the 1950s. Given the unfavourable verdict of the Ondo Divisional Officer of November 13, 1953, the Akure Native Authority pressurized the Land Registry Department in Akure through the District officer to reconsider the issue of the right to Ishakole in disputed areas between Idanre and Akure. Thus the Land Registry Department informed the Idanre Native Authority and farmers within its jurisdiction that:

Any Idanre farmers that wished to plant annual crops on Akure land in 1953, such as Yam, Maize, Cassava, Rice etc before the actual brushing must obtain a Certificate of Occupancy'' from the Akure District Native Authority with an application form of 5/ made in a prescribed form from Akure Land Registry or from Akure Temporary Registration Office at Alade. Ishakole must be paid on such occupation to the Akure Native Authority. Henceforth, strangers shall acquire any interest over land

⁴³⁴ Ibid

⁴³⁵ Ibid

⁴³⁶ NAI No 110/510/13/11/1952, From the Divisional Officer to the District Officer Ondo Division, 'Registration-Alade'

within the area...unless he shall have obtained the consent of the Authority to such acquisition.⁴³⁷

In effect, Akure Native Authority and the Akure District Office began to exert influences over all cocoa lands, to collect taxes and *Ishakole* within disputed areas. The tension was high when in March 1953, Chief Odofin Aladenola and his contemporaries at Ododin farm petitioned the Akure District Native Authority to the District Officer Ondo Division and the Joint Land Committee filing a complaint against Chief Shasere Ajari and Chief Oshodi, on behalf of Idanre farmers. This was specifically a reaction to the Deji of Akure's allocation of land acquired by Idanre cocoa farmers under Registration of Land to Akure farmers.⁴³⁸ A caption of the petition for example stated that:

About three months ago, six Urhobo men and their servants occupied parts of our registered farmland at Ododin cutting Palm Trees Sees (Fruits) for the purpose of Palm Oil and Palm Kernel production, and on questioning their right of occupancy, produced an agreement signed between them and Chief Shashere Ajari and Chief Oshodi (both of Akure) stipulating that 10 Tins of Palm oil should be paid or supplied annually to the two chiefs as compensation for the palm produce business. That the Palm Trees on the farmland were not naturally grown, but planted by our Fathers and automatically becomes our bonafide property, which is already covered by our application for registration of our existing farmland. Our age long possession of the existing permanent crops (cocoa, and palm produce), coupled with the registration of the land by us, has given us the exclusive right of possession and the occupation of the six Urhobo men under the agreement between them and the two Chiefs is a sign of trespass and wilful obstruction, thus causing considerable damages to us.⁴³⁹

Similar events ensued on-farm settlements adjacent to Alade, Atoshin Idanre at Iloro another farm village close to Akure. In May 1953, the Agricultural Department had evicted all Idanre farmers from the farms without prior consent. The area was subsequently placed under the custody of the Akure Native Authority. Land tenure system considerably in the colonial era. In Itanorowa, Ilemoba, Ilegbira,

⁴³⁷NAI Telegram 23, No 91/3/40, Land Registry Akure to the Native Authority Idanre " Idanre Farmers on Akure Land, December 1952

⁴³⁸NAI, Memo from Chief Odofin Aladenola etal to the District Native Authority, District Officer Ondo Division and the Joint Land Committee, March 1953

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

Oniyewon, Jingbe, Idi Araba, Alapa, Ago Sannni, Okolo, Umula, colonial land tenure had a great impact on the relations between Idanre and Akure people. The indigenous land was capitalised under colonial rule. Many farmers in the farm villages acquired from the colonial authorities. Only a few people obtained land as a gift or on loan in the colonial era. Table 3.0 shows the distribution and uses of land. (Table 3.0 shows more land ownership structure than use in some villages in the town during the period under study.

Table 3.0: Land ownership in some selected farm villages between 1900 and 1960

| Farm Settlements | Forms of Land Ownership | Percentage % |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Ilemoba | Inheritance | 50 |
| Tejugbola | Inheritance and Purchase | 56.05 |
| Oniyewon | Rent/Pledge | 40.2 |
| Utaja | Inheritance/Purchase | 64.7 |
| Jingbe | Inheritance | 51.9 |
| Idi Araba | Gift/Purchase | 50.6 |
| Ago Sannni | Purchase | 45.6 |
| Okolo | Purchase | 46.0 |
| Umula, | Inheritance/Gift | 60.5 |
| Owena | Purchase | 67.8 |
| Onisherere | Purchase/Inheritance | 67.6 |
| Ofosu | Inheritance | 56.4 |
| Olowofariwo | Purchase | 80.1 |
| Atoshin | Inheritance | 75.3 |
| Odode | Gift/Inheritance | 56.4 |
| Alade | Gift/ Inheritance | 62.0 |
| Okenifon | Inheritance | 55.4 |

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|------|
| Okerisha | Inheritance | 67.0 |
| Ajebamidele | Purchase/ Inheritance | |
| AponmuLona | Purchase/Inheritance | 53.0 |
| Apefon | Purchase/Inheritance | 36.7 |
| Aiyetoro | Inheritance | 54.2 |
| Agric | Purchase | 68.5 |

Source: Record of the Cocoa Multi-purpose Cooperative, Idanre.

On the aspect of inheritance, land owned by a father or head of a family in Idanre was inherited by his children or wife. The land was inherited by every member of a family, including the women and female children. Though widows with young children in most cases were apportioned the only land due to their children, until they reached full maturity, women in colonial and post-colonial Idanre had their farmlands both for the cultivation of food crops, cocoa farming, and other uses.⁴⁴⁰

3.6 Farmers/ Laborers Migration to Idanre and Development

Several factors contributed to the rapid expansion of cocoa plantations in Idanre. From the above account, deforestation in Idanre beginning in 1918 led to a great influx of migrant farmers and labourers to the town.⁴⁴¹ This was also because labour was a serious challenge to farmers in the early period of cocoa cultivation in Idanre.⁴⁴² Some migrants who could not secure land had to work on the cocoa farms as laborers. Until the 1930s, wages were mostly paid in cocoa. The mode of payment of wages was a ratio 1/3d of the entire farm proceeds at the end of the cocoa season. In the off-season, the work force was reduced, as there were very few jobs to be done on the farms. In some cases, the workers were retained to grow other crops for local consumption. Farm owners who were able to provide work for their laborers during the off-season retained them and paid them to avoid interruption during subsequent cocoa seasons.

⁴⁴⁰Interview with HRM Oba Dr Fredrick AroloyeArubiefin IV (Owa) of Idanreland, at His Royal Palace, OdodeIdanre 2/04/2015

⁴⁴¹NAI telegram No 2734 of 5/9/1923, Idanre Forest Reserve, from Resident Officer Ondo to the Secretary of Sothern Provinces, Ondo Division p 2

⁴⁴²Ibid

By providing alternate jobs for their workforce, the farmers enjoyed the loyalty and goodwill of the labour force, particularly when labour was scarce. A farmer was solely responsible for hiring, discharging, and management of labourers. He looked after the sick and provided houses and other facilities for the workers and their families.⁴⁴³ The employer settles family disputes between the workers and maintaining order within his estate. In some instances, the employer is charged with the responsibility of making annual returns and collected taxes for the government.⁴⁴⁴

While the indigenous farmers had their farms in the distant forest areas, they lived in the main town and kept close touch with kinship. The farm villages were dominated by various ethnic groups. Their farms were between five and ten acres. At Tejugbolafarm, along the Owena-Ondo axis the population there were predominantly Ondo, Akure Igbara Oke, Ilara- Moki and Ekiti people. Ilemoba, Apokin, Abalaka, Oniyewom, Ago Oyinbo, Gbalegi and Jingbe cocoa farms were also majorly dominated by non-indigenes mostly Igbira, Igala, Edo and Igbo people. This suggests that migrants settled and lived according to their groups.⁴⁴⁵

There were also different Yoruba camps. The farms in Oniserere, Omifunfun and Ofosu farms in Idanre were occupied by a combination of Igbo, Tiv and Igbira. There were also some Yoruba groups notably Igbomina, Ikale, Ekiti, Ilesha and Ibadan migrants.⁴⁴⁶ There were also other farm villages and hamlets dominated by the indigenes. The farmsteads were found scattered over the place and their locations were usually far from the main compact settlement which used to be the farmer's hometown. It is usually during important occasions such as Yam Festival, Christmas, New Year, Muslim Festivals, that farmers travelled to their hometown with their wives and children.⁴⁴⁷ Table 3.1 shows the composition of farmers in some villages in Idanre under colonial rule

⁴⁴³ Kalada, K. 1964. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, p 40

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p 40

⁴⁴⁵ Field work conducted between January and June 2015 in notable cocoa hamlets mentioned above in Idanre

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁴⁷ Adefila, J.O. 2013. Spatial Effects of Cocoa Production on Rural Economy in Idanre-Ifedore Area, Ondo State of Nigeria, Asian Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development, Vol 3, No 2, p 58

Table 3.1: Descendants of Migrant Cocoa Farmers interviewed in some cocoa farm villages in Idanre

| Farm villages/ Settlements | Indigenes | Yoruba Migrants | Non Yoruba Migrants | Total |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| Apokin | 34 | 33 | 42 | 109 |
| Abababubu | 33 | 40 | 22 | 95 |
| Agric | 61 | 18 | 32 | 111 |
| Apefon | 10 | 14 | 19 | 49 |
| Aponmu | 41 | 30 | 23 | 94 |
| Ajebamidele | 71 | 80 | 26 | 117 |
| Itanorowa | 53 | 11 | 35 | 99 |
| Owena | 23 | 34 | 45 | 102 |
| Ipoba | 56 | 16 | 18 | 90 |
| Abalaka | 24 | 34 | 71 | 58 |

Source: Record of the Cocoa Multi-purpose Cooperative, Idanre.

By the early 1930s, a handful of the migrant cocoa merchants and businessmen mostly from Ibadan, Ife, Ondo communities, had acquired acres of farmland in Idanre. A notable example was J.K Coker a notable migrant cocoa merchant whose cocoa farm was about the largest in the 1920s. J. .K Coker employed several laborers and contributed to community development in the town.⁴⁴⁸

The opening up of the forest areas for cocoa cultivation after the colonial gazettes of the 1920s was also an important factor in the demographic growth in Idanre. The migrants played a significant role in the growth of the cocoa business and a diverse range of social development in Idanre. The majority of them bequeathed

⁴⁴⁸Alabi, W.O.1999. Cocoa Production and Marketing in Idanre Local Government Area of Ondo State, in the Era of Structural Adjustment Programme, M.A. Dissertation Submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan. p15

farms to their forebears in different areas of the town.⁴⁴⁹ The migrant communities in Idanre brought contributed to the growth of the community by spending their earnings in the local markets in Idanre. The British colonial officer during the launching of Idanre town hall also applauded the impact of migrants on the town. According to him:

The work of building this Council Hall was immediately put in hand and day it is finished and the Treasury Native Administration offices are already established in the building. The Owa, his Chiefs, people including the strangers (migrants) have already shown a keen desire for progress as is shown by the manner in which the new towns of Odode here and Alade have been laid out and built on modern principles. Blessed with comparative wealth from their cocoa and timber, the people (natives and migrants) have been able to build these substantial houses and the fact that they have done so in conformity with each other and with a view to the common good, gives me reasons to believe that all will combine for the good government and prosperity of their country⁴⁵⁰

3.7 The Two World Wars, Cocoa Production and the War Economy in Idanre

A devastating world war from 1914 to 1918 was followed, after a decade of slow recovery, by the Great Depression of 1929-1939, which left millions of people unemployed in Europe and North America. The impact of the wars was felt strongly in the developing world.⁴⁵¹

The Great Depression (1929-39) was one of the major economic events in world history. It affected every sphere of life. It was the deepest and longest-lasting economic downturn in the history of the Western industrialized world. In the United States, it began soon after the stock market crash in October 1929, which sent Wall Street into a panic and wiped out millions of investors. Over the next several years, consumer spending and investment dropped, causing steep declines in industrial output and rising levels of unemployment as failing companies laid-off workers.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹Interview with the HRH Oba Ogunlowo of AtoshinIdanre, at AtoshinIdanre 18/3/2015

⁴⁵⁰NAI, J28/1934, Intelligent report on Idanre compiled by Bovel-Jones , OndoDiv, An excerpt of the address of the Resident Officer at the Inauguration of the Idanre Town Council Hall in 1934

⁴⁵¹Arifalo, S.O. 2001. Egbe Omo Oduduwa: A Study in Ethnic and Cultural Nationalism, Nigeria: Stebak. p 45.

⁴⁵²Olorunfemi A, 1980, Effect of War-Time Trade Control on Nigerian Cocoa Traders and Producers,

All the developed capitalist economies hit rock bottom simultaneously. By 1933, when the Great Depression reached its nadir, some 13 to 15 million Americans were unemployed and nearly half of the country's banks had failed. Unemployment went up to 25-30 percent of the total labour force.⁴⁵³ Farmers went bankrupt by millions. All over the world, the relative decline of agriculture led to a severe political strain and desperate attempts to destroy the livelihoods of cocoa producers, in the shape of pools and restriction schemes.⁴⁵⁴

It is important to note, that by the dawn of the First World War, Idanre, like Ondo, Ife and Ibadan cocoa producing communities in south-western Nigeria, had become essentially important to the British colonial government, owing to the cocoa beans needed for European food security and the administration of Nigeria.⁴⁵⁵ To ensure steady revenue, the colonial office adopted protectionist policies in the production and export of cocoa. Before the outbreak of the war, the price of Nigeria Fair Average Quality (F.A.Q.) cocoa was fixed at 16:10 pounds per ton of grade II cocoa ex-scale port of shipment.⁴⁵⁶ This affected the prices of the crop. The international restriction schemes for cocoa production was introduced by the colonial government and it had far-reaching effects on producers in Idanre,⁴⁵⁷

After the First World War cocoa farmers began to experience a steady decline in their income compared to the war period prices. The "established firms," the big European shippers that dominated the trade before the war, were appointed as agents for the government on an agreed remuneration.⁴⁵⁸ They were constituted into Class A while the lesser firms- European, Levantine, and the token African-constituted Class

1930-1945, p 664

⁴⁵³Muojama O.G, 2018, *Nigeria Cocoa Industry and the International Economy in the 1930s: a world-systems approach*, London: Cambridge Scholars, p 46

⁴⁵⁴ibid

⁴⁵⁵Olutayo A.O, 1991, *The Development of Development: Rural Economy of Colonial Southwestern Nigeria*. P119 See also Aderinto S, 2013, *Where is the Boundary? Cocoa Conflict, Land Tenure and Politics in Western Nigeria 1890s -1960*, *Journal of Social History* Vol 47, No 1:177

⁴⁵⁶Olukoju, A. 2002. *Buy British, Sell Foreign": External Trade Control Policies in Nigeria during World War II and Its Aftermath, 1939-1950*, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2/3, pp 365-366

⁴⁵⁷NAI CSO, 20 File No 37414, "On Production of Cocoa for Export, 1940

⁴⁵⁸Olukoju, A. 2002. *Buy British, Sell Foreign": External Trade Control Policies in Nigeria during World War II and Its Aftermath, 1939-1950*, p

B. A local cocoa controller was assisted by an advisory committee comprising representatives of the firms.⁴⁵⁹

Prices offered in Idanre cocoa farmers varied with the approved transport differentials added to the port prices and the brokerage payable to middlemen at the fixed rates of 7s 6d per ton of graded and sealed cocoa and 5s 6d otherwise. Price for grade I cocoa was ten shillings per ton.⁴⁶⁰ The major foreign cocoa buyers aimed to control the cocoa market.⁴⁶¹ The "pool" bought all available cocoa at a price fixed by them and stored them to create an artificial shortage of cocoa in the world market.

To be sure, the pool was a buying agreement signed by the leading European firms exporting about 90 per cent of Nigerian's cocoa. However, the cocoa farmers through several platforms resisted the cocoa agreements in great measures. Apart from the various cocoa producers' platforms, there were 41 registered trade unions with a total membership of 17,521 between 1937 and 1941, most of them, realizing the vulnerability of the poor farmers and the social character of Nigerian peasantry, served as the mouth piece for the farmers against the pool.⁴⁶² One of such was the Nigerian Youth Movement. The NYM spearheaded strong resistance against the Cocoa Agreement. A deputation of the Movement made an extensive tour of the cocoa producing areas of Western Nigeria, alerting the producers of the situation whereby the European buyers and firms were trying to keep the price of cocoa low, persuading them to hold up their cocoa and support the fight for the abolition of the pool.⁴⁶³

In Lagos on January 22, 1938, the Movement organized a mammoth rally to protest against the pool. A resolution that deprecated the formation of the pool was passed. The NYM expressed full sympathy with the cocoa producers and called on the government to dissolve the pool. A delegation of the Movement led by Kofo Abayomi interfaced with Governor Burdillion the cocoa pool. Consequently, a Cocoa Commission of Enquiry was set up by the British government to investigate the

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., p 365

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid

⁴⁶¹ NAI DCI 1/1/4032/S.193 "Import Control: Nigerian Association for African Importers and Exporters," minute to S.A.S., 17 December 1948; Press Release in Nigerian Daily Times, 22 December 1940

⁴⁶² Arifalo S.A 2001. The Egbe Omo Oduduwa: A Study in Ethnic and Cultural Nationalism, 1945-1965, pp 44-45

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

grievances of the farmers. The NYM gave evidence before the commission and suggested that the Governor should adopt the cooperative buying system for the cocoa farmers.⁴⁶⁴ This enhanced the productive capacities of the cocoa farmers.

However, the colonial Government has begun to discourage the production of cocoa during the Second World War. The colonial authorities preferred that cocoa be cultivated exclusively in some specific localities.⁴⁶⁵ Fortunately, Idanre was one of the few localities designated for the production of cocoa in Nigeria. These areas in addition to other cocoa producing communities in the cocoa producing areas in West Africa, such as Koforadua, Mampong and Ashanti in the Gold Coast, were able to satisfy the colonial export demand. The topography and avalanche of labour in Idanre made the town dominant cocoa producing area in Nigeria.⁴⁶⁶ On the eve of World War II, the Botanist in charge of Moor plantation in southern Nigeria recommended that wherever cocoa and other crops like palm produce and banana scrambled for space, the latter be given much attention in terms of government farm subsidies.⁴⁶⁷ In the Ondo Division, where cocoa trees competed mostly with palm trees on cultivatable lands, the colonial government encouraged farmers to produce palm produce and provided needed capital for production but undermined cocoa farming.⁴⁶⁸

A cocoa control scheme was introduced to regulated prices and ensure that farmers complied to the rules. Importantly, the prices of the commodity were very central to the operation of the control scheme. Not only priced low, but it also fluctuated between November 1939 and October 1940. There was a huge drop in cocoa prices from £22:5 at the outbreak of the war in 1938/39 to £16:10 in April 1940, reaching a nadir at £11 in September. After an increase to £ 13:10 in October 1940, prices hit another lowest point at £10 in May 1941, rose to £14: 10 in 1941/42, declined to £12:10 in October 1942 and another all-time low at £10 in 1943. In the cocoa belt generally, the policy affected the livelihoods of farmers.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 47

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶⁶ NAI Ondo Prof, File No C4573/11 ‘‘ on war time policy of the agricultural department’’ From Resident Ondo to District Officer, 11/19/1939, See also Olorunfemi A, 1980, Effect of War-Time Trade Control on Nigerian Cocoa Traders and Producers, p 672

⁴⁶⁷ Faluyi E.K 1995, A History of Agriculture in Western Nigeria, 1900-1960, PhD Thesis, Department of History University of Lagos. pp 99-101

⁴⁶⁸ Faluyi, E.K. 1995. A History of Agriculture in Western Nigeria, 1900-1960... p 100.

⁴⁶⁹ NAI CSO,20 File No 37414, ‘‘On Production of Cocoa for Export, 1940

Further with the cocoa control scheme, the colonial government discouraged many cocoa farmers in some towns for instance, at Oke-Igbo, Ibadan, Ekiti Divisions, among others by reducing the prices of their commodity. This was due to the depreciating quality of cocoa emanating from the areas. It was also to promote the cultivation of food crops, for instance, cassava, palm produce and rubber leaving some notable areas such as Idanre, Ile Oluji, Ife, Ondo and others to produce cocoa. This was because food crops were essential for the sustenance of the British forces during the war.⁴⁷⁰ This development propelled many cocoa farmers and laborers in the affected communities to emigrate to Idanre, Ile Oluji, Oke Igbo, Ife for cocoa production. The Idanre cocoa industry, therefore thrived during the Second World War, as an avalanche of Yoruba cocoa farmers who were affected by the international restriction scheme⁴⁷¹ migrated to Idanre to either acquire land to plant cocoa, work as a wage labourer, or sharecropper. Idanre experienced profound socioeconomic and demographic growth during the period of World War II.⁴⁷² Idanre produced sixty percent of cocoa from Nigeria during the war period. An overwhelming volume of cocoa purchased in Nigeria through the Ministry of Food was produced in Idanre. Paradoxically however, the Second World War circumstances worked in favor of Idanre cocoa producers.⁴⁷³

E.K Faluyi also notes that cocoa cultivation during World War II was not primarily important to the colonial government's prosecution of the war. The colonial government allowed cocoa cultivation in some areas chiefly because of its importance to the livelihood sustainability of people in those specific communities in western Nigeria. More so, it was to prevent another incidence of cocoa stagnation of 1937-1938 and ensuring an unhindered supply of the crop to the Allied countries during the war period.⁴⁷⁴ Thus, the economic reality in Europe impelled the British government

⁴⁷⁰ NAI, Oyo Prof 2/3, File No CSO, From Director of Agriculture to Hon Secretary Assistant Director of Agriculture (Senior Agricultural Officer in Confidential Circular Memo. D.A Department, 1939

⁴⁷¹ Meredith. D. 1988. The Colonial Office, British Business Interests and the Reform of Cocoa Marketing In West Africa, 1937-1945, p 286

⁴⁷² NAI DCI 1/1 4032 vol. III, L. Manley, Sec., Joint West Africa Committee, London Chamber of Commerce, to Under-Sec. of State, London, 20 March 1940

⁴⁷³ NAI DCI 1/1/4032/S.193 "Import Control: Nigerian Association for African Importers and Exporters," minute to S.A.S., 17 December 1948; Press Release in Nigerian Daily Times, 22 December 1940

⁴⁷⁴ Faluyi, E.K. 1995. A History of Agriculture in Western Nigeria, 1900-1960, p 127

to undermine cash crop production, most especially cocoa, except in a few towns such as Idanre, Ondo, and Ife.⁴⁷⁵ To buttress this, Faluyi also noted that:

As soon as the war broke out in 1939, the agricultural department was instructed to exert effort to obtain maximum production of food crops. In this regard, particular emphasis was laid on export crops to be produced in specific cash crop producing region.⁴⁷⁶

Idanre cocoa constituted forty percent of the entire cocoa produced in Nigeria during the war,⁴⁷⁷ because more people were employed in different cocoa-related activities.⁴⁷⁸ The table below shows the income received by the Idanre cocoa farmers from the sales of cocoa from 1938 to 1960.

Table 3.3 Incomes Received by Farmers from Sales of Cocoa, 1939/1960

| Year | Million (Naira) Income Received |
|------------|------------------------------------|
| 1939/1940 | 2.8 |
| 1940/1941 | 2.8 |
| 1941/1942 | 3.0 |
| 1948/1949 | 25.0 |
| 1949/1950 | 22.0 |
| 1950/1951 | 28.6 |
| 1951/1952 | 36.2 |
| 1952/1953 | 36.8 |
| 1953/1954 | 32.6 |
| 1954/1955 | 31.0 |
| 1955/1956/ | 40.0 |
| 1956/1957 | 38.0 |

⁴⁷⁵Ibid, p 128

⁴⁷⁶Faluyi, E.K. 1995. A History of Agriculture in Western Nigeria, 1900-1960, p 96

⁴⁷⁷ See also Akinyeye O.A, Clothing Others While Naked: West Africa and Geopolitics, Inaugural Lecture Series 2014, University of Lagos pp 46-50

⁴⁷⁸Interview with HRM Oba Fredrick Aroloye Arubiefin III, (Owa) of Idanre and his (Ugha) Council of Chiefs 17/7/2015

| | |
|-----------|------|
| 1957/1958 | 22.0 |
| 1958/1959 | 38.0 |
| 1959/1960 | 45.0 |

Source: calculated from:

1. Colonial Annual Cocoa Reports on Nigeria, 1947, 5; 1948, 39; 1949
2. NAI DCI 1/1 4032 vol. III, L. Manley, Sec., Joint West Africa Committee, London Chamber of Commerce, to Under-Sec. of State, London, 20 March 1940
3. NAI DCI 1/1/4032/S.193 "Import Control: Nigerian Association for African Importers and Exporters," minute to S.A.S., 17 December 1948; Press Release in Nigerian Daily Times, 22 December 1948. 73
4. Daily Comet, 7 January 1949, "Commodity Distribution" by "An Importer"
5. NAI DCI 1/1/4032/S.194, "Import Control: The Association Of Merchants And Industrialists," Minutes Of A Meeting Between The A.M.I. And The Director Of Supplies, 14 March 1946.
6. Olatunbosun D, 1968, Nigerian Government Policies Affecting Investment In Agriculture, Ibadan: NISER
7. Heilleiner, G.K. 1966. Peasant Agriculture, Government And Economic Growth In Nigeria, Illinois: Homewood.

Table 3.4: Basic Producer Prices of Cocoa, 1947/1948-1959/1960

| Period (Season) | Cocoa Main Crop | Cocoa Main Crop |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | Grade I | Grade II |
| 1947/1948 | 62.5 | 60 |
| 1948/1949 | 120 | 115 |
| 1949/1950 | 100 | 95 |
| 1950/1951 | 120 | 110 |
| 1951/1952 | 170 | 155 |
| 1952/1953 | 170 | 155 |
| 1953/1954 | 170 | 155 |
| 1954/1955 | 200 | 185 |
| 1955/1956 | 200 | 185 |
| 1956/1957 | 150 | 135 |
| 1957/1958 | 150 | 135 |

| | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|
| 1958/1959 | 150 | 135 |
| 1959/1960 | -- | -- |

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1960

The Nigerian newspapers, especially the *Daily Times* remarked on socio-economic development experienced in Idanre, Ile-Oluji and Ondo during the Second World War.⁴⁷⁹ Alade and Odode-Idanre witnessed tremendous development. Although the socioeconomic development was uneven, many indigenes and non-indigenes erected new houses. In Atoshin and Odode cocoa farmers replaced their ancient mud houses with 'new buildings, using cement and molded blocks and corrugated metal roofs, discarding the traditional mud walls and leaking thatch roofs.'⁴⁸⁰ Many cocoa farmers, complemented the government's efforts in the area of physical infrastructure. Improvements were made in the area of rural facilities such as community donation towards the building of primary schools and health system.⁴⁸¹ Paper No 16/1946 submitted before the legislative council for the first time, allowed the Native administration to also use some funds to build social infrastructures.⁴⁸²

The British colonial government also embarked on the provision of several amenities such as primary and secondary schools and the construction of pipe-borne water. Roads were constructed to the Ofosu, Onisere and Abababubu 'Forest Reserve Areas'. Governor Burdillon expressed the colonial authorities' desire to improve the conditions of the farmers when he noted that:

In the past the British public had viewed colonial development matters with complacency and apathy, a situation which has given other European powers the impression that they would have succeeded in doing more than we have for the development of tropical Africa had they been in position to attempt.⁴⁸³

Several roads from the towns to the farms and major highways were constructed. In this regard, motorable paths on Aweba, Opasorun, Aponmu,

⁴⁷⁹ *Daily Times*, 10 January 1945, "Economic Prosperity in the Cocoa Farms" p 8

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Interview with Chief Orosundfosi, Cocoa Merchant and Director of Orosundafosi Cocoa Limited Idanre 12/8/14

⁴⁸² N.A.I PX/FI ' A Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria' 1946, Seasonal Paper No 24 submitted to the Legislative Council on December 13 1945.p 9

⁴⁸³ N.A.I Ondo Prof 2/3 ' File No 217, Memorandum on Economic Development of Nigeria, Sir Burdillon to colonial secretary April/ 5/1939

Ajebamibo, Jingbe Gbalegi and other villages were constructed.⁴⁸⁴ Oral interview with some traditional chiefs in the town revealed that the connection of Idanre to the national electric grid in the 1950s was as a result of the importance of cocoa in the town.

Generally, the wartime period improved the well-being of the Idanre people. It brought increased rural employment especially, farm caretakers and laborers.⁴⁸⁵ The migrants were not only integrated into the Idanre society, they participated in the local political decisions and became permanent residents, landlords, tenants, farm owners, artisans, traders, clergy among others. They also raised aggregate demand for goods and services in the local market and contributed immensely to the domestic socioeconomic improvement of the people.⁴⁸⁶

Farmers were able to buy motorcycles and bicycles, a few comfortable farmers bought vehicles which they used to transport their families, workers and produce to the farm. During this period a lot of cocoa farmers used the earnings to finance their children's education. Idanre children were highly represented at the Government College Ibadan. In the same way, many farmers were able to enroll their children at the Yaba College of Technology in Yaba Lagos, University College in Ibadan. Some Idanre youths also travelled to England for tertiary education. The present Owa of Idanre, Chief S.A Akintan, Charles Akinde and Olayode Ilemobola were among the many youngmen travelled to Britain for their university education in the 1940s and 1950s. The Owa noted that:

There were over (50) fifty Idanre indigenes in London alone schooling at different institutions when I first arrived there in 1950.

The present Ojomu of Idanre, almost a centenarian, also corroborated this:

I left Idanre in the late 1940s to Yaba College with over (35) youths mostly children of Idanre cocoa farmers. I later left to the University College in Ibadan in the 1950s to obtain a diploma in local government administration. I found over (40) Idanre boys and when I later travelled for my Bachelor's degree in Law in London, there were also over 20 Idanre

⁴⁸⁴ Ajiola, F.O. 2012. The Economy of Idanre 1900-1960, M.A Dissertation, Submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan, p45

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p45

⁴⁸⁶ NAI DCI 1/1/4032/S.194, "Government Welfare Schemes the Ondo Province, 14 March 1946.

studying in various faculties in England. I obtained all my credentials with the money my parent made from the Wartime cocoa boom in Idanre.⁴⁸⁷

This was intensified through the Colonial and Welfare Development Act of 1945 which created the basis for educational and social development in Idanre. During this period, scholarships were awarded to young people to pursue their education in metropolitan countries. With this, Idanre cocoa farmers intensified their efforts by investing in their children's education, realizing that was the prerequisite to receiving the scholarships.⁴⁸⁸ The Second World War significantly affected the rural economy and livelihood of cocoa farming families in Idanre. It increased the local population and led to the establishment of small villages.⁴⁸⁹ The wartime gains from cocoa enabled people in the town to contribute to their immediate and extended families. There were a lot of self-help projects such as support for community infrastructures, especially in churches. Some farmers invested economically in children, kinship as well as the construction of local roads.⁴⁹⁰

3.8 Cocoa Marketing Board and Cocoa Cooperative Societies in Idanre

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that by the end of the Second World War the colonial government had begun to exert a strong influence over the commodity produce sector.⁴⁹¹ Marketing Boards in most countries were evolved from co-operatively formed associations created to provide ample opportunities for producers.⁴⁹² Before this time, the cocoa export trade was controlled by European trading firms which dominated the Nigerian trade.⁴⁹³ Also before 1947, all cocoa exported from Nigeria was brought for inspection and grading under government control. Compulsory inspection, coupled with the prohibition of the export of cocoa below a stipulated quality standard, recommended by the Government of Nigeria was

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan (Ojomu of Idanreland) 90 Years., 11/7/2015

⁴⁸⁸ NAI DCI 1/1/4032/S.194, "Government Welfare Schemes the Ondo Province, 14 March 1946.

⁴⁸⁹ Olorunfemi, A. 1980. Effect of War-Time Trade Control on Nigerian Cocoa Traders and Producers, 1930-1945, p 674

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., pp 676-677

⁴⁹¹ Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community* p 24

⁴⁹² Kwaku-Ofosu, A. 2011. Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the cocoa Industry in Ghana: the case of Smallholder Cocoa Farmers, p 201

⁴⁹³ Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 25

sustained.⁴⁹⁴ Later, further improvements in grading were made, and, in 1937, a revised system was introduced which provided for compulsory grading into four categories, viz. Grades I, II, III, and "sub-Grade".

This grading system was used to classify Nigerian cocoa according to the standards required in the United States and the United Kingdom. The colonial government introduced this to differentiate quality and determine the prices of each grade accordingly. It was also to encourage producers to improve the quality of their commodities and strengthen the reputation of Nigerian cocoa in 'world trade'.⁴⁹⁵ Owing to the challenges producers suffered as a result of the exploitative activities of the European and African businessmen, some farmers in Nigeria and the Gold Coast arranged a hold up of the 1937 cocoa crop to end the domineering pricing policies of the European firms. Thus, based on the recommendation of the Nowell Commission set up by the British government to look into the problem, the colonial government took over the responsibility of marketing cocoa directly. The essence was to regulate producers' prices and prevent a reoccurrence of the break in the flow of the crop to the metropolitan countries.⁴⁹⁶ To understand the impact of the colonial marketing structure on the Idanre farmers and community, it will be apposite, to examine the formation and structure of the board.

3.9 Formative History and Policies of the Cocoa Marketing Board

The history of Nigerian statutory Marketing Boards dates back to the First and Second World Wars, with the belief that the producers could have better returns from their products if the government controlled the marketing boards.⁴⁹⁷ In Nigeria, agricultural marketing boards especially the one set up for cocoa, rubber, oil-palm product exploitation were heirloom of the Great Depression and World War II, when colonial governments found their principal sources of revenue severely reduced due to the Laissez-faire granted to European, American especially the United Africa Company (UAC) *Compagnie Franfaise De l'Afrique Occidentale* (C.F.A.O.) along with the *Socieite Commerciale del 'Ouestafricain* (S.C.O.A.) and African

⁴⁹⁴ N.A.I Ondo Prof 2/3 ' File No 217, Memorandum on Economic Development of Nigeria, Sir Burdillon to colonial secretary April/ 5/1939

⁴⁹⁵ Kalada, K. 1964. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, p 47

⁴⁹⁶ Berry S, 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community* p 25

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid

businessmen⁴⁹⁸ who needed to maximise the War period demand to accrue profit in U.S dollars.⁴⁹⁹ In 1939 the British government agreed to buy the entire cocoa output of British West Africa.⁵⁰⁰

The cocoa Marketing board was a British colonial creation in Nigeria. Export crops in the war era were monopolised by some altruistic European and American merchants.⁵⁰¹ The United Africa Company (U.A.C.), for example, handled nearly half of West Africa's overseas trade, while a handful of African trading firms for example Anglo-Nigerian Trading Corporation; Fionnis Brothers at Ondo, Odutola Brothers and Nigeria produce Trader's Union at Abeokuta played a minimal competitive role in the cocoa business in Nigeria.⁵⁰² Private buying agents were considered disorganised, exploitative and inefficient.⁵⁰³ The government saw the need to improve the producer's earning to enhance development in the agrarian communities.⁵⁰⁴ It was instituted partly to raise farmer's prices, increase farm incomes, and export proceeds and revenue for the government.⁵⁰⁵ It could also be argued that the rationale behind the establishment of the statutory cocoa marketing board, were: (a) to ensure that producer prices were sustained or increased, (b) to eliminate fluctuations in the prices of cocoa and incomes of the farmers and (c) to create equal opportunities and returns among producers.⁵⁰⁶

Consequently, the Cocoa Board was established after the Nowell Commission of Enquiry recommended to the British colonial government to come to the aid of cocoa farmers. Realizing that accumulation was difficult for the cocoa farmers and traders due to the monopoly power of European trading firms and colonial marketing

⁴⁹⁸Williams, O.J. 1987. Food Crop Marketing Boards in Tropical Africa, *Journal of African Studies*, Vol 25, No, p 375

⁴⁹⁹Williams, O.J, 1987, Food Crop Marketing Boards in Tropical Africa, p 375

⁵⁰⁰Gavin W. 1985. Marketing without and with Marketing Boards: The Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria, *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 34, p 4

⁵⁰¹The West African Control Board, established by Britain as a wartime measure in 1942 was a precursor to what scholars like Akin Olorunfemi and Williams Jonnes described as the largest statutory export monopolies in the British Colonial Empire, the cocoa marketing board inaugurated in 1947.

⁵⁰²Olorunfemi, A. 1980. Effect of War-Time Trade Control on Nigerian Cocoa Traders and Producers, 1930 – 1945: p 680

⁵⁰³Kwaku-Ofosu, A. 2011. Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the cocoa Industry in Ghana: the Case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers, p 201

⁵⁰⁴Olorunfemi, A. 1980. Effect of War-Time Trade Control on Nigerian Cocoa Traders and Producer, p 687

⁵⁰⁵Williams, O.J. 1987. Food Crop Marketing Boards in Tropical Africa, p 377

⁵⁰⁶Kwaku-Ofosu, A. 2011. Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the cocoa Industry in Ghana: the Case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers, p 201

stricture,⁵⁰⁷ the Nowell Commission aided the establishment of the Board.⁵⁰⁸ The commodity board's cardinal responsibility among other things was to procure cocoa from the farmers at reasonable prices, ship and sell the crop in the European market.⁵⁰⁹ The benefits accrued from the merchandize of the crop by the board were to be reciprocally appropriated to enhance and facilitate further production base of farmers, initiate series of agricultural development programme vis-à-vis improving farmers earnings.⁵¹⁰ Regarding the recommendation of the Nowell Commission the board was to: (a) to fix the seasonal prices payable to producers; (b) determine purchasing arrangements and issue licenses to buyers; and (c) set up and maintain the necessary executive machinery for purchasing, shipping and selling all cocoa purchased.⁵¹¹

The need for the establishment of a commodity board for the post-war marketing of West African cocoa was outlined in the white paper (CMD 6950) issued by the Colonial Office under the title "Statement on the Future Marketing of West African Cocoa". In 1947, a draft/proposal was fashioned into the Nigerian Ordinance to establish a Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board and an Advisory Committee from all concerned ministries was constituted. A Bill based on the original draft but amended in the light of these consultations was prepared, after which consideration and amendment in the Regional Houses of Assembly were forwarded to the Legislative Council in August 1947. It was passed into law as the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board Ordinance (No 33 of 1947) and by Government Notice No 1257 of 1947 was endorsed on 6th day of September 1947.

This Ordinance in effect made the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board the sole purchaser of all cocoa produced in Nigeria for export, strengthened it to buy all cocoa at fixed prices in Nigeria. It laid on the Board the responsibility of monitoring the purchase, grading and export of Nigerian Cocoa. Owing to the reason that the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board should assume responsibility for the marketing of Nigerian Cocoa, from the opening of the 1947/48 season (beginning of October), it

⁵⁰⁷ Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 30

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p 202

⁵⁰⁹ NAI, CSO 234/12, Paragraph 2 of Report on Cocoa Marketing Board Control in West Africa. 17/081947

⁵¹⁰ Onyemelukwe, J.O.C. 1981. The Rural Sector in the Development Prospects and Problems of a Typical African Country — Nigeria, *Geo Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 3,

⁵¹¹ Williams, G. 1985. Marketing without and with Marketing Boards: The Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria, p11

became mandatory for some managerial structures and organisation to be put in place within the Board.⁵¹² His Excellency approved the formation of a “shadow” Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board” and “shadow” Advisory Committee headed by members of the statutory organisations. The shadow Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board met periodically to fix prices for cocoa produce. At inception, the original members of the Board included Mr. F. E. V Smith, C.M.G (Commissioner on Special Duty), The Honourable Director of Agriculture, The Director of Commerce and Industries, Oba Alaiyeluwa, Honourable Aderemi II, (Oni of Ife) and Mr E.A. Sanda.⁵¹³

In July 1948, it became necessary that another Nigerian experienced in the trade be appointed to the Board, as a result, the honourable A Obiesan O.B.; was appointed a member of the Board on August 8, 1948. Moreover, the original Composition Advisory Committee was made up of official members and non-official members vis-a-vis representatives of the cocoa farmers, Nigerian buying agents, shipping interests, middlemen from Cocoa Cooperative Association and the Lagos Department of Commerce. The Board consulted the Advisory Committee on all matters concerning the purchase and grading of Nigerian Cocoa and the development of the Cocoa Industry. In addition, His Excellency approved the appointment of Mr. R.A. Crafts, Assistant Director of Commerce and Industries as Secretary to the Boards. In March 1948, Mr. J. Young, Acting Assistant Director of Commerce and Industries, was appointed as the secretary to the Board. He worked as the head of the Board simultaneously with the Department of Commerce and Industries.

The Board also appointed the Bank of British West Africa Limited and Barclays Bank (D.C & O) as its Bankers and opened several accounts with both their London and Lagos offices. The purpose was for the easy making of payments under the Board’s Marketing Scheme in the U.K. and Nigeria. This development was further sustained by the creation of an auditing unit. Following section 28 of the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board Ordinance witnessed, through the approval of the Governor in Council, the appointment of Messr Caseleton, Elliot and Company as the Board’s auditors.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² British Library of Political and Economic Science, Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board---Annual Report, Season 1947/48, p 10

⁵¹³ Ibid

⁵¹⁴ British Archives, Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board---Annual Report, Season 1947/48: 10; British Archives, Statistical Blue Books of Nigeria, Agricultural exports, 1945-194

3.10 Structure of the Cocoa Marketing Board in Nigeria

Realizing the difficulties encountered by the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board in the export of the cocoa, the board introduced some control measures in the cultivation, storing and shipment of cocoa. First, the sales of cocoa were shouldered by the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Limited, incorporated in the United Kingdom under the company Act 434 on September 30, 1947. This company had an authorized share capital of £250,000. From these 100, 000 shares issued, 99,998 was kept by the cocoa Marketing Board. Some selling policies were outlined in the 1947/1948 cocoa season when the Board emerged. It was considered that for the Board to function efficiently, the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Ltd, required wide discretion in the sales of cocoa on World Markets.

Thus, the company functioned on the basis that:

- (a) All unnecessary speculative risks were to be avoided, meaning that sales contracts were to be made as at when supplies became available.
- (b) There was to be no discrimination in favour of any consuming countries or any individual buyer. This meant that all sales must be made at the “current World Market Price and be governed by normal commercial considerations.
- (c) Cocoa at the domestic market must be distributed to the World’s Consuming Markets in line with stipulated specifications by the International Emergency Food Council.
- (d) To allow no credit and effect sales on cost, insurance and freight and cash against document terms.

A critical look at the performances of the 1947/48 season operations of the Board shows that the quantity of cocoa purchased by the board for shipment was very low. This suggests that a larger proportion of cocoa at the point were caught in the circle of Grade I and II, against the colossal output of Grade III and IV. By this period, Nigerian Cocoa had gained favourable markets in the United State of America, United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa, Holland, Norway, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Austria. During this 1947/48 season, the Nigerian main crop was sold at an average f.o.b. price of £198 (pound) per ton, whilst the corresponding figure for Nigerian Light Crop Cocoa was £148 is od. Per ton. One fundamental factor in the buying and selling of cocoa with the operation

of the Board in 1947/48 season was the rigidity in the process of grading and inspection of cocoa before shipment, compared to the previous systems.⁵¹⁵

This was driven by the recognition of the need to remedy the increasing degree of corruption that has characterised the produce trade as well as the colonial resolute determination to improve the general quality of the Nigerian Cocoa. For example, during the 1946/47 season, it was recorded that only twenty-three percent of the total cocoa bought was of Grade I quality. The Cocoa Marketing Board was tenacious on the prospective benefits of its draconian policies for the cocoa farmers. Given this, the Board secured the support of the Department of Agriculture and insisted that two new grades should be introduced in the 1947/48 season.⁵¹⁶ This recommendation was adopted by the Agricultural Department.

The main effect of this policy was to provide in the new Grade II and III intermediate stages between Grade I and Grade IV which was of the same quality as Grade II in the previous order. For example, under the pre-1947 classification, Grade I and Grade II maximally permitted unfermented or insufficient fermented beans within five per cent and seven per cent quality, the new classification – Grade I, Grade II, Grade III and Grade IV's allowance for unfermented or badly fermented beans ranged between 10% and 40% score. To recast, under the old system of grading, the producers who refused to package their cocoa up to Grade I standards were offered prices below the real value of their commodity, while farmers that adhered to the new specifications to improve the quality of their cocoa obtained favourable prices.⁵¹⁷

Stigmatized by the reactions of cocoa farmers across the Western Region of Nigeria, the Board embarked on an intensive propaganda campaign in the cocoa-growing areas of the Western Provinces to educate and sensitive farmers to adapt to the new grading system for the 1947/48 season. The Oni of Ife and Mr. Sanda played significant roles in persuading cocoa growers to upgrade their cocoa to the board's standards. This was further buoyed by a concentrated drive by the Agricultural Department to show cocoa farmers how to look after their trees and preserve their cocoa to enhance maximum production of high-grade cocoa.⁵¹⁸ As the main incentive

⁵¹⁵ British Library of Political and Economic Science, Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board, 1947/48, p 21

⁵¹⁶ Ibid

⁵¹⁷ British Archives, Statistical Blue Books of Nigeria, Agricultural exports, 1945-1948

⁵¹⁸ Ibid

to improve quality, however, the Board decided to adopt a steeply graduated price differential between grades to encourage the production of well-fermented cocoa. This brought some improvement in the quality of cocoa in the 1947/48 season. Table 3.5. revealed the system of grading introduced in the 1947 season:

Table 3.5: Tonnage Purchasers in Idanre

| STANDARD WEIGHT | LIGHT WEIGHT | | TOTAL AREA | PERCENTAGE PURCHASES | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|---------|
| GRADE | (MAIN CROP) | (LIGHT CROP) | | | BYGRADE |
| I | 32,551 | 1,869 | 789 | 35,209 | 47.0% |
| II | 14,997 | 2,001 | 1,564 | 18,562 | 24.7% |
| III | 13,987 | 1,796 | 238 | 16,021 | 21.3% |
| IV | 4,641 | 571 | 9 | 5,221 | 7.0% |
| | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 66,176 | 6,237 | 2,600 | 75,013 | 100.0% |

Source: Annual Report of the Cocoa Marketing Board, British Archives, London, 1947/1948.

It is germane to note that 47% of the total cocoa bought by the Board was in Grade I as compared to only 23% in the 1946/47 season. To sustain the tempo of the new grades, the Cocoa Marketing Board publicized its plan to cease dealing in Grade IV cocoa at the earliest opportunity. Owing to the favourable result of the 1947/48 season, the Cocoa Board was able to inculcate into its August 1948 announcement the new prices for the 1948/1949 season. The critical point was that “cocoa of a standard below Grade III would not be purchased after the end of the 1948/1949 season. But the question of the prices to be paid in Nigeria for all grades of cocoa in 1947/48 constitutes a bottleneck between the Board, its Advisory Committee and the commodity producers. However, the Board after the myriad of consultations adopted a conservative price policy for the 1847/48 season. To implement this, the following were brought under debate:

- (i) The prices paid for Nigerian Cocoa during the 1946/47 season (£50 (pounds) for Grade I and £47.10s.0d for Grade II cocoa which was relatively remunerative to the producers.
- (ii) The urgency to increase the stabilization fund to an adequate level
- (iii) The necessity to correlate cocoa prices with those paid for other commodities and with the general price level.⁵¹⁹The prices fixed for the 1947/48 season

Table 3.6: Standard Weight

| (Main Crop) | ξ | s. d | |
|-------------|--------|----------|--|
| Grade I | - - 62 | - - 10 0 | Per ton ____ ex-scale port of shipment |
| Grade II | - - 60 | - - 0 0 | Ditto |
| Grade III | - - 57 | - - 0 0 | Ditto |
| Grade IV | - - 47 | - - 10 0 | Ditto |

Light Weight

| (Light Crop) | ξ | s. d | |
|--------------|---------------|------|-------|
| Grade I | - - - - 59 | 0 0 | Ditto |
| Grade II | - - - - 57 | 0 0 | Ditto |
| Grade III | - - - - 54 | 0 0 | Ditto |
| Grade IV | - - - - 45 | 0 0 | Ditto |

Source: Annual Report of the Cocoa Marketing Board, British Archives, London, 1947/1948.

One point of interest, arising from the Board's policy for the 1947/48 seasons was that it allowed the buying of cocoa throughout the season. However, all cocoa purchased from October to April was designated 'Main Crop': whilst all purchases from April to September were regarded as Light Crop. Another was the restriction in

⁵¹⁹British Library of Political and Economic Science, Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board, 1947/48, pp 21-23

the business of cocoa to licensed buying Agents. In this case ‘Cocoa’ was limited to those firms and persons who had been an exporter of cocoa during the year 1937-39.

They also screened applicants that applied for a license as a buying agent. It based its minimum requirement on the applicant s capacity to purchase and handle up to 150 tons of cocoa. This tonnage in an actual sense represented 25% (1/400th) of a normal crop of 100,000 tons. This condition also depended on the applicants’ bagging and storage facilities. The big licensed firms and buyers, however, worked hand-in-hand with local cocoa merchants in the hinterland in the buying of the crop. In most cases, they were permitted to operate with the license of the big firms. From table 3.5 below, one can observe that both the European firms and the Nigerian licensed buyers had their respective offices and agents in the different cocoa producing communities.

Table 3.7: List of approved cocoa buying agents that operated in Idanre in 1947/48

| S/N | Company | Address/ Post Office Box. (P.O Box) |
|-----|--|--|
| 1. | N. Abrekhem | P.O Box 306 Opasorn |
| 2. | Association of Nigerian co-operative exporters | c/o Registrar of Co-operative Society Idanre |
| 3. | Compagnite Francaise de I; Afrique Occidentale | Atoshin ,Idanre |
| 4. | Cooperative Wholesale Society, LTD | Alade, Idanre |
| 5. | Pliorios Brother | P.O.Box 18 Ondo |
| 6. | John Holt & co (Liverpool) Ltd | Broad- Street, Odode, Idanre |
| 7. | Idanre Trader Association, Ltd | Tejubola, P.O Box 153 Idanre |
| 8. | Kajola Kaviousi Ltd | Owena, Idanre |
| 9. | A.G Leventis &co Ltd, | 43/2 Marina Lagos |
| 10. | Ondo Cocoa Buyers Association | 51/55 Broad Street, Odode Idanre |
| 11 | Ilemobola Limited | 56 Odode Idanre |
| 12 | Chestin & Mandrider | P.o.box 20 Alade |
| 13. | Odutola Brothers | 24 Odode Idanre |
| 14 | B. Clifford Ltd | Marina Lagos |
| 15 | Paterson 20 chorus &co Ltd | Marina Lagos |
| 16 | Socuede commercial de I Quest Africain | Broad Street Lagos |

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 17 | S. Thomopules & Co Ltd | 6 Daries Street Lagos |
| 18 | Union Trading Company | P.O Box 241 Ibadan |
| 19 | United African Company | Niger House Marina, Lagos |
| 20. | United Development Trading CO | P.O Box 243.Ibadan |
| 21 | Wit& Busch | 6/7 Broad street, P.O Box 17 Lagos |
| 22 | G. Zard & Company | P.O Box 818 Lagos |
| 23 | Rowntree fry Cadbury (Nigeria) ltd | P.O Box 547 Lagos |

Source: Annual Report of the Cocoa Marketing Board, British Archives, London, 1948.

The essence of this arrangement was to determine the port price of cocoa and the minimum price payable to the farmers excluding transport costs from buying stations to the port.⁵²⁰ To facilitate easy clearing of the cocoa at the port, the board decided to compensate suppliers with transport subsidies. In several areas, additional costs incurred in the process of transporting cocoa to the port as well as other logistics such as harbour dues, lighterage and export duties were subsidized. Also, the quota purchase system was established under the previous control schemes whereby buying agents were given a target and were penalized when they failed to meet up to their quota. This was to remove unwholesome competition among buying agents.⁵²¹

To actualize this, licensed buying agents were given a fixed allowance of 1/2 pounds per ton. From this buying allowance, 25 percent was to offset the costs of bagging and grading of the produce. In instances where these functions were performed by middlemen, buying agents were obliged to give them the prescribed amount. Under this policy, licensed buying agents were expected to make a detailed weekly return to the department of commerce and industries to show their purchase and stock status. It was on the presentation of a receipt of shipping right from the Nigerian produce marketing company Ltd, the department of commerce and

⁵²⁰NAI, Ondo Prof File No C232/8, 1939.

⁵²¹British Archive---Annual Report, 1947/48

industries issued shipping allocation which gave buying agents precise guideline regarding the quantity and quality they were to load on a particular ship.⁵²²

The department of commerce and industries assisted the board to ensure that all buying agents obtained their fair share of shipping opportunities since buying agents were not paid until they had shipped their cocoa. A new method of payment in the same light was introduced by the board.⁵²³ The most striking achievements of the board in the 1947/48 season were the changes and improvement in the quality and quantity of cocoa produced. To compare the total tonnages purchased in the 1947/48 season with the corresponding figures for the previous season, the output of cocoa in 1946 before was larger than the 1947/48 season. This decline which affected production according to the board as a result of climatic condition in the cocoa producing areas of Western Nigeria in 1947/48 season.⁵²⁴ Table 3.8 shows the volume of cocoa purchased in the Cocoa belt of Western during the 1947/48 season with the corresponding figures of the previous season.

Table 3.8: Cocoa Sales in Idanre 1947/1948 season

| Western Area | 1946/46 (tons) | 1947/48 (Tons_ |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| a) Main Crop | 100,724 | 66,376 |
| b) Light Crop | 8,209 | 6,237 |
| Cameroons/Calabar Area | 1,961 | 2,500 |
| Totals | 110,894 | 75,013 |

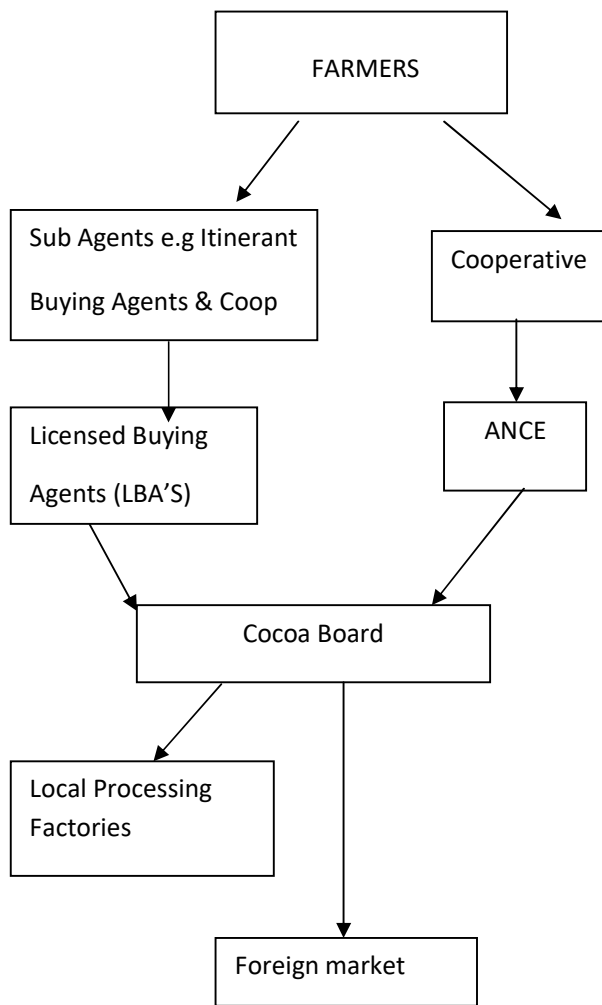
Source: PRO Appendix 111, No1 Review of the season's operation

⁵²² Standard Chartered Group Archives, London, Statutory Roles of the Cocoa Marketing Board in West Africa, HS/127, 1950, p 3

⁵²³ British Library of Political and Economic Science, Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board, 1947/48, p 38

⁵²⁴ Ibid., p. 41

Figure 3. 4: Marketing Channels of Cocoa Bean



**Table 3.9 NIGERIA COCOA MARKETING BOARD
STRUCTURE OF PRICE FOR THE PERIOD 1957-71 IN NIGERIA**

| | 1957- 1958 | 1958- 1959 | 1959- 1960 | 1960- 1961 | 1961- 1962 | 1962- 1963 | 1963- 1964 | 1964- 1965 | 1965- 1966 | 1966 1967 | 1967- 1968 | 1968- 1969 | 1969 1970 | 1970 1971 | | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|--------|------|
| Producer price per ton | | | | 292.0 | 292.0 | 312.0 | 264.0 | 192.0 | 202.0 | 21.20 | 232.0 | 122.0 | 172.0 | 182.0 | 192.0 | 292.0 | 302.0 | |
| Buying allowance | | | | | 31.0 | 27.0 | 262. | 24.4 | 25.4 | 22.0 | 20.2 | 19.6 | 19.4 | 19.4 | 23.2 | 23.4 | 25.0 | 23.8 |
| Export duty and producer sales tax | 121.6 | | | 111.8 | 83.0 | 52.4 | 41.8 | 42.6 | 60.2 | 37.0 | 33.2 | 68.0 | 71.6 | 96.6 | 106.0 | 112.0 | | |
| Shipping and handling charge less refunds | | | | 4.2 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 4.4 | 3.6 | 3.4 | 3.6 | 4.4 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 9.6 | 9.8 | |
| Other costs | | | 0.6 | 19.4 | 3.6 | 6.2 | 15.8 | 1.0 | 6.2 | 2.2 | 32.8 | 12.6 | 25.8 | 40.8 | 21.0 | 20.0 | | |
| Profit /loss | | | | +132.6 | +108.4 | +9.4 | -3.4 | +31.4 | +43.0 | +57.8 | -35.2 | +26.4 | +10.6 | +10.34 | +15.36 | +96.4 | +106.4 | |
| F.O.B. price per ton | | | | 582.0 | 562.0 | 438.0 | 348.0 | 310.0 | 314.0 | 360.0 | 260.0 | 238.0 | 384.0 | 410.0 | 510.0 | 550.0 | 574.0 | |
| Contributions to government revenue per ton | 254.2 | | | 220.2 | 92.4 | 49.0 | 73.2 | 85.6 | 118.0 | 1.8 | 59.6 | 176.6 | 175.0 | 250.2 | 202.4 | 218.5 | | |

Sources: Dupe Olatunbosun, Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority, London: Oxford University Press, p 89

In a bid to aid social development in the cocoa producing communities, the cocoa marketing board during the late 1940s constituted an Advisory Committee to suggest and work out modalities for the provision of scholarships for children of cocoa farmers at Ibadan University College as well as for Primary and secondary schools. The committee recommended also that at least two of the five existing scholarships offered every year be restricted to the children of cocoa farmers in Idanre, and financial assistance to the town for primary and secondary education, considering the largeness of Idanre cocoa farm villages. On February 1, 1949, the Board adopted a scheme to endow in perpetuity some free places at the University College, Ibadan by contributing to the Endowment Fund of the College a sum of £200, 000.⁵²⁵As result, two eligible children of cocoa farmers who had taken courses in agriculture and agricultural sciences were given scholarships to study at the Ibadan University College, following the advice of the Advisory committee.

As regards primary and secondary education in the cocoa producing towns, the recommendation was repudiated by the Board and the Director for education. In a memo addressed to the Advisory Committee, the Board reacted that:

I doubt very much whether it would be *intra vires* for the Board to provide direct financial assistance for primary and secondary education. Apart from the fact that primary education is by its nature a joint responsibility of the locality concerned and the State, it would be impossible to confine the benefit to the cocoa farming community. The Board would be stepping into the field of social services and departing from its principal purpose of promoting economic well-being among the farming community.⁵²⁶

This perhaps was responsible for the deplorable state of primary and secondary schools in the town during the colonial period, and the reason several self-help projects were intensified by the cocoa farmers in their localities. Realizing the progress made in the scholarship scheme at the University College, Ibadan, the Chairman of the Board and Director of the Marketing and Exports took measures in consultation with the Colonial Office to provide facilities for the training of

⁵²⁵NAI, Appendix 443-14/82, Cocoa Marketing Board, Memorandum by the Chairman on Certain Advice Tendered by the Advisory Committee on the Board's Scheme for the Endowment of Free Places at the University College, Ibadan. p 3

⁵²⁶ Ibid

cocoa farmer's sons and daughters in commerce and accountancy abroad.⁵²⁷ The resolution was adopted and gazetted as the Cocoa Marketing Board Ordinance (No.33 of 1947).

Eligible candidates were expected to have had an education equivalent to English Secondary School Standard. They were expected to be able to speak and understand reasonably fluent English and subjected to test before leaving Nigeria. Idanre indigenes that succeeded, received wages as an apprentice and supplementary allowances of about £28 per week for the first two years.⁵²⁸ £35 outfit allowance and £10 for books and instruments and £5 per week when on annual holiday were received by recipient children of the cocoa farmers. The total cost per annum for each candidate was £115 (including the £35 outfit allowance), and for the next three years, £40 per annum. Some of the children of cocoa farmers that enjoyed these privileges were Samuel Agboola, F.C Akintan, Adetuyi, M O Ilemobola, Julius Olatunji, Akinde, including but not limited to the present Owa of Idanre (Oba) Frederick Aroloye.⁵²⁹

In addition, two students from Idanre were trained as Incorporated Accountants by the Board. Arrangements were also made by the Board for the trainees to work temporarily in the London office of Messrs Caseleton Elliot & Co. Throughout the schemes, the Board ensured that the selection of candidates was made by a committee of the Nigerian Marketing Board assisted by a representative of Messrs Caseleton Elliot & Co. and preferences were given to the sons of cocoa farmers or of persons connected with the cocoa trade in towns.⁵³⁰

Unfortunately, the scheme ended in the mid-1950s when directives on its unsustainability were given to Mr.H Young, the Director of Welfare at Gibraltar during his visit to London. Mr. Young on his return to Nigeria halted the scheme and notified the Ministry of Labour, Board of Trade, the Trade Unions and Employers' Organisation. Mr. Young further reiterated that funding the scheme through the Board's financial resources was not in tandem with the regulation from the Colonial Office. Thus, a communique was sent to the Welfare Department and the colonial officials in the respective provinces to acquaint them with the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board's intention to discontinue the apprenticeship programme.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷NAI, Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board, Appendix 445/16/83 Training of Nigerians in Commerce, p3

⁵²⁸NAI, Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board, Appendix 83/17/446 Training of Nigerians in Accountancy, p 2

⁵²⁹Ibid

⁵³⁰Ibid

⁵³¹NAI, Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board Appendix 83/1/447 Apprenticeship Training Scheme

The Idanre cocoa farmers expected that the board would also use its surplus funds to provide palliatives measure against price shortfalls and fluctuations in the world market price.⁵³² However, many farmers considered the board's grading and price control measures as a ruthless mortar of exploitation of their environment and resources.⁵³³ From table 3.7, it seems that the changing pricing policies of the board had a debilitating effect on the cocoa farmers.

Apart from these, the Board had little or no significant impact on the lives of Idanre cocoa farmers. Despite the enormous wealth the board accumulated. The marketing board made no significant effort to fulfill its promises to the farmers. The Nigerian newspapers and public criticized the colonial pricing policy on cocoa farmers between the 1950s and 1960. Idanre cocoa producers association lamented in the *Daily Times* News Paper about the exploitative policies of the board. The union complained that producers hardly realized two-third of their investment cost from the sales of their cocoa throughout the cocoa seasons of the 1950s.⁵³⁴ Cocoa producers in Idanre lamented, that despite the town's proximity and access to the Owena River and connection to pipelines, the people had no regular supply of water. Even though Idanre was among the first towns to be connected to the national grid, in 1952 in Western Nigeria, the producers' association noted that electricity was a mirage in the town despite the huge surplus the cocoa marketing board derived from Idanre.⁵³⁵ It was only through the intervention of the Western Region's government at independence that the town became inaccessible by road.⁵³⁶ From the data collected in Idanre, it seems that the majority of the social amenities were put in place by the poor cocoa farmers.⁵³⁷ The cocoa farmers also lacked funds to purchase farm inputs to maintain their farms during the period.

The board rather became a tool of oppression and further exploitation of farmers through different taxes and grading policies.⁵³⁸ The Board's surpluses according to Dupe Olatunbosun, rose from £33-86 million in September 1962, to £110-04 million in September 1963. This

⁵³²Williams, G. 1985. Marketing without and with Marketing Boards: The Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria. p 5

⁵³³Williams, G. 1988. Why there is no Agrarian Capitalism in Nigeria?; 1976, Taking the Part of Rural Peasants: Rural Development in Nigeria and Tanzania. *Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, See also FAO, 1964 (Food and Agriculture Organization)' 'Cocoa statistics' ', Rome: Food and Agriculture of organization of the United Nations.

⁵³⁴*Daily Times*, Cocoa Farmers Vs Government Marketing Board, 22, December 1954

⁵³⁵ Ibid

⁵³⁶Akinyeye, O.A.1998. 'Iden Festival: Historical Reconstruction from Ceremonial Reenactment', in, Toyin Falola and Ann Genova,(eds) *Orisa; Yoruba gods and Spiritual Identity*, New Jersey: African World Press

⁵³⁷Field work conducted in the study between November 2014 and June 2015

⁵³⁸Ibid., pp 51-53

represents an increase of 300 per cent in six years.⁵³⁹ The low prices offered producers meant that farmers were producing without getting reasonable profits, a situation that impoverished many Idanre cocoa farmers. The low producer's price also affected the quality of life of the farmers. Gavin Williams has argued that:

Since their inception, Nigerian Marketing Boards have been used to serve various interests and purposes, hardly any of which have benefited the producers. They originated in the Second World War and were used after the war by a Labour government so that they might play their part in meeting British needs. Nigerian politicians found them a ready-made instrument for taxing farmers, enriching themselves and financing their political activities. Their pricing policies discouraged farmers from producing export crops, thus rendering the boards redundant though not, regrettably, ensuring their abolition.⁵⁴⁰

The exploitative policies of the commodity marketing board in Idanre hindered the productive capacity of the farmers and inhibited the development of the town of Idanre cocoa farms.⁵⁴¹ The draconian regulations of the board affected the earnings of cocoa producers and rendered many incapable of assisting their extended families.⁵⁴² The Cocoa Marketing Board made no significant impact on rural development in the town. It only replaced the European firms at the apex of the buying system to enrich the indigenous ruling elites and the government.⁵⁴³

3.11 Cooperative Societies and the Growth of Cocoa Farms in Idanre

Since the 1930s, the cocoa farmers had been accustomed to credit facilities to augment their low earnings.⁵⁴⁴ This was why indigenous co-operative societies came up. When the colonial government realized that cocoa farmers suffered greatly from a lack of money to cater for their families and maintain their farms, the legislative council passed the co-operative societies

⁵³⁹Olatunbosun, D.1980. *The Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*. See Gavin W, 1985, Marketing without and with Marketing Boards: The Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria, *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 34, p 4

⁵⁴⁰Williams G, 1985, Marketing without and with Marketing Boards: The Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria, *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 34, p 4

⁵⁴¹Akinola, O. 1998. Reorganizing the Farmers, 1930-1992: Structural Adjustment Programme and Agricultural Politics in Ondo State, Southwestern Nigeria, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol 36, No 2

⁵⁴²Olatunbosun, D. 1975. *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, London: Oxford University Press. p 84

⁵⁴³Gavin W, 1985, Marketing without and with Marketing Boards: The Origins of State Marketing Boards in Nigeria, p13

⁵⁴⁴NAI, File A21/29.029/34 OD Div, Memo from the Director of Agriculture to the District Officer Idanre

ordinance in 1931, to provide credit to them. It must be mentioned that the net value of cocoa at that period was £33 per ton and was falling drastically to £20 per ton against the £50 per ton in 1928.⁵⁴⁵

The main reason for producers' deplorable condition was extraneous borrowing and spending on religious and social customs. Many producers pledged their cocoa farms or land to borrow money from the merchant money-lenders or private firms.⁵⁴⁶ This affected their gross earnings at the end of the season. Some farmers sought for credits to settle other necessary obligations, such as marriage ceremonies for their children's education or funeral rites of a deceased relative.⁵⁴⁷

It was under this condition that local cocoa cooperative society came up in Idanre. The local cooperative societies in Idanre were a progressive union of cocoa farmers in the town set up to see to the well-being of members.⁵⁴⁸ Before the introduction of government cooperative societies, membership of local cocoa cooperative society in Idanre was restricted to kinship and communal associations. They operated the area within a small village, with strong mutual trust and solidarity.⁵⁴⁹ They must be bonafide growers of cocoa and must agree to prepare their cocoa from well-developed beans. And, unless by special permission to sell to the LBAs or produce merchants, cooperative members were obligated to sell only through the society which only dealt in buying and selling mainly its members produce.⁵⁵⁰

Members of the association brought their cocoa to the cooperative's central stores, where it was turned out and examined by the committee. If it was found to be of acceptable quality and weighed 140 pounds each and stacked, the cooperative took the responsibility of buying the product.⁵⁵¹ In instances where the cocoa does not measure to the standard stipulated, the beans were rejected. A member may then reprocess the beans to remove defective beans, but if it was rejected again, permission would be granted to dispose of it to an outside dealer.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁵ Appiah A.K, 1967, *The Development of the Monetary and Financial System of Ghana, 1950-64*, A Ph.D Thesis, School of Economic Studies, Leeds University, pp 269-270

⁵⁴⁶ Interview with Chief Akinduro Michael, Cocoa Farmer, 83 Years, at Atoshin Idanre 13/03/2015

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid

⁵⁴⁸ Interview with Mr. Agunbiade Osinle, Cocoa Farmer, 90 Years

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁵⁰ Kalada, K. 1964. *Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria*, pp 69-71

⁵⁵¹ Kalada, K. 1964. *Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria*, pp 69-71

⁵⁵¹ NAI, File4/1/06/071946, Extracted from the Nigerian Daily Times Lagos

⁵⁵² NAI, File4/1/06/071946, Extracted from the Nigerian Daily Times Lagos

This impelled the cocoa marketing board to also introduce a government-owned cooperative system to address the deplorable problems facing cocoa farmers. The colonial government introduced this to relieve the economic hardship which cocoa producers experienced in the past. The organisation of agricultural credit facility for investment and expansion of agriculture assumed a new phase in the 1950s with the establishment of Rural Banking Schemes. There were a number of them in Idanre in the 1950s and 1960s. They were introduced to boost cash crop production in western Nigeria.⁵⁵³ The government empowered several agents to provide credits and advances to the cocoa farmers. Thus, the post-Great Depression of the 1930s that ushered in a severe decline in cocoa prices which made farmers to be indebted stimulated the colonial government to intervene based on the need to ameliorate cocoa farmers suffering and poverty.⁵⁵⁴

It is important to note, that in the mid-1940s, the government through the commodity marketing board, cocoa research institutes had once introduced a cooperative system to provide basic infrastructure and encourage the production of commodity export crops in Western Nigeria.⁵⁵⁵ The government's cocoa cooperative societies emerged in Western Nigeria after the regionalisation of the marketing boards in 1954. By 1948, the Government had passed the Agricultural Bank Ordinance to create a banking system that granted loans to cocoa farmers to soften their debt burden in form of agricultural credit. An Agricultural Credit Scheme for cocoa producers was established to function under the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board to stabilize the unit price paid to the cocoa farmers vis-à-vis purchasing cocoa from the peasant farmers as a licensed agent of the Cocoa Marketing Board.⁵⁵⁶

In September 1951, the Land Settlement and Food Production Program created under the Western Provinces, through the Regional Production Development Board also gave loans to the cocoa cooperative associations, private businessmen and small-scale farmers to enhance easy farming activities.⁵⁵⁷ The Regional Development Board supported the formation of the cooperative union and offered funds to finance farmer's farm activities. Credits for the financing of the cooperative scheme were made available also to cocoa survey officers to ensure equitable

⁵⁵³NAI, File4/1/06/071946, Extracted from the Nigerian Daily Times Lagos

⁵⁵⁴Appiah, A.K. 1967. The Development of the Monetary and Financial System of Ghana, p 270

⁵⁵⁵Akinola, O.A. 1998. Reorganising the Farmers, 1930-1992: Structural Adjustment and Agricultural Politics in Ondo State, South-western Nigeria, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2 P 244

⁵⁵⁶Appiah, A.K. 1967. The Development of the Monetary and Financial System of Ghana, p 274

⁵⁵⁷NAI, File 25982/22/c.1/150, Cocoa Diseses Control: Monthly Progress Report for Western Province, 1951,p 2

disbursement for registered unions and associated producers.⁵⁵⁸The advantages of government-formed cocoa cooperatives are twofold, the same as any other cooperative movement. In the first place, the cooperative society provided its members an economic advantage that could not be attained individually, and in the second place, it gave its members creative information regarding the business. Self-help, fair play, and above all practical training in the working of democratic processes are all encouraged by the association to improve the economic conditions of members.⁵⁵⁹

The cooperative societies rendered extension services, by educating their members on modern and sustainable methods of planting and nurturing cocoa trees. The societies also promoted a sense of solidarity and responsibility among their members.⁵⁶⁰ The credit and banking activities of the cooperative societies developed rapidly in effect.⁵⁶¹ In the 1950s, the cocoa cooperative society became a rallying point for cocoa producers in Idanre. A massive administrative office was built in Alade Idanre in 1950.⁵⁶²

They made efforts also to facilitate producer's easy access to small loans and farm inputs from the Commodity Marketing Board and the Department of Agriculture. The growth of cocoa cooperative societies between 1950 and 1960s in Idanre enabled cocoa farmers apart from securing access to loans, seeds, and inputs allowed for collective farming and in most cases sharecropping. In theory, the loans were meant to relief producers' indebtedness and for the expansion of the areas under cultivation. However, a loan was acquired to cover the total amount of farmers' debt and was not more than the annual income of the borrower. Loans needed to be liquidated within three years and payable in three annual installments.⁵⁶³ Depending on the category of the loan and its productive purposes, some producers were allowed to spread the loan within three to seven years, however, the cocoa co-operative society itself was to pay some interest back to the Cocoa Marketing Board on its allocation of loans to cocoa producers.⁵⁶⁴ As a result, many cocoa farmers according to interviews in several villages in the town:

⁵⁵⁸NAI, File 11874/933 Paragraph 96 of the Ondo Province Annual Report, 1950

⁵⁵⁹Ibid

⁵⁶⁰NAI, File 25982/22/c.1/150, Cocoa Diseases Control: Monthly Progress Report for Western Province, 1951,p 3

⁵⁶¹Kalada, K. 1964. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, p 77

⁵⁶²NAI, File 25982/22/c.1/150, Cocoa Diseases Control, p 2.

⁵⁶³Appiah, A.K. 1967. The Development of the Monetary and Financial System of Ghana, p276

⁵⁶⁴NAI, File A21/29.029/34 OD Div, Memo from the Director of Agriculture to the District Officer Idanre

Collected credits and loans either in form of cash or in most instances farm extension services, supply of fertilizers and pesticides known to the farmers as ‘I Owe You’, to be paid back usually with cocoa to the cooperative society at a very low-interest charges⁵⁶⁵

As mentioned above, a farmer must own cocoa farmland and must be a permanent resident in a particular community in Idanre. This was to ensure that borrowers had sureties traceable to a notable member of the community. The scheme was strongly financed by the Western Region Production Development Board, which employed an expatriate as a Cooperative Department Officer to oversee the day-to-day affairs of the societies. Preliminary clearing works before seed planting activities were offered to peasant cocoa farmers by the unions with the help of the Board for £ 15 per acre in the distant farm settlements such as Abababubu, Ofosu and Onisherere areas. Orientation programs were organized through the cooperative societies for effective farm management, especially to prevent crop pests. Also, the cocoa cooperative society through the cocoa division unit of the Agricultural Department and Cocoa Research Institute in 1956, assisted cooperative members to cure and prevent the Swollen Shoot diseases that ravaged several cocoa farms.

Incomes and earnings of the cocoa producers in the town like their counterparts in western Nigeria changed for the better between 1955 and the late 1960s. The indigenous elites who took over from the colonialists in the mid-1950s removed several colonial exploitative policies.⁵⁶⁶ Though the structure and functions of the Marketing Board were kept intact, palliative measures and agricultural plans were extended to reach rural cocoa farmers in some farm villages in Idanre. From 1955 onward, producers' prices improved and the cocoa farmers were strongly encouraged through the cooperative societies in Idanre. The table below shows the Idanre cocoa farmers' prices of cocoa under the cooperative mechanisms from 1953-1966.

Table 3.1.0: Producer Prices of Cocoa, 1953-1966

⁵⁶⁵Interviews with MrMosafejo Gabriel, A Cocoa Farmer, 67 Years and MrOluseyiAkinbanjo, A Cocoa Farmer 71 Years at GbalegiIdanre.

⁵⁶⁶Berry, S.S. 1985. *Father Work for their Sons*, p 31

| Year | Producer Price (Ton) | Consumer Price Index Idanre 1953=100 | Real Producer Price, 1953=10 |
|-------------|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1954-55 | £392 | 134 | ----- |
| 1960-1961 | £296 | 132 | ----- |
| 1961-1962 | £198 | £137 | 42 |
| 1962-1963 | £207 | £156 | 45 |
| 1963-1964 | £209 | £130 | 52 |
| 1964-1965 | £356 | £128 | 57 |
| 1965-1966 | £137 | £132 | 40 |

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Abuja, 2013; Western Nigeria Marketing Board, 1969.

With this development, farmers and buyers were able to secure credit facilities to sustain their families and cocoa farms.⁵⁶⁷ However, the cooperative society paved the way for the emergence of capitalist money lenders in the town. The co-operative associations became the means through which accumulation and dispossession became prevalent among the wealthy cocoa merchants in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

3.12 Impact of Cocoa Production and Trade on Idanre in the Colonial Period

Cocoa brought social transformation to Idanre during the last decade of colonial rule in Nigeria. Several developments occurred in Idanre farm villages. Many young men who emigrated temporarily to Idanre communities for employment contributed to the development of the

⁵⁶⁷ Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) Annual Bulletin 1980 pp 1-2

community.⁵⁶⁸ Generally, the surplus land for cocoa farming in the early period of colonial rule in Idanre attracted people of different origins to Idanre. Many indigenous farmers left the cultivation of food crops such as yam, vegetables, plantain, to plant cocoa. Unlike the cultivation of yam and other food crops tied taboos, cocoa planting was freely practiced in Idanre. Farmers cultivated yam to appease a Yam deity for direction on where to plant yam during the pre-colonial period. It was generally believed that if appeasement or sacrifice was not made to the ancestors, yam would not grow. Cocoa cultivation, however, did not involve any sacrifice.⁵⁶⁹ By the 1940s and 1950s, Idanre cocoa farms had grown to be one of the largest in the Ondo Province and one of the major cocoa producing towns in Nigeria.⁵⁷⁰

Cocoa business spread virtually in all parts of the ancient town of Idanre. From Alade, Atosin to Odode Idanre, the aroma of the crop permeated the environment. On every street and house cocoa seeds were displayed on a sack for sun-drying. According to Makinwa Sunday:

Cocoa farming is a generational business--our fathers inherited cocoa trees from their grandfathers, they inherited from their fathers and our children will also inherit from them.⁵⁷¹

Apart from the indigenes who had the opportunity to move out of the town for education and vocational training between the mid-1950s and 1960s, the migrant population in Idanre earned their income from the production and sales of cocoa.⁵⁷² Makinwa again noted:

We all embraced cocoa planting because one does not have to be educated before one invest in cocoa farming or business.

Both the educated and uneducated people participated in cocoa farming and sales which led to the employment of men and women in the town.⁵⁷³ A recent survey conducted in the town by the Ondo state government indicated that over seventy per cent of the people and descendants of

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Interview with MrBamideleIgbalaye, Cocoa Farmer, 71 Years, Gbalegi Village, Idanre, 10/ 2/2016

⁵⁷⁰ Interview with MrMakinwa Sunday, Chairman Cocoa Farmers Association Alade Idanre, 5/7/2016

⁵⁷¹ Interview with MrMakinwa Sunday, Chairman Cocoa Farmers Association Alade- Idanre, 5/7/2016

⁵⁷² Interview with AkinyeleAbisoye, 43 Years, Manager Omans Commodity Resources Limited, at Opa- OjotaIdanre, 16/ 07/2016

⁵⁷³ Interview with MrMakinwa Sunday, Chairman Cocoa Farmers Association Alade- Idanre, 5/7/2016

families that lived in the town colonial and post-colonial periods depended on cocoa as their major source of livelihood.⁵⁷⁴ It was a significant indicator of rural development in the town

Deforestation policy in Idanre resulted in the development of several farm villages, camps and particularly the main towns Odode, Alade, and Atoshin- Idanre.⁵⁷⁵ A number of these settlements were greatly influenced by the people who occupied them. They contributed to erect schools, build churches and create roads especially in the villages and settlements⁵⁷⁶ As producers' earnings increased, their consumerist habit also changed.⁵⁷⁷ New forms of dressing, food and other consumable goods were imbibed by the cocoa farmers and people in the community.⁵⁷⁸ Corrugated iron sheets and the construction of storey buildings and bungalow houses were one of how cocoa producers displayed their wealth and prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s. An informant whose father left Idanre for England to acquire education in the era noted that:

When my father left his hometown (Odode-Idanre) all the houses had thatched roofs. But when he returned in the late 1950s, many houses were already roofed with 'modern' iron sheets and people told him that the money came from cocoa.⁵⁷⁹

In the colonial era, houses with thatched roofs were not virtually nonexistent in Idanre. The building of bungalow and storey houses' which became popular in the town in the colonial period explains the changes that came with cocoa farming. It was found that some fancy houses along the 'Reserved Areas' were also built by Yoruba farmers from different towns notably Ekiti, Oyo, Kwara, Kogi among others in the colonial period. Many of them later became prominent cocoa merchants, buying and exporting as sub-agents of the licensed buyers.⁵⁸⁰ During this period, a lot of farmers diversified from food production to cocoa and made a reasonable fortune from cocoa production through which they contributed to the development of Idanre.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁴Investment Guide of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ondo State, Nigeria 2004, p 4

⁵⁷⁵NAI, 236/08/19, see Paragraph 17/377 of Mr H.L Wood-Price's Report on Idanreland Tenure in the Yoruba Provinces, 1930

⁵⁷⁶Berry, S. 1985.*Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community*, p 41

⁵⁷⁷Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸NAI telegram No 2734 of 5/9/34, Idanre Forest Reserve, from Resident Officer Ondo to the Secretary of Southern Provinces, Ondo Division, 1934

⁵⁷⁹Interview Mr. Oguntimehin Orosuntunde, Retired Teacher, 91 Years, at Alade Idanre, 16/052016

⁵⁸⁰Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan (Ojomu of Idanre) 88 Years, Odode Idanre, 08/07/ 2015

⁵⁸¹Ibid

Polygamy among farmers increased during the colonial period. As farmer's income increased, many of them married more wives, thereby expanding the size of their homes.⁵⁸²The same applied to caretakers who were employed yearly or permanently to take care of the farms within a year. The reason behind the idea was that many farmers' had grown old and could not work any longer and many of their children have travelled out of the town to get non-agrarian jobs. Women who inherited cocoa farms employed caretakers to maintain and harvest the cash crop.⁵⁸³ By the end of the colonial era, migrant farmers and laborers had constituted a significant percentage of entrepreneurs and workforce on Idanre cocoa farms. The influx of migrants to the town brought tremendous social and economic transformation to Idanre⁵⁸⁴

3.13 Conclusion

From the foregoing, we have discussed the factors that shaped the development of cocoa production and sales; the livelihood of cocoa producers and how they affected community development in Idanre. The propagation of cocoa farming in Idanre was partly connected to Henry Venn and T.F Buxton's doctrine of the Bible and the Plough on one hand, and the Vent-for-surplus theory on the other hand. The Christianization of the Yorubas through the activities of the Christian Missionary Society, (CMS) supported by the British colonial government in Nigeria facilitated the adoption, spread and growth of cocoa farming in Yorubaland

The British agricultural experimental programme that began in Ebute Meta Botanical Station in 1893 aided the spread of cocoa planting to the hinterland. Some people and agencies also helped to spread the crop in Idanre. Notable among them was the Miller Brothers Company. The company, before the colonization, had acquired some cocoa seedlings in Lagos, planted and sold some to the indigenous farmers. The company also planted cocoa at Ala, Ofosu axis and other remote timber forests where it operated in Idanre. From 1916, Emmanuel Akintan, an Idanre indigene at Oke Idanre became an important factor in the spread of cocoa production in Idanre. His effort contributed to social and economic changes experienced by the people in the twentieth century. One indelible impact of the colonial government was its creation of a West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI.) at Owena Idanre. The Institute provided enormous technical and agricultural extension services for the Idanre people throughout the twentieth century. With the

⁵⁸²NAI, appendix No 201/115/1939, Appendix B of Bovel Jonnes's Report on Idanre,

⁵⁸³NAI OND Prof 2/3 File 310 Memorandum on Cocoa and Economic Development of Nigeria'Sir Burdillon to Colonial Secretary, 04/05/1939

⁵⁸⁴NAI Oral Tradition collected on Idanre by Adeniyi D.N, and Akinjogbin I.A, 1957

massive influx of migrants coming to cultivate cocoa in Idanre with the massive movement of the indigenes from 'Ufeke' or Oke Idanre to settle at Odode, Alade and Atoshin towns and large farms developed.

With the colonial rule, access to land and other means of production was usually mediated through membership of various pre-existing social units which were tolerated by colonial officials, as long as their leaders professed loyalty to the colonial government. However, oftentimes, the leaders were incorporated into the colonial administrative apparatus for easy collection of taxes. The growth of cocoa farming and the scramble for cultivable land existing within the family units created clashes within kinships due to the refusal of family heads to relinquish or share family lands equitably among members.

Cocoa cultivation led to widespread social transformation in Idanreland during the colonial period and afterward. Nevertheless, colonial capitalism appeared to have been highly exploitative of the farmers and the environment. The exploitation was made possible through colonial governments' institutions, regulations and statutory bodies, such as the Colonial Land Use Policies, activities of the Department of Agriculture and the Cocoa Marketing Board. But the narrative changed in the 1950s and 1960s as members of the Idanre community launched many self-help projects, such as the construction of schools, community centres, roads and health centres as well as the provision of diverse range of other social amenities. The changes that occurred were inseparable from the activities of indigenous and governments' managed Cooperative Societies.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 COCOA PRODUCTION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST- COLONIAL IDANRE, 1960-1985

4.1 Introduction

The chapter examines how politics and policies affected cocoa production in Nigeria and shaped livelihoods and rural development in Idanre during Nigeria's First Republic. It looks at the impact of the world cocoa crisis of the late 1960s on the rural, livelihood of cocoa farmers in Idanre. The effect of the oil boom on cocoa farming households and the impact of the economic collapse of the 1980s on rural livelihood in Idanre is highlighted in this chapter. The role of agency in cocoa cultivation and rural development in the town between the 1960 and late 1970s also comes under analysis.

4.2 Agricultural Development in Western Region in the 1960s

At independence, in 1960, the government's agricultural strategies paved the way for the growth of commodity export crops and improvement in rural income and employment.⁵⁸⁵ Throughout the first five years of independence, the agricultural export sector retained its role as the major revenue earner for the Western Region Government. This sector achieved remarkable growth and also catered for the wellbeing of the rural people.⁵⁸⁶ Most of the major agricultural development interventions were concentrated on export commodity production,⁵⁸⁷ which amounted to an average of 52.3 percent of total gross domestic product (GDP) and a total of 64.5 percent of cumulative exports.⁵⁸⁸

It is important to note, that the first solid national development strategy which brought all the various government development programmes together was the National Development Plan, 1962-1968. The plan was expected to raise the rate of economic growth and stimulate a sustainable

⁵⁸⁵Ekundare, R.O. 1971.*An Economic History of Nigeria*, London: Longman, p 13

⁵⁸⁶Report of the Anti-Slavery International, 2004, "The Cocoa Industry in West Africa: A History of Exploitation" p 77.

⁵⁸⁷Ekundare, R.O. 1971.*An Economic History of Nigeria*, p 14

⁵⁸⁸Osikoya, W.T. 1990. Balance-of-Payments Experience of Nigerian: 1960-1986, *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol 25, No 1, pp 89-90

increase in the standard of living of the rural people.⁵⁸⁹ Schemes were expedited to maintain an average growth rate of 4 per cent of the GDP. From the total capital expenditure allotted to development programmes, such as transportation and communication, electricity, primary production, trade and industry, health, education, water supply and administration, cash crop production absorbed 13.4 per cent.⁵⁹⁰ The Plan ultimately aimed at investing 15 per cent of the Gross National Product in the rural agricultural sector annually.⁵⁹¹ In effect, agricultural exports continued to be the major source of growth.

In the Southwestern part of Nigeria, cocoa remained the major revenue earner for the government and the lifeblood of rural economies. The impact of cocoa development schemes on several cocoa farming communities in Western Nigeria was profound. Earnings from cocoa were the major means through which many people in the rural communities acquired imported goods and formed new consumption habits. The Western Regional government, therefore, provided adequate support and initiated programs for agricultural produce, especially cocoa and palm produce.⁵⁹²

Despite several political crises in the mid-1960s, cocoa remained the economic mainstay of thousands of farmers and provided a livelihood for a countless number of wage workers, many of whom were employed by the farmers for the maintenance of their farms and harvesting of their crops. In the Western Region, cocoa production brought remarkable prosperity to the government and the cocoa farmers. The economic growth of the 1960s was so impressive that the industrialized world became optimistic that it could be duplicated elsewhere—even if that place was in the Third World.⁵⁹³ Despite that the performance of the Nigerian economy was gauged using modern economic concepts and development theories propounded in the 1960s, the rural farmers of Western Nigeria, indeed enjoyed inclusive development.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁹Olatunbosun, D. 1980. *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, London, Longman, p 60

⁵⁹⁰Ibid

⁵⁹¹Ibid

⁵⁹²NAI, CSO26/8/8/42 'Land Settlement and Food Production Schemes on a Group Basis'

⁵⁹³Onwuka, K. 1988. Developing our Local Technology in 'Odeniyi Oladepo (Ed) *Giant Strides*, Nigeria: VBO International Limited, p 51.

⁵⁹⁴F.A.O. 1985. *World Crop Statistics*. Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), Rome, Italy.

It should be recalled that at independence, the Western Region's government had assumed control of the cocoa board and acted as a stabilizing force in the cocoa industry. This role was a relic of the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board, but the marketing board evolved later to become a major source of government savings used to fund the government's sponsored projects, purchase equity and offer loans to private companies.⁵⁹⁵ Much of the stabilization role was performed by buying cocoa from producers at a fixed price, usually below market price; and selling it in the international market.⁵⁹⁶ The surplus was reserved to supplement future shortfalls in the income of producers in the event of price fluctuation.⁵⁹⁷

The surplus generated was used to finance some of the investments of the Western Region Finance Corporation, Western Nigeria Development Corporation and Agricultural Research and Development. The board also earned income from investments in securities. Between 1955 and 1960, the Western region was able to finance capital projects of twenty million pounds from the board's savings. Between 1960 and 1965, the twenty-one million pounds project was also executed through the surplus savings of the Cocoa Marketing Board.⁵⁹⁸

The Western Region Government was committed to the production of the crop and introduced many rural agricultural programmes to sustain it.⁵⁹⁹ Export of this agricultural product was the prime mover of economic growth until about a decade after independence. Nigeria had become the second-largest exporter of cocoa.⁶⁰⁰ Exports of these commodities accounted for sixty percent of the foreign exchange earnings.⁶⁰¹ Table 4.0 showed the level of cocoa production in western Nigeria.

Table 4.0: Production of cocoa in Western state Nigeria 1966/67-1975-76 (tons)

| Years | Oyo State | Ondo State | Ogun State | Total |
|-------|-----------|------------|------------|-------|
|-------|-----------|------------|------------|-------|

⁵⁹⁵Olutayo, O.A. 1991. The Development of Underdevelopment/Rural Economy of Colonial South Western Nigeria, A Thesis in the Department of Sociology Submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences

⁵⁹⁶Bonat, Z. A. 1985. *Development Planning and the Performance of the Agricultural Sector of the Nigerian economy, 1945-1985*, p.15.

⁵⁹⁷Biney, K.A. 2017. Cocoa Production Trends in South-West, Nigeria, 1950-2010. A Thesis Submitted to the School of Post Graduate Studies, University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos, p 62

⁵⁹⁸The Western Region Marketing Board: nigerianwiki.com/wiki

⁵⁹⁹Adesina, O.C. 1994. Indigenous Participation in the Economy of Western Nigeria, 1960-1970, Phd Thesis Department of History, Faculty of Arts, College of Arts and Education, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, p 128

⁶⁰⁰Mammam, S. 1988. Nigeria Foreign Trade Policy: Perspective of the Minister of Trade, in 'Odeniyi Oladepo (Ed) *Giant Strides*, Nigeria: VBO International Limited, p 70

⁶⁰¹Ibid

| | | | | | |
|---------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1966/67 | 116,608 | 87,741 | 23,828 | 228,117 | 22,8177 |
| 1967/68 | 110,649 | 97,189 | 22,038 | 229,876 | ----- |
| 1968/69 | 118,139 | 73,905 | 12,044 | 204,088 | 1195, 676 |
| 1969/70 | 93,844 | 92,463 | 9,369 | 195,67 | ----- |
| 1970/71 | 129,496 | 137,962 | 12,102 | 279,560 | ----- |
| 1971/72 | 110,462 | 109,777 | 11,800 | 232,039 | ----- |
| 1972/73 | 100,633 | n.a | 7,759 | 216,446 | 108. 392 |
| 1973/74 | 96,900 | 81,473 | 9,485 | 187,858 | ----- |
| 1974/75 | 90,886 | 84,794 | 12,992 | 188,672 | ----- |
| 1975/76 | 73,025 | 70,310 | 9,816 | 153,151 | ----- |
| | Total | 1,040,642 | 943,668 | 131,233 | 2,115,543 |
| % | Age | 49,19% | 44.61% | 6.20% | 100% |
| Average | Annual | | | | ----- |
| | Production | 104,064.20 | 94,366.80 | 13,123.30 | 211,554.30 |

Source: Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria, Cocoa Development Programme in Nigeria, 1977.

As seen in the above table, the major growth indicator for Nigeria in the 1960s was the cash crop, especially cocoa export trade. Agricultural commodity production exports accelerated the economic pace and stability although experienced a decline in the late 1970s. The major indicator for Nigeria's socio-economic development in 1960s was the cash crop production from rural areas.⁶⁰² As far back as the 1949-1952 period the cocoa board had built reserves from annual surpluses of over N14 million and N30 million in 1950/51. In 1950/51 the national value of cocoa production was 22.2 per cent of the total estimated national income.⁶⁰³ It provided almost 16.5 per cent of the total estimated western Region's revenue.⁶⁰⁴ Between 1954 and 1958, cocoa producing areas in western Nigeria generated 518,911 tons of cocoa yearly and by 1960, the production and export of the crop contributed about two-thirds of the total export duties of the Western Regional Government.⁶⁰⁵ The table below shows the value of cocoa beans export to the government.

⁶⁰²Osikoya, W.T. 1990. Balance-of-Payments Experience of Nigerian: 1960-1986, *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol 25, No 1. p 74

⁶⁰³CABI, 2003. *Developing Sustainable Cocoa Production System*. Retrieved June 2017. www. Cabi. Commodities.Org/Indexhtm.

⁶⁰⁴Ibid

⁶⁰⁵Olutayo, A. O. 1991 *The Development of Underdevelopment: Rural Economy of Colonial South Western-Nigeria*, p130

Table 4.1: Value of Export of Nigeria Cocoa Bean (N million)

Period Total Export Earnings (A) Major Agric. Export Earnings (B) Cocoa Beans Export Earnings
 Amount (N) Amount (N) Amount (N) C/A)

100 C/A) 100

| Period | Total Export Earnings (A) Amount (N) | Major Agric. Export Earnings (B) Amount (N) | Cocoa Beans Export Earnings Amount (N) | C/A) | |
|-----------|---|--|---|------|-------|
| 1960-1964 | 1,831.72 | 293.88 | 70.70 | 3.86 | 2406 |
| 1965-1969 | 2,646.74 | 270.58 | 118.86 | 4.49 | 49.93 |
| 1970-1974 | 11,663.32 | 248,26 | 157.42 | 1.35 | 63.41 |
| 1975-1979 | 35,682.46 | 375.42 | 336.74 | 0.94 | 89.69 |
| 1980-1984 | 41,736.33 | 287.44 | 261.10 | 0.63 | 90.84 |

Source: CBN, 1997; and EDFMAN 1997.

Government revenue derived from cocoa exports increased to 30 per cent of the total current revenue of the Federal Government in 1961 and 1963.⁶⁰⁶ This informed the implementation of the 1960-1965 National Plan to encourage rural inclusion in the agricultural reforms which focused on increasing the production of agricultural and industrial commodities. The plan resulted in a steady rise in income and standard of living of the cocoa producers.⁶⁰⁷ The government was committed to agriculture relatively above other sectors.

From the tables below, it is arguable that cocoa export sustained growth, compared to other crops.

⁶⁰⁶ Appiah, A.K. 1967. The Development of the Monetary and Financial System of Ghana, 1950-1964, A Ph.D Thesis, School of Economic Studies, Leeds University pp xvi-xvii

⁶⁰⁷ NAI, Rule of Housing and Rural-Urban Development in State/ National Planning in Nigeria/OX/D46/Tokunbo Solomon O, 1972

Table 4.2: COMPARATIVE COCOA EXPORTS FROM NIGERIA TO WORLD
 FIGURES 1960-1976
 TOTAL EXPORT

| YEAR | Tons | Amounts | PERCENTAGE |
|------|---------|-----------|------------|
| 1960 | 159,503 | 896,000 | 17.8 |
| 1961 | 186,864 | 1,018,000 | 18.3 |
| 1962 | 197,774 | 1,037,000 | 19.0 |
| 1963 | 177,411 | 1,041,000 | 17.0 |
| 1964 | 199,977 | 1,035,000 | 19.2 |
| 1965 | 310,175 | 1,304,000 | 23.7 |
| 1966 | 193,266 | 1,110,000 | 17.4 |
| 1967 | 248,186 | 1,079,000 | 23.0 |
| 1968 | 208,885 | 1,051,000 | 19.8 |
| 1969 | 173,609 | 994,000 | 17.3 |
| 1970 | 195,679 | 1,118,000 | 17.5 |
| 1971 | 271,742 | 1,186,000 | 22.8 |
| 1972 | 227,536 | 1,231,000 | 18.4 |
| 1973 | 213,897 | 1,096,000 | 19.5 |
| 1974 | 197,125 | 1,152,000 | 17.1 |
| 1975 | 214,200 | | |
| 1976 | 217,000 | (TOAUG) | |

Source: Cocoa Statistics by Gill and Duffus. Gill and Duffus Market Report Jan. 1977.

Table 4.3: Growth of Nigerian Cocoa Beans Production and Export (Metric Tonnes)

| | Amount (N) | | Amount (N) | | Amount (N) | |
|-----------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--|
| 1960-1969 | 205.78 | 83.57 | 202.94 | 86.53 | 98.62 | |
| 1970-1979 | 221.30 | 7.54 | 200.73 | -1.09 | 90.70 | |
| 1980-1989 | 117.25 | -47.02 | 114.51 | -42.95 | 97.66 | |
| 1990-1999 | 148.20 | 26.39 | 136.64 | 19.33 | 92.19 | |
| 2000-2004 | 175.00 | 18.08 | 2.46 | 80.00 | | |

Source: Gill and Duffus (1997 and 1999); EDFMAN (1997, 1999, 20 01 AND 2004).

From the explanation above, it is clear that the Western Region's economy was majorly centered on cocoa production,⁶⁰⁸ which provided 21.6 percent of total export revenue and 45 percent of GDP.⁶⁰⁹ But how did these changes and continuity affect the lives of farmers and rural development in Idanre?, and how did Nigerian agrarian politics influence the livelihoods of cocoa producers in Idanre between 1960 and 1986?

⁶⁰⁸Fryna, J. G. 2004. The Oil Boom in Equatorial Guinea, *African Affairs*, Vol 103, No 413 p 527

⁶⁰⁹ FAO 1964. Cocoa statistics', Rome: Food and Agriculture of Organization of the United Nations, April Vol 7, No 19 p 5

4.3 Idanre Cocoa Farmers and Community Development in the 1960s

The 1960s was the most prosperous and turbulent decade for the Idanre cocoa farmers. At independence, the town had emerged as the largest cocoa producing community in the southwest of Nigeria. The government's agricultural policies, including, several political crises in the 1960s had a great impact on Idanre cocoa farmers and the community. Many cocoa producers in the town experienced significant socio-economic wellbeing, while others were impoverished. However, there were significant expansions of cocoa farms. This was due to the development of new farms by new migrants. Table 4.5 explains the effect of this development on the tons of cocoa produced in Idanre between 1960 and 1968. Through some agencies, such as the local credit institutions, Licensed Buying Agents, and the Cooperative Societies, many farmers in the town were able to hire more workers or employ caretakers. This further increased the income and earnings of the people.⁶¹⁰ It brought about a remarkable improvement in producers' earnings, which transcended the local markets, thereby creating economic opportunities for the non-farming households in the community.⁶¹¹

⁶¹⁰ Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community* p 24

⁶¹¹ Interview with Yomi Akinyeye, Professor of History and Strategic Studies, 58 Years, Unilag, 15/12/2018

Table 4.4: Cocoa Grading from Some Areas in the Present Day Ondo State (1960-1988) (Tons)

| Towns | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| Akure | 4,732 | 66,762 | 7,671 | 7,276 | 5,498 | 5,964 | 5,078 | 5,729 | 6,040 |
| Idanre | 9,298 | 15,192 | 15,096 | 17,435 | 14,754 | 11,690 | 10,114 | 13,666 | 11, 320 |
| Ekiti south | 5,599 | 8,772 | 7,837 | 6,744 | 6,058 | 6,618 | 5,798 | 5,018 | 6,203 |
| Ekiti S.W | 3,480 | 2,308 | 2,412 | 1,785 | 2,394 | 1,588 | 1,628 | 2,162 | 2,340 |
| Owo | 7,192 | 12,88 | 14,093 | 8,900 | 9,759 | 10,528 | 6,218 | 6,177 | 5,202 |
| Akoko N | 2,193 | 3,459 | 3,341 | 2,257 | 2,568 | 1,841 | 1,985 | 1,522 | 2,302 |
| Akoko S | 602 | 937 | 1,122 | 740 | 753 | 628 | 628 | 482 | 980 |
| Ekiti C | 1,022 | 2,086 | 1,999 | 1,749 | 2,000 | 1,789 | 1,743 | 1,865 | 1,023 |
| Ekiti W | 926 | 1,349 | 1,331 | 892 | 1,441 | 927 | 1,133 | 855 | ----- |
| Ijero | 1,195 | 2,062 | 1891 | 1,129 | 1,760 | 1,164 | 1,329 | 1,145 | 1,204 |
| Ero | 133 | 287 | 198 | 88 | 167 | 69 | 30 | 60 | 80 |
| Ekiti N | 1,245 | 2,089 | 1,297 | 1,485 | 1,554 | 957 | 985 | 1,004 | 1,034 |
| Ekiti E | 1,897 | 3,524 | 3,331 | 3,222 | 3,391 | 3,436 | 3,928 | 3,305 | 2,230 |
| Ondo | 10,179 | 16,353 | 14,836 | 11,343 | 15,756 | 10,682 | 6,834 | 10,224 | ----- |
| Ifesowapo | 9,050 | 18,021 | 15,691 | 11,641 | 21,247 | 12,165 | 9,602 | 7,320 | ----- |
| Ikale | 47 | 96 | 70 | 33 | 126 | 62 | 22 | 120 | ----- |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Ilaje Ese Odo | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|

Source: calculated from;

1. CBN, Research Department Annual Records, MANR, Akure, 1981.
2. Cocoa Statistics by Gill and Duffus. Gill and Duffis Market Report Jan. 1977.
3. Bola Akanji, Cocoa Production under Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme, NISER Monograph Series No 1, 1992, P 49

Compared with the colonial period, Idanre cocoa producers were able to finance community projects, build houses, educate their children and enjoyed their earnings in relation to their neighbors. The society was well structured. There were variations in the level of changes that occurred between Odode, Alade and Atoshin, the main towns. Unlike the colonial period, when the farmers stayed in distant farms for a long period before returning home to relate with their families, in the 1960s, cocoa farmers worked fortnightly and returned to their homes for club meetings and socialization which were referred to as *Ose Ibukun* (Church week) and *Ose Ipade*. (Social week). *Ose Ibukun*, was seven days before the Sunday in which farmers came back from their farmstead for socialization.

During this period, many cocoa producers were able to build fairly modern houses and purchased the "Yahama Double Exhaust" motorcycles prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s. This enabled them to travel easily from their towns to the farms, and also go about other social activities. Labour in the various cocoa farms was mixed. It was a combination of family labour and hired labour. Hired labour was in two forms. Wage labourers and the sharecroppers. The former worked throughout the year and got rewarded at the end of the year. They were referred to as *lebira-oloodun* (annual laborers) because their wages were paid to them at the end of the year. The latter was regarded as *Alagbase* (sharecropper).⁶¹² They worked for farmers and received their share at the end of the year, with the proceeds from the farm shared into three. The first part was used to offset the cost of chemicals and farm inputs, another part went to the sharecropper, while the third went to the farmer. This was the dominant system that snowballed into the labour system in the town beyond the 1960s.

Despite the Nigerian Civil War that pushed several Igbo migrants out of the cocoa belts of southwestern Nigeria, people did not hastily move out of Idanre cocoa farms, compared to what obtained in Ibadan, Ife, Ondo and Ekiti. During the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war, many Igbo

⁶¹² Interview with Yomi Akinyeye, Professor of History and Strategic Studies, 58 Years, Unilag, 15/12/2018

migrants moved from areas seriously ravaged by the civil war to Idanre. However, between 1968 and 1970, many Igbo farm workers left owing to the rumor that several Igbo people were murdered in neighboring communities. During this period, several indigenes shielded their farmworkers, especially those from the Eastern part of Nigeria in their farms. During the Nigerian Civil War, some Igbo migrants in Idanre were inscribed with Idanre tribal marks to shield their identity. However, many of them were denigrated and maltreated in a few farm villages and that affected cocoa production in those places.⁶¹³

At Ofosu, a very large cocoa farm close to the Benin Expressway, a large number of Igbo migrants, Bendel and Ogojia migrants abandoned the cocoa plantations and relocated to their respective homelands, owing to the severity of the Nigerian Civil war. Most of them feared they would be misidentified as Igbo people. As a result, labourers who remained in Idanre cocoa farms were mostly the Igbira, Hausa and other Yoruba people. With this, the remuneration demanded by farm labourers became very high and unaffordable for the small-scale farmers. Labour relations were also affected because many young farm laborers went to enlist in the Nigerian Army during the war. In effect, only the wealthy farmers were able to hire workers, owing to the rapid increment in wages of farmworkers.⁶¹⁴ According to Oba Ogulowo of Atoshin Idanre:

More than five thousand people including, the Ibibio, Ijaws, Igbira and Edo, abandoned their contracts (wage labor or sharecropping) as a result of the rumor of war in early January, 1966. Most of them feared they would be misidentified as Igbos when the war reached its peak. Some Benue people and Hausa-Fulani workers also did the same.⁶¹⁵

By 1966, cocoa farmers had to depend mostly on family labour and a few migrants they could afford to pay. Many farmers pledged their labour through the *Esusu* and *Ajo* system which was widely practiced among the Yoruba people. *Aro* and *Owe*; a cooperative labour system was also practiced among young people during the war, given the dearth of labour. This was done on a rotational basis which also influenced the structure of land ownership in the town. By the late 1960s, cocoa ownership had moved from indigenes to migrant farmers and labourers. During the

⁶¹³ Interview with Yomi Akinyeye, Professor of History and Strategic Studies, 58 Years, Unilag, 15/12/2018

⁶¹⁴ Ezekiel, A. W. 2000. The Changing Pattern of Labor Relations in the Cocoa Farming Belt of Southern-Western Nigeria 1950s-1990s, *Journal of African Economic History*, Vol 28, p 123

⁶¹⁵ Oral Interview with Oba Ogulowo of Atoshin Idanre, 17/ 06/ 2015 at His Royal Palace in Atoshin Idanre

period of the war, new migrants also moved into the town from *Kaba* (in the present-day Kogi State) to work as farmworkers. The majority of the *Ikale*, *Edo* and *Ekiti* people purchased land and established their cocoa plantations in Idanre. The exit of the Igbos ushered in groups of farmworkers from the Benin Republic. Prominent among the migrant families were Abudu, Tafa and Mende. They married Idanre women and raised children in the town.⁶¹⁶

The cocoa cooperative societies and money-lenders played important roles in the welfare and sustainability of cocoa producers in the 1960s. They assisted the cocoa farmers with chemicals on credit to enable them to maintain their farms. In pre-harvest seasons, the cocoa farmers borrowed money from the cooperatives and paid marginal interest, at the end of each cocoa season. In some cases, farmers took their produce to the cooperatives to buy and paid their debts. This was the dominant practice in Idanre throughout the 1960s. The cooperatives also built stores where several consumable items were sold to cooperative members on credit in the pre-harvest times. The first petrol filling station in Idanre was built by the Odode Cocoa Cooperative Society. The cooperative society also introduced local transit in the late 1960s. They acquired some buses to provide commercial transport services between the main towns and the farms.⁶¹⁷ This contributed to social and economic development in the town in considerable ways.

The majority of the cocoa farmers in the Idanre during the 1960s depended on credits and loans to be able to finance their children's education. This was because many children of cocoa farmers in the town were admitted into Governments College at Okitupupa, Government Boys College, Ibadan, Igbobi College in Lagos, and Federal Government Schools, Osogbo among others in the 1960s.⁶¹⁸ There were many Licensed Buying Agents (LBA) and Produce Merchants in Idanre, whose preoccupation was to give loans to cocoa farmers. Prominent among them were, Emmanuel Akintan, Mr. Agunbiade, Mr. Agbaje, Mr. Mogbemi, Mr. Agunloko, and Mr. Ogunmakinju. These LBAs operated at different places in Idanre, granting loans to farmers to support their children's education. The small-scale cocoa farmers struggled hard to cope, and finance their children's education. It was not uncommon however, for the cooperatives, LBAs and Money Lenders to take advantage of the farmers in the processing and repayments of loans in the 1960s. For instance, farmers who were not educated or enlightened enough to read the cocoa

⁶¹⁶Ibid

⁶¹⁷ Interview with Mr Claudius Akinrolayo Ajiola, Retired Banker, 2017.

⁶¹⁸ Interview with Abolade George, Cocoa Farmer, 82 Years, Opa Idanre

measuring scales were sharply cheated by unscrupulous LBAs and produce merchants by undervaluing their produce or inflating their debts.⁶¹⁹

However, despite the exploitative practices of the LBAs and money lenders, many cocoa farmers experienced upward mobility during Nigeria's First Republic. Most cocoa farmers were able to finance their children's education, invest in kinship and contribute to community development.⁶²⁰ A notable example was, Pa Gabriel Akinbobola, who despite all odds, managed to support his son Oluremi Akinbobola to becoming a renowned medical practitioner, politician and former Commissioner for Health in Ondo State. Through series of loans taken from the 'Alade Cocoa Cooperative Society' and produce merchants between 1960 and 1968, Gabriel Akinbobola was able to put his son Oluremi Akinbobola through I.D.C Primary School, Ibadan (1960-1962) and St Luke's Primary School, Egbeda, Idanre (1963-1965), and Olofin Anglican Grammar School Idanre, 1969-1973. Oluremi was admitted to the University of Benin (College of Medical Sciences) in 1978 and graduated in 1983.⁶²¹

Another important example of the numerous peasant cocoa farmers who struggled to bequeath good education to their children through loans and credits collected from Cocoa Farmers' Cooperative societies, was Julius Olatunji. Between the 1960s and the early 1970s, Julius Olatunji had borrowed credits and pledged parts of his cocoa farms to the cooperative association to finance the education of his three sons' tertiary education at the Yaba College of Technology and two daughters to the University of Ibadan.⁶²² It should be noted, that one son, he invested his earnings on, was Engr. Patrick Olatunji, who later became an important personality in the development of Idanre. It would be explained in the next chapter, how Patrick Olatunji invested in Idanre by purchasing many buses to operate cabs and built several hotels among other social amenities which contributed enormously to the development of the town.⁶²³

⁶¹⁹Interview with Olu Akinbobola, Medical Practitioner & Cocoa Trader, 60+, Odode Idanre, 8/12/2018

⁶²⁰ Interview with Justice Sunday Akinola Akintan, 72 Years, September 2017

⁶²¹Interview with Olu Akinbobola, Medical Practitioner & Cocoa Trader, 60+, Odode Idanre, 8/12/2018

⁶²²Interview with Engr. Patrick Olatunji, 65 Years, Akure, 7/12/2018

⁶²³Interview with Engr. Patrick Olatunji, 65 Years, Akure, 7/12/2018

If peasant cocoa farmers made a significant socioeconomic impact on their children and families, the produce merchants and money lenders in the town experienced unbridled accumulation and prosperity. One among the many produce merchants and money lenders who became wealthy by giving loans to small-scale farmers in the town was Emmanuel Akintan. Idanre society produced many wealthy cocoa merchants and money lenders who lived in grandeur between 1960 and the 1970s. From the proceeds of their cocoa business and money lending, they were able to finance their children's education in universities and colleges abroad. As enunciated in the previous chapter, Emmanuel Akintan, played an important role in the development of the cocoa industry in the town.

By 1966, Emmanuel Akintan's cocoa farms had become so large that he depended significantly on hired laborers who came from different parts of the country to manage his cocoa plantations. Their number varied from twenty-five to thirty-five caretakers at any given time. The practice in the 1960s and 1970s was such that they worked on the farms from January to December at an agreed annual fee which was paid at the end of the year.

The farmworkers had wives and children that lived with them in the town. This meant that keeping a large compound to accommodate them---in addition to his wives and children was his responsibility. Although Emmanuel Akintan had no formal western education, he was, however, a lover of education. Apart from sending his immediate junior brother, Daniel Akintan, to be educated, he built a primary school and an Anglican Church in Aiyetoro Owena. The school and church are still functioning in the town even though the school has been taken over by the State Government. He also built other structures including the Cooperative Hall. Emmanuel Akintan built five major houses and his storey buildings at Alade was one of the most elegant buildings in Idanre in the 1970s. These physical structures still exist in Idanre. Emmanuel Akintan also built several houses at Odode- Idanre. The first was located at Broad Street, in addition to others he built for commercial purposes in Idanre.⁶²⁴

He was one of the early youths who converted to Christianity at Oke Idanre under the leadership of "Baba Egbe" Aroloye, the father of the present Owa of Idanre and Pa Akinbola. He learned to read and write there and built the church in Owena, where he conducted church Services on Sundays. He also had children of his own. His eldest son was born in 1920, educated in Ondo and finished his secondary education at Oduduwa College, Ile-Ife in 1943. He lost him to death in

⁶²⁴ Ibid

1959. Chief Emmanuel Akintan Olofinguleka had other male and female children, including Justice Sunday Akinola Akintan (JSC, CON) who retired as a Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. This shows that Emmanuel Akintan invested his proceeds from cocoa production on his children's education and upbringing. Most of Emmanuel Akintan's children had their post-secondary education in England in the early sixties. Others were educated in Nigerian universities. They mostly studied law, accountancy and medicine.

Emmanuel Akintan did not take any chieftaincy title as he was contended with aiding his community through educating the children in the schools he built. As he was aging, the system of managing the farms changed from employing directly each worker on annual basis to a system known as *alagbase* by which every worker was given a portion of the farm to manage and the outcome would be shared by the owner of the farm and the worker. The worker would take a third of the income, the farm owner would take two-thirds of the cost of chemicals used in producing the crop, while the owner would bear one-third of the cost. Upon his death in February 1988, his properties including his cocoa farms were shared among his children following the Yoruba custom of *Idi- Igi* which is according to the number of wives that bore children for him. He had five wives who qualified for this and the properties, including his cocoa plantations were shared into five for each group of children.⁶²⁵

Owing to the vastness of his plantations which were too large to be managed by his children who had an interest in cocoa farming, Emmanuel's farms were left with the *alagbase*. Unfortunately, his vast cocoa plantations were lost to unscrupulous farm caretakers. Among his surviving children is Sunday Akinola Akintan, with an LLB and LLM (London) in 1963 and 1968 respectively and Ph.D. from the University of Lagos in 1973. He was a Commander of the Niger (CON), and a retired Justice of the Supreme Court. Thomas Omotayo Akintan, ACWA (London), FCA, a Chartered Accountant based in Lagos and Dr. Taiye Akintan, a Medical Practitioner based in Akure, Ondo State.⁶²⁶

It should be noted, that while the agrarian capitalists lived in grandeur, through the labour of migrants and many indigenous labourers, the peasants found it difficult to survive and cater for their families. The capitalist farmers had taken advantage of the peasants' inability to pay back their loans and recruited them as farm laborers or compelled them to transfer their farms to their

⁶²⁵Interview with Justice Sunday Akinola Akintan, September 2017

⁶²⁶ Ibid

creditors. In some cases, the debtors paid their debts through wage labor. From the above life history and contribution of Emmanuel Akintan, it is observable that Idanre people and society between 1960 and 1970 experienced uneven development. The emerging wealthy farmers deployed their economic opportunities and power to accumulate and invest in the development of their children and community, while the army of peasants who lacked the means to maintain their plantations took to sharecropping or farm-caretakers. In this sense, Karl Marx was right, by emphasizing that capitalism was founded on the historical separation of workers from the means of production, which permitted the capitalist to exploit them through voluntary wage employment.⁶²⁷ Accumulation in Idanre during the late 1960s, as will be seen also in chapter five during the 1980s, arose from the profits of exploitation, through capitalist's investments in land and risk taken in employing wage laborers. This was a justification for their economic surpluses.

4.4 Government's Policies, Reactions and Developments in Idanre

Post-colonial agrarian interventions and policies shaped the pattern of rural development in Idanre. Due to the increasing maladministration of loans and other corrupt practices in the cooperative societies, local loan and credit advisory committees were dissolved in the agrarian communities. New agencies emerged to address endemic corruption in rural cooperative societies. The ministry of agriculture was essentially responsible for the administration of agricultural credits to the cocoa farmers.⁶²⁸ This policy did not augur well with the produce merchants and corrupt stakeholders of the cooperative society. Furthermore, several agricultural banks and rural banking schemes were established in Idanre to give loans and extend other related services to the farmers. However, these schemes failed to improve the conditions of poor cocoa farmers, due to maladministration and corruption. The poor farmers had no alternative to consulting the local buying agents, money lenders and the corrupt cooperative societies.

Moreover, the Western State Marketing Board, in July 1968, announced a new price increase for cocoa producers during the 1969/1970 cocoa season. With this, a ton of Grade 1 cocoa which in the previous season was sold for one hundred pounds fetched farmers £150, an increase

⁶²⁷ Berry, S.S. 1980. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in An Extended Yoruba Community*, p 6

⁶²⁸ *Daily Times*, Friday April 5, 1968, *Farmers Loans Boards Scrapped*, p1.

of £50 per ton.⁶²⁹ In the same way, a ton of Grade II cocoa which was previously sold for £85 per ton rose to one £130, an increase of £50 per ton.⁶³⁰ These new prices were paid to farmers at all approved buying stations, in Idanre on the condition, that £4 per ton would be deducted as produce sale tax.⁶³¹ The cocoa farmers in Idanre protested against the new price policy. In July 1968, the cocoa farmers through their associations met and declared in a memo to the Governor, that the Idanre farmers would not comply with the £4 per ton sales tax deduction on cocoa. The memo also indicated that failure to withdraw the policy would affect the quality of cocoa produced in the town, and lead to the smuggling of cocoa out of the town to be graded and sold at alternative stations at Ife, Osogbo and Ibadan.⁶³²

Consequently, on May 2, 1968, the Military Government of the Western State, Governor Adeyinka Adebayo at a town hall meeting Akure, announced to the cocoa farmers and chiefs the sustenance of the new price paid to cocoa farmers in the state and the cancellation of the £4 sales tax deduction on cocoa.⁶³³ This was however, accompanied by another condition, a mandatory Farm Extension Services. The farm extension programme would cost £2 for every acre of cocoa farm. The essence according to Governor was to improve the earnings of farmers in the state. He noted also that it was part of the policies of the Western Region's government to improve the wellbeing of the farmers in the state through the payment of adequate prices for their produce, following the recommendation of the Ayoola Report on the tax riots and disturbances in Idanre. The report had recommended that adequate prices be paid to cocoa farmers, in addition to providing adequate farm management services to the Idanre cocoa farmers.⁶³⁴

On June 1, 1968, a new cocoa spraying subsidy scheme for the entire Western State in the 1968 financial year was launched by the military government of the state. The Western State Ministry of Agriculture and Resources appealed to cocoa farmers not to waste their chemical on moribund cocoa trees several of which were identified in Idanre especially at Ajobemidele

⁶²⁹*Daily Times*, Friday, July 11 1968, *Cocoa Prices Rises in West* p2

⁶³⁰Akanji, B. 1992. *Cocoa Production under Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme*, NISER Monograph Series No 1, p 49; & Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria, *Cocoa Development Programme in Nigeria* cited in M.O.K. Adebola & J.O Abe 1982.

⁶³¹*Daily Times*, Friday, July 11 1968, *Cocoa Prices Rises in West* p2

⁶³²*Daily Times*, 29 Wednesday July 1969, *Idanre Farmers Reject Governors' Scheme*

⁶³³*Daily Times*, Friday May 2 1969, *Cocoa Price to be Increased in West*

⁶³⁴ *Ibid*

plantations. Under this scheme, the government came to Idanre and continued to subsidize all spraying chemicals used in the war against black pod disease and capsid pests.⁶³⁵ The primary purpose of the government's cocoa spraying scheme was to bring down the cost of all approved insecticides to a level within the means of every cocoa farmer.

With the new subsidy, the cocoa farmer was to pay only a little above half of the cost he would have been charged without subsidy. In Idanre where the majority of the cocoa trees were already aged, causing low yields and poor producer' income, it helped many farmers.⁶³⁶ In respect of the very scarce "Gammalin 20" farmers were to pay maximum retail prices of eight shillings and nine pence per tin instead of the normal price of 14 shillings. Another subsidy for Perenox and Caocobre-sandox was introduced to reduce the cost of both products to the farmers at the rate of 61 shillings and one penny (61s 1d) per 141b tin (retail price).⁶³⁷

At Ajobamidele and other cocoa farms where there were many old trees, the schemes were well received by the cocoa farmers, but generally, there were dissatisfactions among some of them. On several occasions, producers embarked on protests against what they considered an agrochemical subsidy scam. This made the Western State to further seek to ameliorate the price instability which posed a great challenge to producers.⁶³⁸ Due to series of petitions submitted to the Western State Commissioner for Agriculture from Idanre and Akure on the subsidy scam and the nepotism and corruption in the appropriation of loans under the auspices of Mr. L.L Borha who administered the loans to cocoa farmers. The loan administering boards were dissolved, and alternative measures were adopted with the cocoa cooperative society.⁶³⁹ The Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) at Owena Idanre was saddled with the responsibility of administering and conducting the farm extension services to producers at marginal cost. The inauguration of the new committee helped farmers to sustain and stabilize producers between 1968 and 1970.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁵*Daily Times*, Saturday June 1, 1968, *New Cocoa Subsidy Plan in West*

⁶³⁶*Ibid.*

⁶³⁷*Ibid.*

⁶³⁸*Daily Times*, Wednesday May 15 1968—*Cocoa Output up by 200 percent*

⁶³⁹*Daily Times*, Monday June 23, 1968, *Inquiry into Financial Administration of Credit Cooperation*

⁶⁴⁰*Ibid*

The Governing Council of the Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) in July 1968 recommended for the approval of the Federal Military government an estimated expenditure of about five hundred pounds to run the services of the institute located at Owena-Idanre during 1969-1970.⁶⁴¹ The council also requested the federal military government to assist in bringing about the liquidation of the former West African Cocoa Research Institute (WACRI) so that Nigeria's share of the assets amounting to about five million pounds might be made available for capital development programs at the CRIN'S offices at Owena-Idanre and Onigambari respectively. This further boosted the capacity of the institute in helping farmers. The Ondo State government sought the support of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture to respond to the yearnings of the cocoa farmers. The activities of CRIN had a great impact on rural development in Idanre. Its operations in Idanre assisted in sustaining the town's centrality in the cocoa industry. Many cooperative associations from several cocoa-producing neighborhoods patronized CRIN's services in Idanre and the process contributed to the local economy.

As regards price regulation and producers' wellbeing, the government was able to fix the minimum price for grade one standard main crop for the 1966/1967 season at eighty-five pounds per ton. It should be recalled that attempts to achieve this had been stalled in July 1968 at the fourteen nation's consultation between producers and consumer countries over whether freight and insurance cost should be included in the agreed minimum price of 1s 8d per pound.⁶⁴² The exporting countries wanted the freight and insurance charges to be added to the minimum price. The consultation was to negotiate a new cocoa agreement to regulate world trade in cocoa. The terms of discussion among the producers---Ghana, Brazil, Nigeria, Cameroun, Ivory Coast, Mexico and Ecuador had to do with the abolition of preferential tariffs on terms granted by the European common market to some African producers in favor of generalized tariff reduction.⁶⁴³

Consequently, the Western State Marketing Board pegged the minimum price for grade one standard crop cocoa for the 1968/1969 season at one hundred pounds per ton, and grade two at eighty pounds per ton.⁶⁴⁴ This was the price paid for the produce during the new cocoa season at all cocoa gazette buying stations. The board decided to bear the cost of transporting graded cocoa

⁶⁴¹*Daily Times*, Monday 23, July 1968---*Cocoa Institute Demands Five Million Pounds*

⁶⁴²*Daily Times*, *Deadlock at Cocoa Talk in Geneva*, Saturday June 22, 1968.

⁶⁴³*Daily Times*, *Cocoa Prices Fixed*, Friday 30 August 1968.

⁶⁴⁴*Ibid.*

to the board's store or port of shipment. Licensed buying agents were no longer allowed to deduct transport costs from the uniform prices payable but would be reimbursed by the board for expenditure. However, the uniform producer prices per ton paid to buying agents of the board at all specified stations for the 1968/1969 season taking into account the incidence of produce sales tax.⁶⁴⁵ All sales of cocoa made in Idanre by licensed buying agents were subjected to produce sales tax at the rate of four pounds per ton according to the new produce sales law.⁶⁴⁶

By November 1968, the cocoa market had become unstable again after a few weeks of steady price increases. In a remarkable frenzy of purchases on the New York and London markets, Nigerian cocoa sold at unusually high prices in the last two months.⁶⁴⁷ Bid for the season's crop rose from roughly 305 shillings a cwt in September to approximately 390 shillings at the end of October, but November sales opened with a sharp fall in prices. Prices plummeted from the 390 shillings' level by about 12 shillings to 378 shillings a cwt in an undue reaction to the recent rapid rise. But what got dealers puzzled was the reason for the rise in prices of West African cocoa. Perhaps, a world cocoa shortage expressed by speculators before sales of the season's crop led dealers to make big offers for whatever stock they could obtain. In effect, what an observer described in the *Daily Times* of Wednesday 13, 1968, as "Mad Purchases" began following the announcement that the market is in a potentially dangerous situation. The large stocks built up in the 1964/1965 season provided a useful buffer over the last three years.⁶⁴⁸

Plans were hatched, and encumbrances were shed off as the Federal Military government embarked on the use of three million pounds for the establishment of the Agricultural Credit Banks in Nigeria.⁶⁴⁹ This fund was used to grant loans to the farmers in various parts of the federation. The step was intended to reverse the relegation and stagnation of the cocoa industry. The permanent secretary to the ministry of agriculture Dr. Shaid specifically said "the loan would be a direct transaction between the federal government and the cocoa farmers."⁶⁵⁰ The government also ensured that priority was given to the major areas that produced cocoa in large quantity. In this case, Idanre farmers benefited immensely. The federal government therefore established an overall

⁶⁴⁵Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶Ibid

⁶⁴⁷*Daily Times*, Wednesday 13 November 1968---*Cocoa Prices Again*

⁶⁴⁸*Daily Times*, Wednesday 13 November 1968---*Cocoa Prices Again*

⁶⁴⁹*Daily Times*, Monday May 5 1969---*Government Plans 3 Million Pounds Bank Loan for Farmers.*

⁶⁵⁰*Daily Times*, Monday May 5 1969---*Government Plans 3 Million Pounds Bank Loan for Farmers*

credit bank to give loans directly to the farmers without any intermediary.⁶⁵¹ Rural banking facilities were made available to cocoa producers to meet the growing demand for credit and loans.

To consolidate this effort, the cooperative farmers in western state on May 9, 1969, rose to demand two hundred and fifty pounds per ton on grade 1 cocoa commencing from the next season. This was emphasized at Ile-Ife, during a meeting attended by over two hundred co-operative leaders in Western Nigeria. The President of the Co-operative Union of Western Nigeria Ltd, Mr. E.T Latunde insisted that any amount below two hundred and fifty pounds per ton was not acceptable to the farmers.⁶⁵² The co-operative lamented the ordeal suffered by the farmers from the period of cultivation to the period of harvest and noted that although the world price of cocoa had been high, the government had been paying a small fraction of this to cocoa producers. On licensed buying agents, the co-operative union accused the government of encouraging mushroom Licensed Buying Agents to compete with the cooperative movement.⁶⁵³ Some of these agitations were later implemented by the government at the beginning of the 1969/1970 cocoa season.⁶⁵⁴

Idanre cocoa industry grew during this period. From available data, Idanre supplied about 40.3 percent between 1963 and 1970.⁶⁵⁵ Between 1956 and 1960 the cocoa purchased for export by the board was within the region of 605, 467 tons; Idanre supplied over 297, 312 tons of the total output.⁶⁵⁶ This development according to Dupe Olatunbosun, and H.A Oluwasanmi increased the government's earnings tremendously. The tax from cocoa alone was over £5 million and one-fifth of the total 1959 regional revenue. More so, the cocoa marketing board generated £7.9 million, estimated at 71.7 percent of the capital fund for western Nigeria Development Corporation agricultural and rural development schemes.⁶⁵⁷

The cocoa industry employed a majority of the agrarian people in Idanre. This was made possible through the government's huge investment in agriculture. The result of an empirical

⁶⁵¹*Daily Times*, Monday May 5 1969---*Government Plans 3 Million Pounds Bank Loan for Farmers*

⁶⁵²*Daily Times*, Friday May 9, 1969---*Farmers Want 250 Pounds for Cocoa*

⁶⁵³*Daily Times*, Friday May 9, 1969---*Farmers Want 250 Pounds for Cocoa*

⁶⁵⁴*Daily Times*, Saturday July 15, 1969--- *Government Succumbed to Farmer*

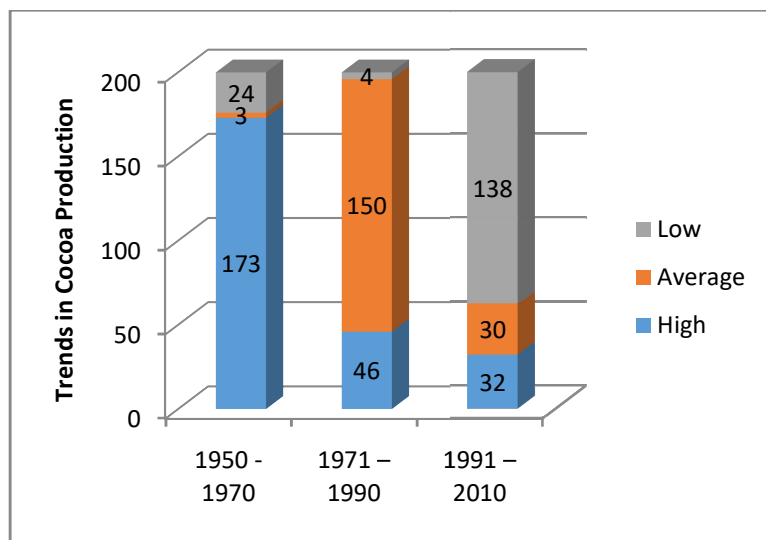
⁶⁵⁵NAI, Extract from the Nigerian Daily Times, ' Travail of Commodity Trade' April 1965 P 3-5

⁶⁵⁶NAI, CSO, Local Production of Food Stuffs: Articles and Correspondence in the Local Press 1959

⁶⁵⁷ See Olatunbosun, D. &Adegboye R. O. 1968. Impact of Western Nigerian Farm Settlements on

Surrounding Farmers, *Journal of Economics and Social Studies*, Vol 6, No 2 P 123,Oluwasanmi H.A, 1966, Agriculture and Nigeria Development, pp 128-129, see also Dupe Olatunbosun 1975, *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, Ibadan: Oxford University Press pp 75-84

survey conducted by H.A Oluwasanmi in Western Nigeria in 1965, showed that 21 percent of farmers were cocoa growers, while about 7.5 percent took it as their secondary occupation.⁶⁵⁸ In Idanre, of the 120, 000 people counted in one of the small farm villages in the community, eighty percent depended on cocoa production and marketing for their livelihoods.⁶⁵⁹ The level of cocoa cultivation was remarkable between 1960 and 1970. A statistical method used to analyse the response of cocoa farmers concerning cocoa planting and its effect on rural income in Idanre is shown in the graph below.



Graph 4.0: Trends in Cocoa Production and Producer' Income in Idanre

Source: Alade Cocoa Cooperative Society, 1978.

The performance of cocoa produce trade on the world market had a significant effect on rural incomes and employment in several farm settlements and villages in Idanre.⁶⁶⁰ Apart from the few educated elites that worked as government workers, the majority of the Idanre people in the 1960s were employed on Idanre cocoa farms, and stores. Many of these civil servants also had cocoa farmlands which fetched them alternative incomes.⁶⁶¹ Thus, the livelihood of the people of

⁶⁵⁸Oluwasanmi, H.A. 1966. Agriculture and Nigeria Development, p 66

⁶⁵⁹ Interview with some selected aged cocoa farmers at Tejugbola, Jingbe, Ofosu and Oporun farm settlements in Idanre, July- December 2014.

⁶⁶⁰ A number of intervention plans put in place by the Western Region government, especially the farm settlement schemes and funding cocoa cooperative societies in the town helped the expansion of cocoa economy in the town.

⁶⁶¹ Interview with HRM, Oba Frederick Aroloye, (Owa of Idanre) Arubiefin III

Idanre rested on cocoa production and sales. Earnings and savings from the crop were used to renovate their old houses, build new ones and sponsor their children to school and even cater for immediate and extended families.

Idanre Society in the first decade of Nigeria's independence experienced great socioeconomic changes. The value of cocoa produced in the town appreciated and motivated people to initiate several community projects in the 1960s. Many old infrastructures such as houses, roads, schools and other amenities in several farm settlements in Idanre showed that the people enjoyed a relative social and economic improvement in the 1960s.⁶⁶² The stagnation of the cocoa sector between 1973 and mid-1980s must have, altered the livelihood of many farmers and laborers in the community.

4.5 Impact of the Oil Boom on Cocoa Farming and Development in Idanre

Oil exploration began in Nigeria in 1956 but did not play a significant role in the Nigerian economy until the early 1970s. According to Robinson, "in the early 1960s, revenue from oil accounted for less than 10 per cent of Nigeria's revenue base". For example, oil revenue contributed only 4.1% and 5.9%, respectively, of the country's total revenue in 1963 and 1964. The bulk of Nigeria's revenue during this period was from agriculture, and more than 70% per cent of the population was employed in this sector. From the early 1970s, however, the yield of oil began to increase and the dominance of agriculture in the country's economy began to wane. The oil boom of the 1970s helped significantly in transforming Nigeria from an ordinary Third World black country to an economically viable nation both in terms of development, infrastructure, and international politics.⁶⁶³

The country was the first and only producer in West Africa and the second highest producer in Africa. Among the major world producers, with an output of 110 million tons in 1974, Nigeria was ranked sixth. To facilitate exportation, pipelines were laid to connect the major oil wells with the ports of Bonny and Escravos. However, more Wells were drilled by other companies like Elf, Mobil and Agip among others. This made production rise steeply year after year, although the global oil glut of the 1980s reduced the trend. In 1962, the federal government

⁶⁶²Interview with Five Executive Members of the Idanre Cocoa Cooperative Society, at Alade Idanre, 18/ 09/2016

⁶⁶³ See Ekundare, R.O. 1971. *An Economic History of Nigeria*, London: Longman.

also awarded a contract to construct a refinery at Alesa Eleme Port Harcourt, Rivers State. This was to take care of foreign exchange as well as job opportunities in addition to other multiplier effects. The country experienced an upsurge in the demand for petroleum products averaging a yearly increase of 23.4% between 1970 and 1978. In 1978, the Warri refinery was officially opened with a refining capacity of 160,000 barrels per day. More demands led to the building of a third refinery at Kaduna in 1980 and the fourth refinery near Port Harcourt. Indeed, the period, 1970 to 1980 represented the oil boom period in Nigeria's production, export and earnings.

The highest output was recorded in 1979 at 845,464,000 barrels per day and the highest level of production of 2.3 million barrels per day. In 1971, the Nigeria National Petroleum Co-operation (NNPC) formerly known as Nigeria National Oil Co-operation (NNOC) was established by act No. 18 which was charged with the responsibility of exploring and producing oil and gas, transporting, refining, processing, marketing and converting petroleum products. Oil revenue accounted for 88% of the federal government's foreign-exchange earnings in 1997, and 83.5% of the total gross revenue for the year 2000, which implies that Nigeria's earnings from oil between 1997 and 2000 were around ₦1.6 trillion. Oil and Gas Journal (2005) estimated Nigeria's proven oil reserves to be at 35.2 billion barrels with a plan on the ground by the national government to expand its proven reserves to 40 billion barrels by 2010. In February 2005, Nigeria announced the award of five oil blocks in the Joint Development Zone (JDZ) shared by Nigeria and neighboring São Tomé and Príncipe (STP). The JDZ reportedly holds reserves of 11 billion barrels, and potentially could yield up to 3 million barrels per day.

The unprecedented rise of oil revenue in the 1970s enriched the Nigerian state, but impoverished the Nigerian cocoa farmers, even more than the direct state exploitation through the marketing board.⁶⁶⁴It started with a dramatic boom in oil earnings and imported goods.⁶⁶⁵The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)'s success in raising the international oil price had caused an unprecedented increase in Nigerian oil revenues as well as a sharp decrease in cocoa and other agricultural commodity export goods.⁶⁶⁶Agriculture which constituted the cardinal

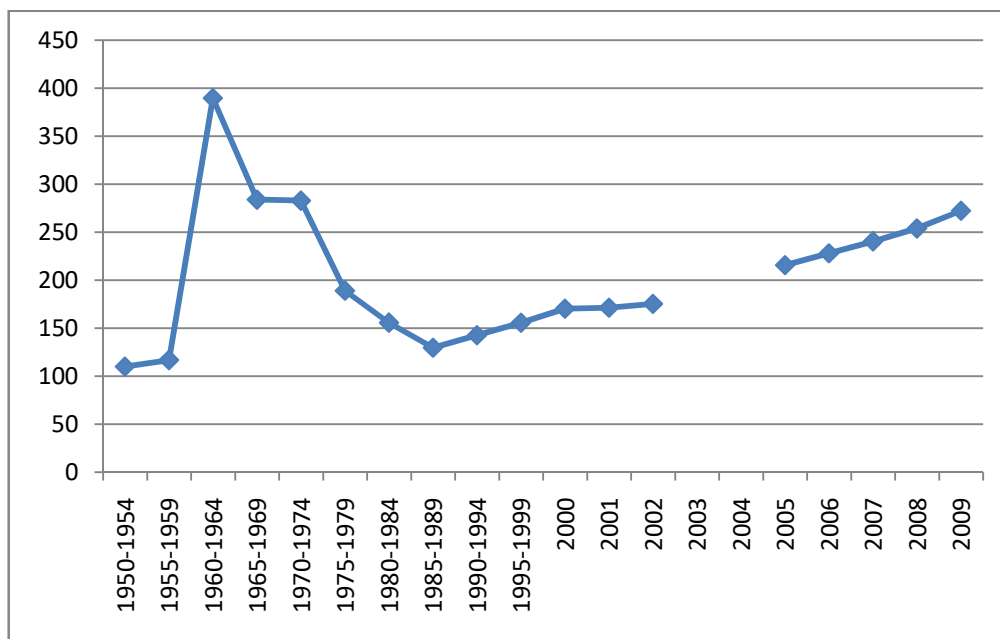
⁶⁶⁴Adesina, O.C. 2004. Modern Agriculture in Nigeria: A Historical Exegesis, *Benin Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol 4, No 1-2, p 71

⁶⁶⁵Munis, J.O. 1988. "Debt Equity SWAP", in Odebiyi Oladapo, *Giant Strides* (ed), Nigeria: VBO International Limited, p 46

⁶⁶⁶Karp, M. 1980. Export Concentration in Nigeria, *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol 14 No 3, p 302

means of rural employment and income in the 1960s was altered in 1973 when Nigeria's petroleum price rose dramatically.⁶⁶⁷

It is important to note, that before the early 1970s when oil exploration and exports increased suddenly, Nigeria began to export petroleum in the 1957/58 period. Cocoa production was sold between 100,000 and 150,000 tons per annum. In the post-independence period, 1960-70 Nigeria's cocoa exports were above 318,000 tons per annum. The curve in Figure 4.1 shows the level of cocoa production between 1950 and 1970. Cocoa production was sustained demonstrably in the 1960s, despite the Nigerian Civil War.⁶⁶⁸ It was in 1971 when the country joined the league of oil-rich producing countries, that production of cocoa began to decline due to several factors.



Graph 4.1: Production Cocoa between 1950-2009.

Extract from CBN & F.A.O's Report 2009

The Yom Kippur war of 1973 which led to an escalation of world crude oil prices marked the beginning of the decline of the cocoa industry.⁶⁶⁹ It is significant to note, that in 1971 when Nigeria joined OPEC, Nigeria's oil was sold at \$2.65 per barrel. On October 5, 1973, Syria and

⁶⁶⁷ Freund, B. 1978. Oil Boom and Crisis in Contemporary Nigeria, *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 13, p 91

⁶⁶⁸ Freund, B. 1978. Oil Boom and Crisis in Contemporary Nigeria. p 93

⁶⁶⁹ Eskyor T, 2002, *The Economics of Structural Adjustment Programme: A Study to the Prelude to Globalisation*, Lagos: First Academic Publisher, p 130

Egypt attacked Israel, launching the 'Yom Kippur war. With the outbreak of the war, the United States of America and the Western Powers, including Great Britain, Canada, France and Japan, supported Israel and caused some Arab oil-producing countries to face embargo with over seven percent of the world oil supply blocked. Nigeria strategically increased its production and raised its export price from 2.65 to 12.60 per barrel in 1973.⁶⁷⁰ Instantly, the share of oil in gross domestic product (GDP) and exports rose sharply from 1970-73.⁶⁷¹

This resulted in large imports of consumer goods, machinery and food.⁶⁷² During this era, foreign investment grew as a result of the influx of foreign investors who sought to sell the world to Nigeria. The Nigerian Enterprise Promotions Act which governed the ownership of businesses in Nigeria was passed during this period, with budgetary expenditures keeping pace with the rising oil revenue.⁶⁷³ The oil boom indeed precipitated economic growth in the country.

However, the surplus accrued from it did not reflect on the state of rural infrastructure and the living condition of the people in the rural areas. Although loans from the World Bank, commercial, cooperative and state-owned banks were allocated for the cocoa growers, these hardly reached the rural people. This was the case with cocoa farmers in Idanre.⁶⁷⁴ As noted by Jeremiah Dibua and Olufemi Akinola, the huge earnings the country received from oil revenue reinforced the anti-peasant farmers' policies that characterized the government's agrarian reforms of the 1970s.⁶⁷⁵

The World Bank and FAO's interventions in agriculture were centered specifically on food-producing communities with emphasis on the development of irrigation systems.⁶⁷⁶ The Federal Government, under Major General Yakubu Gowon, gave cavalier attention to the cocoa producers and rural development. This stagnated rural income which also affected rural

⁶⁷⁰Historical documentary on Nigeria titled A story of Nigeria by Tunde Olarenwaju

⁶⁷¹ Brian P, 1987, Nigeria during and after the Oil Boom: A Policy Comparison with Indonesia, *The World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3. p 423

⁶⁷² See Agbaje A, 1992, Adjusting the State and Market in Nigeria: The Paradoxes of Orthodoxy, *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 27, No, Institute of African Affairs, GIGA, Hamburg/Germany, Eicher, C.K. 1991. The Dynamics of Long Term Agricultural Development in Nigeria, *Journal of Economics*, Vol 49, Mukhtar M. & Muhtar, M. 1987. Agricultural Development in Nigeria: The Role of Market and Non Market Forces, *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 39

⁶⁷³Munis, J.O. 1988. Debt/ Equity SWAP, in Odebiyi Oladapo 'Giant Strides' (Ed), Nigeria: VBO international Limited, p 46

⁶⁷⁴Dibua. J.I. 2000. Agricultural Modernization, the Environment and Sustainable Production in Nigeria, *African Economic History* No 30, p110.

⁶⁷⁵Ibid. See also Akinola, O.A. 1998. Reorganizing the Farmers Cooperatives, 1930-1992: Structural Adjustment and Politics in Ondo State, South-western Nigeria, pp 239-240

⁶⁷⁶Dibua. J.I. 2000. Agricultural Modernization, the Environment and Sustainable Production in Nigeria, p 109

infrastructure and the quality of life of cocoa producing households in Idanre.⁶⁷⁷ The government's agricultural credit facilities and extension services failed to address the core challenges in the rural sector. As demonstrated in the preceding section, cocoa farming in Idanre had employed and sustained about eighty percent of the rural population between 1950 and 1960.

The people in the 1960s had financed their children's education, built different kinds of *storey* buildings bought Motorcycles, Volkswagen and home-use appliances and contributed immensely to kinship and community projects, Idanre cocoa farmers became poorer during the period of the oil boom.⁶⁷⁸ With the vagaries in global cocoa markets and the concomitant unfavorable prices, many young indigenous farmers and labourers, left their employment in the cocoa farms. Some of them left the town to find better employment in the urban areas.⁶⁷⁹

The oil boom had far-reaching effects on rural development in Idanre. It eroded many livelihoods.⁶⁸⁰ It increased the level of rural poverty in the town. The profits which accrued to the Nigerian government from crude oil exports during the period did not impact positively the lives of the rural people generally.⁶⁸¹ The government indeed made considerable effort to improve the level of food production; for example, National Accelerated Food Production Programmes (NAFPP), launched in the early phase of the oil boom, was an agricultural extension programme initiated in 1972 by the Federal Department of Agriculture during General Yakubu Gowon's regime. The programme was planned to bring about a significant increase in the production of maize, cassava, rice and wheat in the northern states through subsistent production within a short period. It was also designed to spread to other states in the country after the pilot stage that was established in Anambra, Imo, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun, Benue, Plateau and Kano States. Mini-kit,

⁶⁷⁷ See World Bank 1990, World Development Report 1990 on Poverty: Oxford University Press. New York; World Bank. 1997, *Rural Development: From Vision to Action*, ESD Studies and Monographs Series. Washington DC.

⁶⁷⁸ A key informant interview with High Chief S.A Akintan and HRM Oba Frederick Aroloye (Owa of Idanre) revealed that more than fifty (50) sons and daughters of cocoa farmers in Idanre (Natives and migrants) financed their children to England for diverse studies between 1960s and 1970. These included the two informants

⁶⁷⁹ Obudho. R.A. 1976. Social Indicators for Housing and Urban Development in Africa: Towards a New Development Model, *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 3, No. 3/4 p 436

⁶⁸⁰ Adesina, O.C. 2004, *Modern Agriculture in Nigeria: A Historical Exegesis*, p 72

⁶⁸¹ Mckay. J.P. & Hill, B.D. Ebrey, P.B, Beck R.B et al, 2015, *Understanding World Societies: A History*, 2nd Edition, New York: Macmillan. p 65

production-kit and mass adoption phases were the three phases of the programme.⁶⁸² Idanre people did not benefit from these interventions.

In the same way, the Integrated Rural Agricultural Development program introduced in 1974 by the World Bank and the Nigerian government to assist small-scale farmers were directed towards the North East, North West and North Central rural agrarian communities as pilot schemes for basic food production. The thrust of the programme was to enhance increase in food production. However, the scheme focused on the development of River Basin Development and hydro agricultural farming system to the neglect of cocoa and other export commodity crops. The government's concern for commodity export crops shifted to indigenous food production.⁶⁸³ In other words, the government diverted all intervention schemes for rural agriculture towards the production of food crops. Idanre, like several cocoa-producing communities, was not covered in these government's rural intervention schemes.⁶⁸⁴ Another major impact of the oil boom was that Idanre cocoa farmers also lost the purchasing capacity to acquire necessary farm inputs. In effect, many families had to live below their basic standards.

The community according to some oral interviews lacked basic amenities, such as pipe-borne water, health care facilities, electricity and good roads throughout the oil boom. Both the federal and the state governments did not cater for the needs of the Idanre people in the 1970s.⁶⁸⁵ Most farmers in the area lived under harsh economic conditions due to poor producers' prices, lack of productive capacity, labour scarcity and high cost of living. A large number of farmers could not afford the prices of imported food and other consumable items as a result of the high inflation in the prices of basic goods.⁶⁸⁶

4.6 Economic Collapse of the 1980s and Rural Livelihoods in Idanre

The first five years of the 1980s as noted above witnessed a significant fall in oil revenues, a disturbing increase in foreign indebtedness, a deteriorating balance of payment and soaring

⁶⁸² Abimbola, J.O. & Ikuejube, G. 2010. The Dilemma of Food Security in Africa. *Trends in African Development*, Vol 2, No 3, pp53 – 66

⁶⁸³ Dibua. J.I. 2000. Agricultural Modernization, the Environment and Sustainable Production in Nigeria, p 111

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid

⁶⁸⁵ Interview with Bamidele Akinluyi (Cocoa farmer) at Odode Idanre, 12/4/2015.

⁶⁸⁶ Mammam, S. 1988. Nigeria Foreign Trade Policy: Perspective of the Minister of Trade, p 70

import bills culminating in the buildup of external trade arrears.⁶⁸⁷ Until the debt crisis broke out in 1982, the Nigerian government relied heavily for a prolonged period since the end of the oil boom on a one-way flow of capital and resources to promote development which was also important for the steady growth of the global economy.⁶⁸⁸ Less than a decade after the huge surplus Nigeria accrued from the oil boom the country went into a period of economic decline owing to a lack of absorptive capacity to sustain the growth.⁶⁸⁹

The debt burden and unprecedented deterioration in the terms of trade in favor of the metropolitan countries worsened the situation for Nigeria and other developing countries. The World Bank estimated between 1980 and 1982 that the changes in the terms of trade especially the loss of oil revenue in Africa averaged 4.7 per cent, while the total volume of export crops only managed to improve by two percent. The foreign exchange earnings at the same time sharply dropped to about fifty percent trade terms. The growing resource gap and the need for new loans amidst the realities in the world economic arena vis-à-vis the decline in demand for agricultural commodities from Africa and global demand for manufactures led to an economic collapse in the early 1980s.⁶⁹⁰

This problem was not caused singularly by international economic conditions but a combination of gross and poor government planning as noted in the preceding section. This was blamed on widespread economic shocks, persistent inflation, cumulative recessions and drastic balance of payment difficulties.⁶⁹¹ The Nigerian economy in the late 1970s recorded a stagnated growth. Per capita income declined sharply leading to rural and urban unemployment.⁶⁹² The economic stagnation was a reflection of structural imbalance which led to an unsustainable balance of payments problem and disequilibrium.⁶⁹³ Even though Nigeria's foreign exchange disbursement during the 1981/82 phase of the crisis exceeded the budgeted rates, foreign exchange receipts

⁶⁸⁷ Munis, J.O. 1988. Debt Equity SWAP, in 'Odeniyi Oladebo (Ed) *Giant Strides*, Vol 2, VBO International Limited, p 46

⁶⁸⁸ Fofowora, O.O. 1988. Debt, SAP and Manufacturing Industry: Myths and Realities in 'Odeniyi Oladebo (Ed) *Giant Strides*, VBO International Limited, p 39

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., p 40

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., p 41

⁶⁹¹ Mansour, A. 1983. Financing Agriculture: The Nigerian Experience, *New Letter from the Central Bank of Nigeria*, Vol 8, No 1 pp 35-37

⁶⁹² Ojo, M.O. 1988. The Nigerian Economic Crisis: Causes, Solution and Prospects, *Bullion: Publication of the Central Bank of Nigeria*, Vol 12, No 2, p 28

⁶⁹³ Ibid

declined to culminate into low external reserves. The national reserve that was pegged at N5.7 billion at the end of May 1981 suddenly went down to N1.9 billion in 1982.⁶⁹⁴

The crises affected the government's investment in agriculture especially the steady provision of loans, advances, as well as other infrastructural amenities made available to the farmers through the Cocoa Marketing Board, Ministry of Rural Development, Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme (ACGS), Nigeria Agricultural and Cooperative Bank (NACB) and several Rural Banking Programmes.⁶⁹⁵ Consequently between 1982 and 1984 economic stabilization measures were adopted to remedy the staggering agrarian sector, improve the balance of payment and revamp domestic production of core commodity crops such as cocoa, groundnut, rubber, oil palm that sustained balance of payments in the 1960s.

The question is, how did this affect cocoa farming, rural livelihood and development in Idanre? In Idanre, grants were given to authorized agencies (middlemen) to help producers achieve optimum productivity. The agents were to provide grants to cocoa farmers as up-front loans (I-owe-you) to boost their yields. This arrangement, rather, further impoverished many cocoa producers who patronized the agents. The farmers were compelled to sell their produce to the dealers, with the debt and interest deducted from the sales, thereby leaving the producers with no money to survive. In this case, farmers could hardly provide for their children or bear the cost of production.⁶⁹⁶

Although the Federal Military Government in a bid to ameliorate the hardship of small-scale farmers, curtailed the growing expenditures and unnecessary public investment in the industrial sectors by adopting an Economic Emergency Programme (EEP) from 1 October 1985 to December 31, 1986.⁶⁹⁷ The strategy for agricultural production was adopted to revive the economy from the economic contraction by shifting attention from large-scale farmers to small farmers. This was expected to diversify the revenue base from oil to cash crop exports, sustain rural livelihood in agriculture and boost aggregate labor income earnings. It was also intended to promote food production and enhance rural agricultural development. Also, to repair rural roads and infrastructure, tackle the challenges of post-harvest losses, diversion of credit mainly to

⁶⁹⁴Odozie, Y.A. 1998. Foreign Exchange Management: The Role of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Publication of Central Bank of Nigeria, Vol 3, No 2, p 20

⁶⁹⁵Ibid

⁶⁹⁶Oral Interview with HRH Oba Awoseyin, (Ogunlowo of AtoshinIdanre) also a cocoa producer in the town 16/082015 at His Royal Palace in Atoshin Idanre.

⁶⁹⁷Akinnifesi, E.O. 1986. The Economic Emergency Programme and the 1986 Federal Budget Analysis and Appraisal, Bullion, Publication of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Vol 10, No 2, pp 40-41

peasant farmers and particularly concentrate on rural development via agrarian-based industrialization and rural livelihood sustainability.⁶⁹⁸

Furthermore, EEP though aimed at restructuring the marketing boards reversed the school year in tandem with the agricultural production cycle in a way that will enhance the sustainable rural livelihood, improve rural wellbeing, integrated development and contribute to Nigeria's balance of payment. This plan however ended in fiasco as the government's implementation of the Breton wood's conditionalities culminated in a fall in export earnings, disappearing rural livelihood of farmers and capital shortfall for the government.⁶⁹⁹ Import substitution mechanisms were adopted to achieve industrialization, reduce expenditure on agricultural-related industries and generate foreign exchange and balance of payment from oil export and other industrial activities. This measure had a far-reaching effect on rural income and employment in Idanre. Since cocoa production tied the livelihoods of Idanre farmers to the domestic and international produce trade, the economic stagnation affected socioeconomic development negatively in the early 1980s.

The economic collapse of the 1980s brought great social and economic problems, such as low aggregate consumption of essential goods and services, low investment on the farm. As a result, people began to detach themselves from several responsibilities within and responsibilities to kinship and the community. One major consequence of the economic downturn of the 1980s was widespread inflation that had a pervasive effect on aggregate consumption and the quality of life of cocoa producing households in the town. With the thirty percent levy on all imported goods, prices of basic commodities which the rural people used their earnings to purchase increased demonstrably.⁷⁰⁰

Thus failing export earnings from cocoa business in the town in the 1980s led to rapid household unemployment that negatively impacted the standard of living in the town. The cumulative effect of this was also the rise of individualism. In other words, social relations among people of the community changed as people began to view investments in children, kinship, families and communal development with some misgivings rather than a rational thing as practiced in the pre-colonial, colonial and immediate post-independence year. There were also some social crimes such as invasion of another person's farm to harvest consumable crops, robbery, fraud,

⁶⁹⁸ Akinnifesi, E.O. 1986. The Economic Emergency Programme and the 1986 Federal Budget Analysis and Appraisal. pp 40-41

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., p 41

⁷⁰⁰ Oral Interview with High Chief S.A Akintan, (Ojomu of Idanre) age 90, at Magodo Lagos 12/05/2016

cheating that occurred frequently in the town as most families pulled out of cocoa farming during this period.⁷⁰¹

4.7 Conclusion

In the 1960s, the government's agricultural strategies paved the way for the growth of commodity export crops and improvement in rural income and employment. The surplus generated was used to finance some of the investments of the Western Region Finance Corporation, Western Nigeria Development Corporation and Agricultural Research and Development. Exports of cocoa accounted for sixty percent of the foreign exchange earnings. The 1960s was thus the most prosperous and turbulent decade for the Idanre cocoa farmers. At independence, the town had emerged as the largest cocoa producing community in the southwest of Nigeria.

The government's agricultural policies, including, several political crises in the 1960s had a great impact on Idanre cocoa farmers and the community. While many cocoa producers in the town experienced significant socio-economic mobility, others remained poor. Many cocoa producers were able to build fairly modern houses and purchased the "Yamaha Double Exhaust" motorcycles prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s. The Nigerian Civil War affected production cocoa production and sales between 1967 and the 1970s. However, through the interventions of local and government-formed cooperative institutions, Idanre cocoa farmers obtained credit facilities to sustain their families, cocoa farms and contributed to community programmes. Cocoa production declined in the 1970s and the early 1980s owing to the negative impact of the oil boom and global economic decline.

⁷⁰¹ Interview with John Akinbade (Cocoa Farmer) at Gbalegi village Idanre, 6/11/2016.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 COCOA PRODUCTION, RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME IN IDANRE, 1986-1996

5.1 Introduction

The chapter interrogates the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) on the Idanre people of Ondo state between 1986 and 1996. The Structural Adjustment Programme is was an economic policy instituted by the Nigerian government to stabilize major sectors of the Nigerian economy and assuage the sufferings of Nigerians. It has been noted in the previous chapter that colonial capitalism had a strong exploitative effect on the Idanre cocoa farmers and the environment. The narratives, however, changed in the 1950s and 1960, when many self-help projects were intensified with the construction of schools, community centres, roads, health centres and other social amenities by members of the Idanre community. The 1960s was a remarkable decade for the Idanre cocoa farmers.

At independence, as it has been established in chapter four, Idanre had emerged as the leading cocoa producing community in southwestern Nigeria. Government's agricultural policies,

and the political crises of the 1960s jointly impacted the Idanre cocoa farmers and their community. Cocoa producers and farm workers in the town experienced significant socio-economic mobility. This was, partly due to the development and expansion of new plantations by many young indigenes and migrants in the town. Table 5.0 showed the effect of this development on the output of Idanre cocoa farms between 1960 and 1968.

Through some agencies, such as the local and corporate banking institutions, rural money lenders, local buying agents, and cooperative societies, many farmers in the town were able to expand their farms by employing several migrant caretakers, sharecroppers and labourers. This increased the people's income earnings⁷⁰² and caused remarkable changes in their livelihoods, which transcended local markets and aided community development.⁷⁰³ From the 1970s to 1986, the effect of the Nigerian civil war, unrealistic policies of the cocoa marketing board, the oil boom and macroeconomic problems in Nigeria altered labor relations and rural income in Idanre.

Table 4.4: Cocoa Grading from some Areas in the Present Day Ondo State (1960-1988) ('000 tonnes)

| Towns | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Akure | 4,732 | 6,762 | 7,671 | 7,276 | 5,498 | 5,964 | 5,078 | 5,729 | 6,040 |
| Idanre | 9,298 | 15,192 | 15,096 | 17,435 | 14,754 | 11,690 | 10,114 | 13,666 | 11,320 |
| Ekiti south | 5,599 | 8,772 | 7,837 | 6,744 | 6,058 | 6,618 | 5,798 | 5,018 | 6,203 |
| Ekiti S.W | 3,480 | 2,308 | 2,412 | 1,785 | 2,394 | 1,588 | 1,628 | 2,162 | 2,340 |
| Owo | 7,192 | 12,88 | 14,093 | 8,900 | 9,759 | 10,528 | 6,218 | 6,177 | 5,202 |
| Akoko N | 2,193 | 3,459 | 3,341 | 2,257 | 2,568 | 1,841 | 1,985 | 1,522 | 2,302 |
| Akoko S | 602 | 937 | 1,122 | 740 | 753 | 628 | 628 | 482 | 980 |
| Ekiti C | 1,022 | 2,086 | 1,999 | 1,749 | 2,000 | 1,789 | 1,743 | 1,865 | 1,023 |
| Ekiti W | 926 | 1,349 | 1,331 | 892 | 1,441 | 927 | 1,133 | 855 | ----- |
| Ijero | 1,195 | 2,062 | 1,891 | 1,129 | 1,760 | 1,164 | 1,329 | 1,145 | 1,204 |
| Ero | 133 | 287 | 198 | 88 | 167 | 69 | 30 | 60 | 80 |
| Ekiti N | 1,245 | 2,089 | 1,297 | 1,485 | 1,554 | 957 | 985 | 1,004 | 1,034 |
| Ekiti E | 1,897 | 3,524 | 3,331 | 3,222 | 3,391 | 3,436 | 3,928 | 3,305 | 2,230 |
| Ondo | 10,179 | 16,353 | 14,836 | 11,343 | 15,756 | 10,682 | 6,834 | 10,224 | ----- |
| Ifesowapo | 9,050 | 18,021 | 15,691 | 11,641 | 21,247 | 12,165 | 9,602 | 7,320 | ----- |
| Ikale | 47 | 96 | 70 | 33 | 126 | 62 | 22 | 120 | ----- |
| Ilaje Ese Odo | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |

Source: calculated from;

4. CBN, Research Department Annual Records, MANR, Akure, 1990.
5. Cocoa Statistics by Gill and Duffus. Gill and Duffus Market Report Jan. 1977
6. Bola Akanji, Cocoa Production under Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme, NISER Monograph Series No 1, 1992, P 49

⁷⁰² Berry, S. 1985. *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community* p 24

⁷⁰³ Interview with Yomi Akinyeye, Professor of History and Strategic Studies, 58 Years, Unilag, 15/12/2018

The macroeconomic crisis that overwhelmed Nigeria in the 1980s however, reinforced the need to adopt the Structural Adjustment Programme.⁷⁰⁴ The IMF's indicator for dollar prices of basic commodities which dropped by 32 percent owing to recession and appreciation of the dollar, rising interest rates on accumulated debt and a drastic decline of oil prices, made liberalization inevitable.⁷⁰⁵ Concerning the agricultural sector, the effect of neglect of farm labor due to 'white-collar jobs' during the oil boom, especially in the cocoa belt, increased expenditures on food imports. The neoliberal institutions, therefore, conceived that liberalizing the cocoa market would:

- (a) Increase producer's share of the FOB (Free on Board) price received in the export of cocoa, through a diminution of export taxes levied on cocoa farmers
- (b) Align producers' cost of production and marketing with world prices, in order to mend rural earnings.
- (d) Promote the development of modern agribusiness industries, through increased private sector involvement and local entrepreneurship.⁷⁰⁶

With the policy of economic liberalization and abolition of the cocoa marketing board in 1986, the community began to witness unbridled accumulation, social mobility and uneven development. A new form of dispossession and exploitation emerged in Idanre society. Nevertheless, cocoa production and sales continued to shape social relations and community development.

5.2 The Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria's Economic Space.

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was a 'remedial product' of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. It was an economic idea sold to several developing countries as a major solution to the complex economic crises faced by them in the 1970s. The programme came in form of a bailout to developing countries whose economies appeared to be shaky. To be sure, the bailout was a relief effort given by Brettonwood institutions and aimed at rescuing the economies of poor states from chronic macro-economic crises. In the 1980s, Nigeria, like most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, saw major external shocks caused mainly by a fall in oil

⁷⁰⁴Falola, T.& Aderinto A. 2010. *Nigeria, Nationalism, and Writing History*, University of Rochester Press, New York p 55-56

⁷⁰⁵ Bernstein, E. M. 1984. Do We Need a New Bretton Woods, *Finance and Development*, Official Publication of the IMF and World Bank, NISER p5

⁷⁰⁶Granleese, M. 2009. Market Organization and the Process of Economic Development: The case of the Partially Liberalized Cocoa Market in Ghana, pp 22

prices in the international market, not to say anything of the global increase in the interest rate and acute shortage in capital flow among most economies of the world.

This problem was mainly caused by the absence of major internal and external macroeconomic indices. At the end of the 1970s, Nigeria was confronted with the challenge of how to achieve robust and sustainable economic growth, because of economic somersault and poor handling of the crisis by the government during the period of the oil boom. Likewise, the perennial oil price increase in 1979-1980, global recessions by 1982 and the syndrome of debt trap resulted in an unavoidable decline in trade to 12% in most countries in Africa. This situation increased Nigeria's debt burden in the mid-1980s.

It is significant to note that Nigeria had attained enormous growth and improvement in its international trade and balance of payment which led to an increase in the government's current and capital spending and eventually huge external borrowing.⁷⁰⁷ To this extent, the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) and World Bank introduced a structural adjustment programme to enable developing countries to come out of macroeconomic crisis and achieve sustainable economic growth.⁷⁰⁸ The increased interest in the structural adjustment programme in Nigeria was driven by recognition of the need to tackle deep-rooted structural problems and financial instabilities and reduce the adverse effect of low foreign exchange in a complex global economic environment.⁷⁰⁹

SAP, which was adopted in Nigeria in 1986, became a child of necessity, based on the World Bank and the I.M.F.'s recommendations that structural measures would increase productivity and contribute efficiently to capital formation by reducing strains and fiscal constrictions, through the alignment of the gross savings with available resources, and provide safety nets to meet the basic needs of the 'neglected rural people' in addition to achieving inclusive development.⁷¹⁰ Thus, extraneous payment imbalances caused by low private market financing and debt crises lured the government, like most developing countries, to adopt the neoliberal economic

⁷⁰⁷M. Selowsky. Adjustment in the 1980s: An Overview of Issues, (1987) 21

⁷⁰⁸S.M. Nsouli. Structural Adjustment in sub Saharan Africa, in 'Finance and Development', Quarterly Publication of the I.M.F and World Bank'' (Ibadan: NISER, 1993) 21

⁷⁰⁹Ibid., 20.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

adjustments and reforms.⁷¹¹ The SAP, within the ambit of economic restructuring among other things, intended to lay a base for sustainable non-inflationary growth by achieving the fiscal balance of payment viability over the short and medium-term through the deregulation of export commodity price, liberalization of trade and coating of tax and other revenue to open up agricultural production, introduce effective tariff system with foreign exchange market and abolish the statutory commodity marketing boards.⁷¹² In the agricultural sector, there was strong optimism that it would promote non-oil exports such as cocoa, coffee, groundnuts, palm produce among others which were neglected during the oil boom of 1968-1977.⁷¹³

Thus, the macroeconomic crisis in the 1980s in Nigeria reinforced the need to adopt SAP.⁷¹⁴ The IMF's indicator of dollar prices of basic commodities, which dropped by 32 percent owing to recession and appreciation of the dollar, unfavorable rise in the interest rate of accumulating debt, coupled with a fall in petroleum prices, made liberalization inevitable.⁷¹⁵ With regard to the agricultural sector, the effect of neglect of farm labour, due to 'white-collar jobs' during the oil boom, especially in the cocoa belt, increased expenditures on food imports. The neoliberal institutions, therefore, conceived that liberalizing the cocoa market would: (a) Increase producer's share of the FOB (Free on Board) price received in the export of cocoa, through a diminution of export taxes levied on cocoa farmers (b) Align producers' cost of production and marketing with world prices, to mend rural earnings (d) Promote the development of modern agribusiness industries, through increased private sector involvement and local entrepreneurship.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹¹ O. Roncesvalles. & A. Tweedie. Augmenting the IMF's Resources: The How and Why of the Quota Increase Under the Ninth General Review, Which Strengthens the Roles of the International Monetary System, *Finance and Development, Official Publication of the IMF and the World Bank*, 9 :2 (1991) 27.

⁷¹²I.G. Garba. Comparative System for Supporting Agricultural Credit and Rural Finance Delivery in Nigeria and India, *Bullion: Publication of the Central Bank of Nigeria*, 12: 3(1988)

31.

⁷¹³S. Mamman. Nigeria's Foreign Trade Policy, Nigeria and India, *Bullion: Publication of the Central Bank of Nigeria*, 12: 3 (1988) 69.

⁷¹⁴Toyin Falola, & Saheed Aderinto, A. *Nigeria, Nationalism, and Writing History*. 55-56.

⁷¹⁵ E.M. Bernstein. Do We Need a New Bretton Woods?, *Finance and Development, Official Publication of the IMF and World Bank*, 24:2 NISER, (1984) 5.

⁷¹⁶M. Granleese. Market Organization and the Process of Economic Development: The case of the Partially Liberalized Cocoa Market in Ghana. 22.

Furthermore, the negligence of the commodity board to assist farmers amid vagaries in commodity markets justified the need for the SAPs.⁷¹⁷ Consequently, the IMF and the World Bank enforced the Washington Consensus-“One Size Fits All” on all developing countries.⁷¹⁸ Neoliberal policies were implemented between 1986 and the early 1990s to revive and promote commodity produce for export and enhance economic growth and rural development in the agrarian societies.⁷¹⁹ SAP was expected to resuscitate Nigerian agricultural productivity, achieve internal and external balances by fixing production and consumption pattern of the economy, remove producer’s price tortures, and help farmers to boost profit and contribute to rural development.⁷²⁰ Thus, mounting pressure from the World Bank and the EU in addition to the general economic hardship and labour unrest signaled the beginning of the end for the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board.⁷²¹

5.3 Social Relations and Development in Idanre under SAP, 1986-1996

The reorganization of the cocoa commodity market, following the implementation of the liberalization policies on Africa’s agriculture markets, had a paradoxical impact on rural development in Idanre society. The abolition of the Cocoa Marketing Board in 1986 created an avenue for a new cocoa marketing regime and operators which led to an increase in rural employment.⁷²² The licensing of private buying companies paved the way for the farmers to market their produce independently and get paid without much delay. It should be noted that before 1986, all cocoa produced and exported from Nigeria were subjected to stringent inspection and grading systems through several government agencies. This made it difficult for the cocoa

⁷¹⁷Report of Anti-Slavery International, *The Cocoa Industry in West Africa: A history of exploitation*, (2004) 23.

⁷¹⁸A. Kwaku-Oforu. *Trade Liberalisation, Globalisation and the Cocoa Industry in Ghana: the Case of the Smallholder Cocoa Farmers*, A Phd Thesis, School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Languages, University of Westminster, (2011) 2.

⁷¹⁹O.A. Olutayo. And A.O. Omobowale. *Production, Processing and Marketing of export Crops for Rural Development: The Case of cocoa in Nigeria*, (2007) 296.

⁷²⁰P. Onyejela. *Nigeria: World Bank and Structural Adjustment Programme*, Nigeria: Crown Cross Publishers, (2014) 234.

⁷²¹Michael, Granleese. *Market Organisation and the Process of Economic Development: The case of the Partially Liberalised Cocoa Market in Ghana*, 19.

⁷²²Folayan, J. Oguntade, A. and Ogundari, K. *The Effects of Deregulation Policy on Cocoa Marketing in Nigeria. Agricultural Journal 1: 4*, (2006) 320-323.

farmers to make reasonable returns from the produce trade.⁷²³ However, the repealing of the Cocoa Marketing Board through SAP in 1986, opened up the cocoa trade and allowed for a flexible pricing system.

It was during this period that the Cocoa Association of Nigeria (CAN) was created to replace the statutory Cocoa Marketing Board.⁷²⁴ These changes aided free entry of private merchants up to the exportation level. Participants in the market included private exporters, Licensed Buying Agents, sub-agents of LBAs, itinerant buyers (including youths, women and motorcycle boys), brokers and farmers. Some farmers were also marketers (either as itinerant Buyer, IBA or Exporter). Figure 1 shows cocoa marketing structure during the regulated and deregulated periods.⁷²⁵

The world price of beans, powder and butter was expressed in dollars per ton. The figures, both in current and real terms increased tremendously between 300 percent and 500 per cent from 1970-75 period to 1976-1980 period respectively. The world cocoa prices reduced drastically between 1996 and 1998 period.⁷²⁶ A critical look at the pre and post-liberalisation trend revealed that the cocoa prices declined in the post-adjustment period. For example, the global prices of cocoa beans, cocoa powder and cocoa butter, which were \$6,076, \$5378 and \$13,783 in real terms per ton respectively in the pre-liberalisation period reduced to \$552, \$1437 and \$1376 respectively in the post-liberalisation period. The diagram below explains the features of the produce trade during the marketing board and free trade seasons.

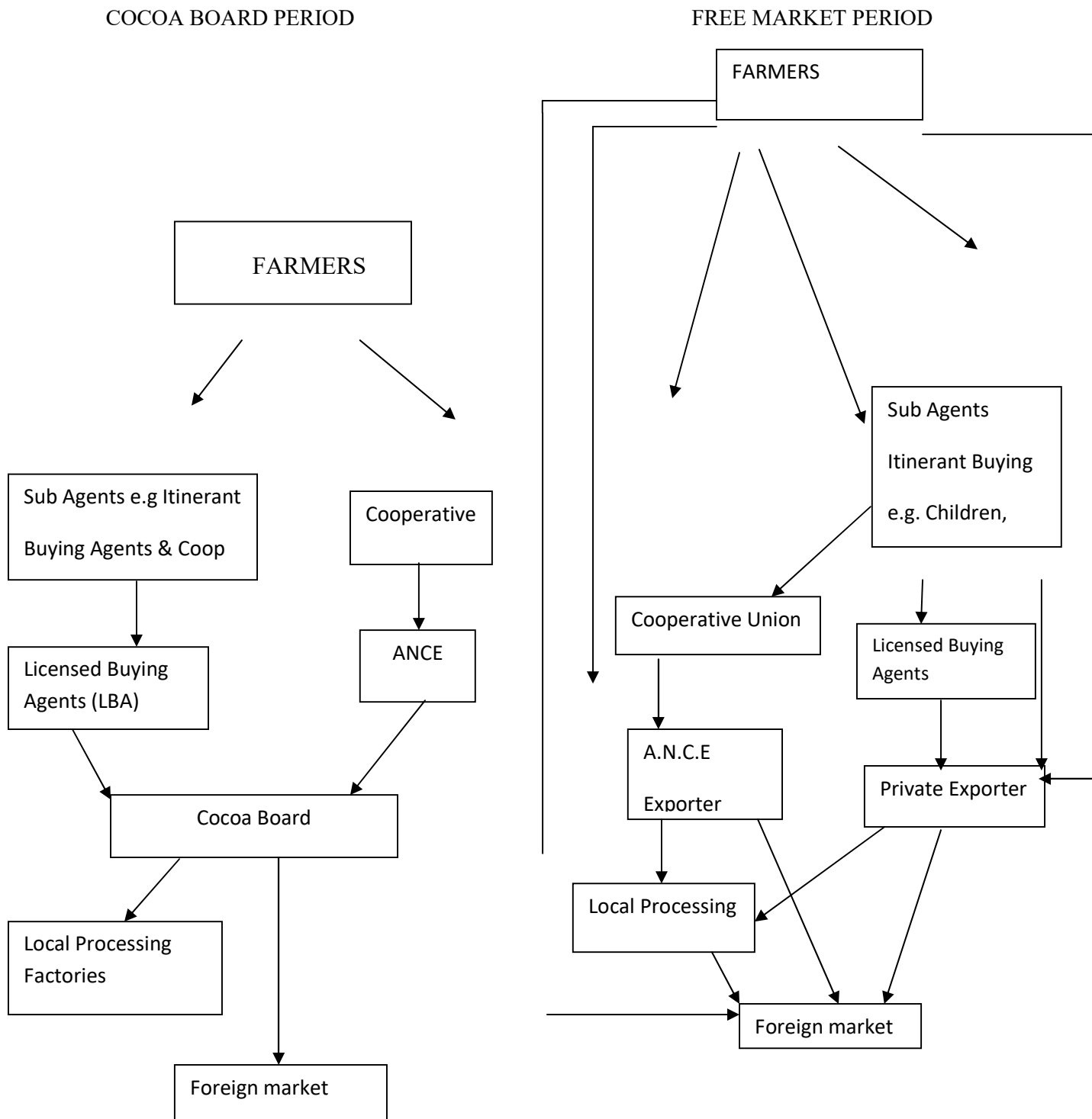
⁷²³ K. Kalada. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, Master Thesis, College of Business Administration, Boston University, 47.

⁷²⁴ J. Folayan, A. Oguntade, and Ogundari, K. The Effects of Deregulation Policy on Cocoa Marketing in Nigeria.

⁷²⁵ A.K Biney. Cocoa Production Trends In Selected States in South-West, Nigeria, Seminar Paper presented at the Academic Planning Committee, of the University of Lagos, (2017) 15.

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

Figure 1.0: Marketing Channels of Cocoa Beans during the Cocoa Board Era and Free Market Regime



Source: Biney A.K , 2017, Cocoa Production Trends In Selected States in South-West, Nigeria, Seminar Paper presented at the Academic Planning Committee, of the University of Lagos.

Following structural adjustment programmes and general economic decline, significant numbers of retrenched urban workers engaged in urban-rural migration and returned home to areas where the cost of living was lower.⁷²⁷ In Idanre, these returnees invested enormously in the cocoa produce trade, which in turn aided several developments.⁷²⁸ With the abolition of the Cocoa Marketing Board, many cocoa farmers in Idanre became exporters themselves, while some took mainly to buying and selling the cocoa beans. The cocoa prices during this era were determined by market forces. The competitive nature of the market, thus, encouraged many farmers and buyers to take the risk in investing more and derived reasonable returns. Liberalization helped many people to profit effortlessly from the business. In effect, the emerging capitalists' class in Idanre was able to diversify into several other businesses, such as saw mill factories, petrol/filling stations, and the building of beer supply depots.

This contributed to the growth of rural economic activities, shaped social relations and broadly, rural development in the town. The 'Cocoa Transfer Agreement' phenomenon, caused several poor cocoa farmers to pledge, or in most cases, sell their cocoa farms to their respective creditors. These were mostly, the licensed buying agents, money lenders, produce merchants, and unscrupulous officials of cocoa cooperative societies.

The pledging of cocoa farms to cooperative societies and the produce merchants led to the dispossession and exploitation of many poor farmers. It made the accumulation of wealth easier for the newly rich merchants in the community. As their debts and financial obligations grew larger, many peasant farmers' incomes were devastated, as they forfeited their lands and cocoa investments. By the mid-1990, the capitalist farmers had acquired and assumed ownership of several cocoa plantations from their debtors who could not repay their debts. Notable among the well-to-do people who made fortune from the Cocoa Transfer Agreement phenomenon, included, but were not limited to, Akinduro Orosundafosi, Issac Akingboye and Alhaji Atenidegbe among others.

Idanre society produced many merchant farmers between the mid-1980s and the 1990s. This explains the rapid social transformation that occurred, particularly when people began to define accomplishments partly, in terms of the largeness of individual's plantations, cars procured in a particular cocoa season, houses built within and outside the town, investments

made in other sectors of the economy, such as saw mills factories, fuel/filling stations, hotels, warehouses, in addition to the number of wives they acquired and children born to them. These were the defining characteristics of status, class and mobility in Idanre. By the early 1990s, many rich farmers had built several ‘storey’ and bungalow houses with aluminum roofs, establishing petrol/filling stations and cocoa firms. Others bought more cocoa farms, employed caretakers, sharecroppers and made huge profits.⁷²⁹ There were great changes in the social and economic status of the people under SAPs. An informant noted that:

What we earned every cocoa season in the 1990s as cocoa farmers was greater than what a professor, doctor, banker, engineer, lawyer and a prudent accountant earned per annum. Not many Nigerian civil servants could compete with cocoa farmers, at the end of cocoa season during the period of SAP.⁷³⁰

Another informant recounted his experience and noted that:

My fortune was huge in the early 1990s that I could afford to buy Nissan or Daewoo Car each for my four wives from the proceeds of my cocoa at the end of the cocoa season in November 1992.⁷³¹

He asserted that while many people in neighboring communities struggled hard to survive as a result of inflation and changes in prices of food and consumable items, Idanre society produced many wealthy people who lived above the normal social standard of the period.⁷³² Cocoa production did not only sustain the livelihood of the people, but it also influenced their pattern of living. Although timber business and plantain cultivation also sustained the rural livelihood of the Idanre people, rural earnings from cocoa transcended timber businesses and affected local markets such as Ojota, Odale and Alade markets.⁷³³ Liberalization impoverished many small-scale cocoa producers in the community. Many many farm laborers, caretakers and

⁷²⁹ Interview with Dr. Barr. Jejelola Ola-Jone, Senior Lecturer and Head of Department of Commercial Law Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko, Ondo State.

⁷³⁰ Interview with Mr Akinsile Francis, Chiefs Aderoloye Emmanuel, and Ademuti Femi Omojuyi at Odode Idanre, 30/08/2017.

⁷³¹ Interview with Chief Atenidegbe, Cocoa Merchant at Odode Idanre, 28 /12/2017

⁷³² Interview with Sir, Chief Dr. Rufus Orosundafosi, Director, Folafofosi Cocoa Nigeria LTD, 75 Years, at Opa Idanre, 28/08/2017.

⁷³³ Interview with High Chief Christopher Oluwole Akindolire (Lisa of Idanre) 7/12/2017.

sharecroppers also experienced increased remunerations due to competitive wages paid to farm workers by the capitalist farmers as a result of scarce labour, the migrants were able to feed themselves and family, contribute to community projects in Idanre and travel to their villages at the end of cocoa seasons to spend their earnings. In the process of cultivating cocoa perhaps as labourers, caretakers, or sharecroppers, most of the labourers planted vegetables, plantain, yam, cocoyam, and cassava, which they sold in local markets in Idanre to sustain themselves in the pre-cocoa harvest periods.⁷³⁴

During this period, many indigenes of the town that had left for the urban areas in the 1970s and 1980s returned to Idanre to plant cocoa. A notable example was Patrick Olatunji, who emerged as one of the richest cocoa buyers in the town in the mid-1990s.⁷³⁵ It is important to note that between the mid-1960s and 1970s, his father, Julius Olatunji had collected several loans from the cooperative society to finance his Higher National Diploma in Civil Engineering at the Yaba College of Technology. After his tertiary education, Patrick Olatunji decided to reside in Lagos where he practised as a Civil Engineer. Consequent to the deregulation in 1986, which led to the retrenchment of many government employees, Patrick returned to Idanre to acquire land for cocoa cultivation, in addition to the land he inherited from his father. By 1989 when he arrived in Idanre, his cumulative cocoa holding was only worth two hundred and twenty-thousand-naira (N220,000). By 1995 Patrick had become very influential in the Idanre cocoa business.⁷³⁶

The current Lisa of Idanre, High Chief Christopher Oluwole Akindolire is another example of an indigene that returned to Idanre from Lagos to invest in the cocoa business in the 1990s. It is also important to mention Bola Ogunbolu who relocated to Idanre in 1990, owing to his retrenchment from the First Bank of Nigeria PLC, where he had worked as an accountant for almost two decades. Like Patrick Olatunji, Bola Ogunbolu sold some of his assets in Lagos to set up a cocoa firm. In 1991, Bola Ogunbolu bought fifty acres of land from the families of two migrant farmers Mr. Jola Aboyade and Josiah Makinju at Ofosu Idanre. He employed twenty farm labourers who nurtured the cocoa plantation and taught him the systems of farm management. From that period onward, Bola Ogunbolu continued to buy more farms and land and expanded his investment by establishing a Cocoa Produce Firm at Broad Street, in Odode

⁷³⁴ Interview with Mr Ropo Adesanmi, Cocoa Buyer, 87 Years, Irowo Streets Idanre, 25/09/2017.

⁷³⁵ Interview with the Olatunji's Wife, Mrs Folashade Olatunji, 71 Years, Alade Idanre 28/08/2017.

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

Idanre.⁷³⁷ By the mid-1990s Ogunbolu had become an important personality in the history of Idanre. He built several hotels, around the hills at Odode, Alade and Atoshin to facilitate his revenue generation and boost the economy of the town through tourism. He also invested in sawmill and timber businesses in Idanre. Bola Ogunbolu bought many cars and buses and committed them to the hands of Idanre youths to operate cabs.⁷³⁸

5.4 Modernity, Dispossessions and Development in Idanre under SAP

Modernity in Idanre during the 1990s was defined in terms of consumption, flamboyance and purchasing power. Individuals were respected based on their ability to purchase various brands of cars, such as Mercedes Benz, Peugeot Evolution, Mitsubishi, Daewoo Racer and the *J.5 buses*. Young people were also recognized in the society based on houses built, or their ability to finance family or community social activities. In the 1990s, the Peugeot Evolution car became the choice car of many cocoa farmers. The most expensive cars used in the town in the early 1990s belonged to the newly rich cocoa farmers and buyers.⁷³⁹ One of the major cocoa buyers in the 1990s, Arosile Bonne, stated, that:

SAP made me a rich farmer and enabled me to expand my investments in the community. By the end of the cocoa season in December 1993, I was able to acquire more cocoa farms from families that lacked the means to continue in the trade.⁷⁴⁰

Arosile Bonne made over eight hundred thousand naira, every cocoa season in the 1990s. From his cocoa earnings, he was able to replace his cars, including those of his wives biennially throughout the late 1990s.⁷⁴¹ This explains how the flaunting of wealth became the defining characteristics of class and social status in Idanre. It was in this period that competition for social inclusion and recognition became high among the Idanre people, especially the young men.⁷⁴² Idanre youths that were engaged in cocoa production and sales in the 1990s, competed among themselves with all manner of cars and this affected work ethics and productivity in Idanre.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁷ Interview with Aseye Jolade, Cocoa Farmer, 63 Years, Opa Idanre.

⁷³⁸ Interview with Mr Olugbenga Oke, (Civil Engineer) 67 Years, Odode Idanre, 9/3/2016.

⁷³⁹ Interview with Mr Ropo Adesanmi, Cocoa Buyer, 87 Years, Irowo Streets Idanre, 25/09/2017

⁷⁴⁰ Interview with Chief Arosile Bonne, Director Bonney Cocoa Industry Idanre, 31/08/2017

⁷⁴¹ Interview with Chief Arosile Bonne, Director Bonney Cocoa Industry Idanre, 31/08/2017

⁷⁴² Interview with Mrs Aninuke Obajulaiye, (Cocoa Buyer) 70 Years, Alade Idanre 30/08/2017

⁷⁴³ Interview with Justice Sunday Akintan (High Court Judge & Cocoa Farmer) 25/08/2017, at Idanre

Young men and women deliberately worked hard, to be able to save money to meet the social standards in the town.⁷⁴⁴

Many peasant families who could not afford to purchase cars, however, used their earnings to renovate family houses and acquired electrical appliances such as modern televisions, video players, motorcycles and home use generators. Several low-income farm workers were able to buy the Suzuki and Yamaha motorcycles prevalent in the 1990s. Above all, the acquisition of cars was a symbol of high social status which the cocoa farmers sustained.

What more, cocoa redefined social status based on individuals' ability to display wealth ostentatiously. In social gatherings, Idanre people began to flip money recklessly for image and identity branding.⁷⁴⁵ Accomplished people were recognized specially in social functions based on their consumerist character and purchasing power. Cocoa farmers invited popular musicians such as King Sunny Ade, (KSA), Ebenezer Obey, Sir Shina Peters, Orlando Owo, and others, to entertain guests in their social ceremonies, and annual town festivals.⁷⁴⁶ It is significant to note that these class of Nigerian musicians were expensive in the 1980s and 1990s, only the elites, such as politicians, influential civil servants and other well to do middle-class people in the Nigerian society could patronize them during the 1980s and 1990s.⁷⁴⁷

Women also played significant roles, especially, as entrepreneurs in the buying and selling of cocoa in the 1990s. At Odode, Opasorun, Ojota and Alade, several women built large cocoa stores where they processed the cocoa beans bought from the farmers.⁷⁴⁸ As regard cultivation, the impact of women was minimal due to the nature of land ownership, and the stress involved in cocoa cultivation. Only a few women such as Mrs, Orosunfeyi Bernice, Omolade Akinfelure, Feyisetan, Bamisaye, Abidoeye Akingboye and a few others, managed to acquire land for the cultivation of the crop. The majority of women who had access to land or cocoa plantations, particularly through inheritance, sold the farmlands or plantations to the capitalists and invested their money in other businesses.⁷⁴⁹ Only a few women, for instance, Orosunfeyi Bernice Omolade Bernice among others mentioned above, were able to sustain their inherited or

⁷⁴⁴ See Appendix 15 Mr Akinwotu Lijofu's House and Peugeot Car in 1995

⁷⁴⁵ Interview with Chief Arosile Bonne, Director Bonney Cocoa Industry Idanre, 31/08/2017

⁷⁴⁶ Interview with Dr Barr Jejelola Ola Jones Senior Lecturer and Head of Department of Commercial Law Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko, Ondo State

⁷⁴⁷ Interview with Mr Claudius Akinrolayo Ajiola, Retired Banker at Ikorodu Lagos, 65 Years

⁷⁴⁸ Interview with Mrs Orosunfeyi Bernice, Cocoa Buyer/ Farmer, at Odode Idanre, 78 Years, 20/06/2017

⁷⁴⁹ Interview with Mrs Feyisetan Bamisaiye, Cocoa Buyer, Opasorun, 75 Years,, 22/06/2017

acquired farms while also trading in the cocoa beans.⁷⁵⁰ These women were active in the remote farm villages, as itinerant buyers. In pre cocoa seasons, they gave credit, such as foodstuff and financial aid to some peasant farmers who in return supplied cocoa beans at the end of the cocoa season. Through this, many women became prominent in Idanre society in the mid-1990s. Like the men, they also contributed enormously to the development of the town's social infrastructures, establishing non-agrarian businesses, such as sales of clothing materials, food items, beer depot and building materials.⁷⁵¹

These developments affected communal relations in the town. In the larger picture, disputes evolved among low-income families, as some wives of peasant farmers began to desire the social transformation and privileges which some influential women cocoa dealers enjoyed. This bred spousal discontentment leading to distrust, disloyalty, betrayal, disappointments, duplicity and fraud in families. For example, many women divorced their husbands to marry rich cocoa farmers. A notable example was, High Chief Ojumu Akingboye who had twelve wives and forty children, besides concubines. He stated categorically that,

In the 1990s, it was common for women to leave their husbands and force themselves on us rich farmers⁷⁵²

Some women colluded with their concubines to install *Maagun* thunderbolt on them to eliminate their husband and marry the concubine. An Octogenarian, Mr. Adewoye Adetuyi interviewed at Gbalegi noted, that his brother was a victim of this phenomenon in the 1990s. He asserted, that his former wives Oluyemisi and Florence also left him for no justifiable reason and married with no cause to marry his friends who suddenly became wealthy after the cocoa harvest season in November 1992.⁷⁵³

In the same way, another informant said:

My father who was a civil servant (Forest Conservation Officer) and a timber producer suddenly became a wealthy cocoa farmer in the late 1980s. His money increased unexpectedly that he became very popular in Idanre. He had bought many cocoa farms from many disinterested farmers in the 1970s. He became very wealthy in the late 1980s and took the wife of a notable High Chief. The woman who was very fair in complexion was almost the most beautiful woman in Idanre at that time. All attempts by family and friends, including traditional

⁷⁵⁰Ibid

⁷⁵¹Interview with Mrs Orosunfeyi Bernice, Cocoa Buyer/ Farmer, at Odode Idanre, 78 Years, 20/06/2017

⁷⁵²Interview with High Chief Isaac Akingboye (Ojumu of Idanre Land) 87 Years, at Odode, 29/08/2017

⁷⁵³ Interview with Adewoye Adetuyi, Cocoa Farmer, at Gbalegi Idanre, 80+, 22/12/ 2018

authorities to restore the woman back to her husband failed. It was under this crisis that my father, who was never sick, had an undiagnosed illness and died.⁷⁵⁴

Furthermore, children of cocoa farmers began to swindle, and some even killed their fathers to inherit cocoa farms. Some wives of peasant farmers divorced their husbands in local courts to marry rich farmers.⁷⁵⁵ A notable example was the incidence that occurred at Odode, where a relatively young woman named Abike Omojuwa, abandoned her husband, Adewamide Boluwaji to marry her husband's kinsman, Fidelis Makinde in November 1991.⁷⁵⁶ Oral Interviews conducted with both parties living within the same neighborhood suggested that Abike left her husband, Adewamide due to financial pressure as well as peer influence mounted on her by her parents and friends to marry a wealthy cocoa farmer.⁷⁵⁷

At Oniserere, Abule Lisa, and several distant villages in Idanre, women abandoned their poor husbands and relocated to the main town, notably Odode where they were able to relate easily with the wealthy cocoa farmers. At Oniserere, a popular farmer, Babajide Akintogun (A migrant produce-merchant from Ondo) was beheaded by his caretaker, Irebamide Taiwo, (An Idanre farm-caretaker) because the former had camped and eventually married the latter's absconded wife in his new house at Oporun.⁷⁵⁸ This incident created deep crises between the migrants and the indigenes throughout in the 1990s. The ensuing inter-ethnic conflict that claimed many lives within the cocoa farms in the town was quelled through the effort of the Military Government in Ondo State.⁷⁵⁹

In some places, women poisoned their husbands to inherit cocoa plantations. At Itanorunwa, Gbalegi, Opa, and Atoshin, some farmers were allegedly poisoned by their wives who sought to inherit their cocoa plantations.

⁷⁵⁴Interview with Yomi Akinyeye, (Professor) Department of History and Strategic Studies, Unilag 17/3/2017.

⁷⁵⁵Ibid

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid

⁷⁵⁷Interview with Madam Abike Omojuwa and Mr Adewamide Boluwaji at Oporun Idanre 23/08/2017

⁷⁵⁸Tribune Newspaper, Crises in Oniserere Farm in Idanre, Friday 14, November 1994, p 4

⁷⁵⁹Ibid

Table 1.3: incidences involving poisoning of cocoa farmers

| Year | Places | Names of Victims | Names of Perpetrators |
|------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1990 | Itanorunwa, | Akinbade | FolukeAkinbade |
| 1991 | Odode, Jingbe, | Olajide Fetus | OmololaAbisaiye |
| 1992 | Atoshin | IbikunleAkintunji | Florence Akintunji |
| 1993 | Opa, Atoshin | IssacOlarotimi | YetundeOmojola |
| 1994 | Odode | Philip Akinfelure | FasekeBabajide |
| 1995 | Gbalegi | AdemolaBamidele | OlayemiFaturoti |
| 1996 | Ofosu | OlatunjiAkinwande | OlukemiFalaiye |

Source: Fieldwork in Idanre, 2018

Between March and September 1995, the Ugha (Traditional Council) headed by the *Owa* of Idanre held several meetings with quarter heads, cocoa farmers, cocoa buyers, and members of the Idanre Youth movement. This was to discuss the growing incidences of the murder of cocoa farmers by their children and wives in different quarters in Idanre.⁷⁶⁰ For example, at Gbalegi and several areas in Abababubu, some cocoa farmers were reported missing in the community, only to be found dead and buried in their farms by their wives and children who schemed to inherit cocoa plantations.⁷⁶¹

In February 1994, Mr. Ademuyi Gabriel, an indigene of Idanre from Idale quarters living in Ojota Idanre who had some cocoa farms which he had cultivated for eight years at Ajobamidele in Idanre, was swindled by his children. He died after his cocoa had been harvested by his two sons, Omololu (twenty-five Years) and Olaseinde (thirty-two Years). Mr. Ademuyi who had already developed some health issues after his last wife abandoned him to marry his cousin (Chief Michael Aseye),⁷⁶² died when he heard that his sons, Omololu and Olaseinde had harvested and sold his twelve (12) tons of cocoa and used the proceed to travel out of the country.⁷⁶³ *The Sunrise*, a popular legal magazine in Ondo State in the 1990s, captured in July 1995, a case of an Idanre woman named Mrs. Folashade Makinde. She was sentenced to death by a court ruling in Akure on the ground that she conspired with someone to murder her husband (Mr. Olympas Makinde) and his last wife and son to collect the proceeds of fifteen tons of cocoa

⁷⁶⁰Interview with High Chief S. AAkintan, (Ojomu of Idanre) at Idanre 30/12/2017

⁷⁶¹Daily Times, *Distrust among Cocoa Families in Ondo State*, Tuesday 2, 1993

⁷⁶²Interview with Chief Olugbenga Aladeniaye, (Cocoa Farmer and Nephew to MrAdeniyi) 85 Years, at Ojota Idanre

⁷⁶³Interview with Mrs Aina Bosede, Olurin, (Sister to Ademuyi Gabriel) 68 Years, OpaIdanre, 29/09/2017

consignment sold to an itinerant buyer at Ofosu Idanre. Mrs. Folashade was sentenced to death with her accomplice, (Mr. Femi Olajuwon) a caretaker (Alagbase) to Mr. Makinde.

These crises, occurred in different places in Idanre during the 1990s.⁷⁶⁴ At Jingbe and many other farms and camps within Oniserere and Abababubu in the Idanre “Forest Reserve” many children of cocoa farmers arranged with local buyers, collected credits and advances and harvested cocoa trees without their fathers’ approval, while others sold their fathers’ entire cocoa farms out-rightly. This led to the death of many cocoa farmers in Idanre in the 1990s. Some wealthy individuals were involved in buying harvested cocoa from mischievous children of cocoa farmers, wives as well as relatives of cocoa owners between the 1980s and 1990s.

On 19 September 1992, the *Daily Times* featured the growing incidences whereby some itinerant buyers or middlemen moved from village to village to buy cocoa from individuals who desperately needed money in the town.⁷⁶⁵ These cocoa buyers paraded villages and hamlets in Idanre scouting for cocoa farmers or their children and relatives who had cocoa that they could exploit. The Owa of Idanre added during an interview with him, that farm vigilante were employed by the local administration and cocoa producers’ associations to arrest and hand over such buyers to the police in the 1990s.⁷⁶⁶ However, these buyers were able to lure several mischievous people to defraud their families because they paid money on the spot.⁷⁶⁷ At Oniserere hamlets, this, was particularly rampant among illiterate farmers, where their children colluded with these buyers for the sale and underpayment of some of their fathers while they went to collect the proceeds of the fraudulent transaction. In the 1990s many children of illiterate farmers clandestinely harvested and sold their father’s cocoa without their fathers’ consent.⁷⁶⁸ In several houses in Atoshin Idanre, some children according to the HRM Oba Awusoye of Atoshin, even killed their fathers and brothers to be able to take possession of entire cocoa resources belonging to the family.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁴Interviews with Mr Omosinmi Ademakinwa, (Retired Civil Servant) 72 Years at Owena Idanre & Mrs Aina Bosede, Olurin, (Sister to Ademuyi Gabriel) 68 Years, Opa Idanre, 29/09/2017

⁷⁶⁵*Daily Times*, Itinerant Cocoa Buyers in Idanre September 19, 1992, p 1

⁷⁶⁶Interview with HRM Oba Federick Aroloye, Arubiefin III, (Owa of Idanre) 5/12/2017

⁷⁶⁷*Daily Times*, Itinerant Cocoa Buyers in Idanre September 19, 1992., p 2

⁷⁶⁸Interview with Professor Yomi Akinyeye, Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, 11/07/2017

⁷⁶⁹ Interview with HRM the Oba of Atoshin Idanre, 27/08/2017

Owo cocoa (wealth from cocoa) as it was popularly used in the 1990s, led to reclassification in Idanre society. Stupendously rich farmers saw themselves as occupying a class, while those who were not as rich were seen as belonging to another class.⁷⁷⁰ Even the sales and purchase of commodities reflected this distinction. The sales of beer in the social gathering were classified according to class. In Idanre society, alcoholic drinks like Gulder and Guinness Stout are seen as the exclusive preserve of rich cocoa farmers, “33 Beer” belong to sharecroppers and “Star Beer” to others who are middle-ranked individuals in the community. “33 Beer” was popular, classified as *oti ala gba se* caretakers’s beer” and not cocoa farmer’s beer.⁷⁷¹

There was also a group of sharecroppers who belonged to another class. There were diverse disputes between cocoa farmers and their children, husbands and wives, as well as contentions over cocoa plantations. In some instances, sharecroppers or laborers impregnated the wives of their landlords. The structural adjustment brought about social mobility as well as the dispossession of small-scale cocoa producers in Idanre. This development however affected social relations.

Wealth and material accomplishments made through cocoa production and sales became the criteria for political recognition and a stock share of sociality in the town. With this, relations changed as people discarded pre-existing principles of communality. Individually influenced forms of accumulation replaced the indigenous reciprocal economic system of savings. Consequently, social mistrust became ingrained into the fabric of Idanre society. The desires and desperations of many young men and women to change consumption patterns and rebrand their identities, influenced children of cocoa farmers to embark on nefarious activities. Perhaps, it was “the desire to survive financially” in the face of “the insensitivity of cocoa farmers” that made their children defraud their fathers rather than the need to redefine their social status. Cocoa production is labour intensive, involving family members and labourers. It is possible that many fathers refused to believe that their wives and children were entitled to parts of the proceeds of the farms. Therefore, many wives and children perhaps must have simply “assisted” themselves by “defrauding” their fathers.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷⁷¹ Ibid

Crime, especially theft and robbery increased demonstrably in Idanre during the 1990s, besides, several instances of betrayal in families, the major form of dispossession of the poor farmers was the Cocoa Transfer Agreement. Interestingly, however, many farmers used their earnings from cocoa for the upkeep of their families, especially for their education.⁷⁷²

5.5 Cocoa Transfer Agreement and the Rise of Business Elites in Idanre

The “Cocoa Transfer Agreement” became prevalent in the cocoa producing areas of southwest Nigeria between 1970 and the 1990s. It was a system whereby a prospective borrower usually, a cocoa farmer, committed his or her cocoa farm or land as collateral to the licensed money lenders for advance credits and loans. This system, though varied from the traditional *Ajo*, *Esusu* and *S’ogundogoji* systems which were popular in the pre-colonial and colonial Yorubaland, it was based on far more stringent conditions in the cocoa producing areas of southwest Nigeria. A prospective borrower had present cocoa resources commensurable to the required money. The conventional practice was that should, a borrower default to return the money borrowed at the stipulated period, the creditor, had the legal authority to take ownership of his debtor’s cocoa trees or land.

In the post-colonial Idanre society, Money-lenders operated through the legally imposed “Cocoa Agreement Transfer” endorsed by parties through a professional Letter Writer who usually drafted the terms. Many money-lenders in Idanre took advantage of the precarious situations of the peasant and illiterate farmers to charge exorbitant interests and insisted on loan repayment through cocoa trees or land. Other debtors who refused to pledge their cocoa trees and land in the process of borrowing had to deposit a relation. Compared to the pre-colonial period where families had to rally round to help a debtor within their kinship, this was not always the case during the post-colonial period.⁷⁷³ Thus, as Toyin Falola as noted:

Values of affection were replaced with values of capitalism, a development underscored by the popular saying: *Odaju lobi owo, itoju lobi gbese* (‘Shrewdness is the mother of riches, shame is the mother of indebtedness.’⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷²Interview with HRH Aladelokun (Oba of Alade Idanre) at his Royal Palace, Alade Idanre, 20/10/2017

⁷⁷³Falola., T. 1993. ‘My Friend the Shylock’: Money-Lenders and Their Clients in South-Western Nigeria, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 84

⁷⁷⁴Ibid

The Cocoa Transfer Agreement phenomenon was a major means through which many small-scale cocoa farmers forfeited their cocoa farms to the produce merchants. SAP empowered the newly rich farmers and merchants to increase their accumulative power, which they mobilized to sustain the commodity produce trade in Idanre in the age of flux. This was achieved, however, through the dispossession and exploitation of low-income farmers in the town. Economic crises of the 1970s and later SAP provided an advantage for the capitalist farmers to acquire land farms through the advance credits and loans given to the poor producers. In this regard, through the experiences of a few capitalist farmers, an attempt will be made in this section to illustrate how the privileged groups influenced and ripped many poor families of their investments. A notable example was Rufus Orosundafosi. Rufus was born in Idanre in 1940 to Mr. Akinduro Orosundafosi, a native of Idanre from the Irowo quarter. His father was among the famous farmers who started cocoa cultivation in the town in the early twentieth century. Rufus had no formal secondary education. He was introduced to the cocoa business in 1956 when he was employed as a cooperative secretary in Idanre after his primary school education.⁷⁷⁵

Thereafter, Rufus embarked on several trainings to learn the business of cocoa production and exports in Idanre. He served under many local buying agents between 1956 and 1965 and started his plantation on a few acres of land he had inherited from his father in the late 1960s. By 1986 when the cocoa marketing board was abolished, Rufus Orosundafosi formed his own cocoa buying company. The company was christened 'Folafosi Cocoa Nigerian Limited', situated at Ojota along Broad Street, Idanre. During this period, Rufus acquired over a hundred acres of cocoa plantations from farmers who did not have the means to cope with the changing realities in the commodity produce business. Seventy percent of these lands were collected from the debtors who could not fulfill their financial obligation of the credits and loans Rufus had granted them through the Cocoa Transfer Agreement pledge.

Between 1988 and 1996 for instance, Chief Rufus Orosundafosi had amassed another one sixty-five acres of lands with cocoa trees from his debtors in different camps and villages in Idanre. In most cases, the farm owners were employed by the capitalists as salaried caretakers.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁵ Interview with Chief Rufus Orosundafosi, (Director Folafosi Cocoa Nigeria Ltd

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid

At Aweba, Onisere, Itanorunwa and several farms close to the main town where he had been vilified as a fraudulent capitalist, dispossessing his fellow kinsmen of their livelihoods, Rufus Orosundafosi refused to employ the indigenes. He rather preferred the migrant farm workers many which he recruited to plant and harvest his cocoa. In other farm settlements where he was also perceived as greedy, he admitted sharecroppers to manage his farms. In this regard, the proceeds were divided into three parts, the sharecroppers took 1/3d while 2/3d went to the Folofosi's account. Apart from the production of cocoa which was secondary to the Folafosi Company, he specialized in buying and trading in cocoa, although he also had investments cut in the timber business in the town.⁷⁷⁷ By the late 1990s, Rufus had begun to produce about ten percent of the entire cocoa emanating from the community, owing to the vastness of his cocoa farms. From his diaries, and his company's records, Rufus had over two hundred workers between 1986 and the late 1990s. Among the workers, he had managers, caretakers, sharecroppers, labourers, farm technicians, accountants, truck drivers, caterers and factory workers.⁷⁷⁸

Orosundafosi was polygamous and he lived a flamboyant lifestyle. In some instances, he supported poor farmers with free welfare programmes, which included but were not limited to chemicals for preserving cocoa from diseases, fertilizers, and other important farm inputs. He was also a major money-lender. He supported poor farmers with small loans in the community. Although he was conferred with a chieftaincy title in 1996 by the Owa (Oba) of Idanre, he chose to be identified as Dr. Noble rather than as a chief. Orosundafosi was the *Baba Ijo* Patron of the Methodist Church in Idanre. He contributed tremendously to many church projects, including building mission houses in the town, scholarships for Idanre students at the tertiary level and voluntary offerings to widows in the church.

What is more, Chief Orosundafosi contributed in many ways to the physical and infrastructural development of his community. He had several properties in Idanre. This included houses, factories, beer depots, fuel filling stations among others. In all his houses in Idanre, he

⁷⁷⁷Interview with Sir, Chief Rufus Orosundafosi, Director Folafosi Cocoa Nigerian Limited, OjotaIdanre, 26/08/2017

⁷⁷⁸Ibid.

gave free pipe-borne water to people and contributed towards many community road projects, such as electricity, community halls, drainages and the establishment of markets.⁷⁷⁹

Another important personality who made a fortune through the Cocoa Transfer Agreement phenomenon and contributed immensely to community development was Isaac Adegbuyi Akingboye. He was born to Chief Sorun Akingboye on November 22, 1932 in Irowo quarter, Idanre. His mother was Omoyemisi Olajuwa, an indigene of Idanre, from Idale quarter. Isaac Akingboye was the only child of his mother. The death of his mother and the financial challenges faced by his father in the 1940s impelled him to pawn Isaac Adegbuyi to his creditor, Chief Aladenaye.

Akingboye had a dreadful childhood experience under Chief Aladenaye, whom he served until 1957. At the demise of Aladenaye in 1957, Adegbuyi was given a small piece of land by Aladelaiye's family at Aweba. This land was used to start his small farm, producing yam and plantain. A year later, he lost his father, Chief Sorun Akingboye and was granted some farm lands at 'Agbalaka Odo Oko' along Owena Idanre road. By this time, Isaac Akingboye had started planting cocoa on his farm. He was also able to get land from his siblings who left Idanre to pursue their education in the early 1960s. Isaac Akingboye had neither the required money to employ labour, nor capital to develop his farms.⁷⁸⁰

The death of his father and his master, Chief Aladenaiye, however, marked a watershed in his life. Not only did he secure additional lands from his master's wife and relations, but his cocoa farm also yielded a bumper harvest in 1960. On December 3, 1960, Isaac Akingboye bought a cocoa farm from Mr. Ibukun Adegboye of the Isurin quarter. The cocoa plantation which was bordered at the right-hand side close to Abalaka village area of the Idanre District was bought for £25.⁷⁸¹ At this important period, Isaac Akingboye met, Junice Moyolola who became his first wife in 1960. By 1965, he had married a second wife, Olawuleola Christiana. His sources of income came from cocoa and food crops production. It is important to note that while he riveted more on his cocoa farms, his two wives jointly managed the food crops farms and gave him good moral support.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁹ Interview with Sir, Chief Rufus Orosundafosi, Director Fofafosi Cocoa Nigerian Limited, Ojota Idanre, 26/08/2017

⁷⁸⁰ Interview with Isaac Adegbuyi Akingboye, Cocoa Merchant/ Farmer, 80+, Odode Idanre, 22/9/2017

⁷⁸¹ Cocoa Agreement paper signed between Isaac Akingboye and Mr IbukunAdegboye/24/11/1965

⁷⁸² Interview with Isaac Adegbuyi Akingboye, Cocoa Merchant/ Farmer, 80+, Odode Idanre, 22/9/2017

The story of Isaac Akingboye's wealth began in the early 1960s when cocoa prices and earnings became favorable to producers in western Nigeria. He was able to save and re-invest his earnings on farmlands. His wealth stemmed from the returns of many investments in cocoa farmlands he had acquired from different fellow indigenes and migrants between 1960 and 1970s. Like a typical man from the old Ondo province of the Western Region, Adegbuyi Akingboye saw the need to achieve greatness through hard work and astute accountability. He saved about seventy percent of his earnings from cocoa to acquire new farms. On January 11, 1960, Mr. Gilbert Adegbaso of Okedibo Street, Ondo received the sum of £57 from Isaac Akingboye, being the purchase price of cocoa trees and other cash crops on his cocoa farm situated at Igbaro Kajola farm, Idanre, measuring about one and a half acres of about one shilling and three pence worth of land which he sold to Akingboye.⁷⁸³

On November 19, 1960, Mr. Akingboye also purchased a cocoa plantation from Madam Victoria Ajayi of Awoduyi Camp, Ondo District for £30--- a property she inherited from her brother, Mr. Akinnibosun. Isaac Adegbuyi Akingboye harvested his first proceeds from this farm in 1963 and the earnings from the sales were a significant portion of his capital formation. On February 22, 1966, Madam Esther Akinfolarin of Araromi lane, Ondo sold a plot with cocoa she inherited from her late husband at the rate of £35.⁷⁸⁴ On the same day, Akingboye bought some acres of land with disputed trees by the co-owners, Mrs. Serbiana Adedeji and Jibola Adedeji. The farmland which belonged to the children of a deceased farmer was situated also at Abalaka Camp Idanre District, measuring approximately three acres or 2/3d worth of land.

The vendor agreed to sell the cocoa farm land to Isaac Akingboye at the sum of sixty pounds due to an unresolved dispute over inheritance rights.⁷⁸⁵ Akingboye continued to buy parcels of land from different people between 1966 and 1970. Moreover, he got a cocoa plantation from Mr. Olu Alade of No 16 Loro Street Idanre. The land situated at Kajola Igbaro camp Idanre District (two acres) was sold to him for £12.⁷⁸⁶ He bought an area of 1 square acre at Igbaro Abalake for £15 from Akinjebe Akinboye of No 5 Araromi Street Idanre on 1st of March 1966, and another five acres in Aiyede Camp Idanre from Raphael Olorunfe on December

⁷⁸³Cocoa Agreement paper signed between Isaac Akingboye and Gilbert Adegbaso, on 20/12/1958

⁷⁸⁴An Agreement on Farm Sold, 22/2/1966

⁷⁸⁵ Cocoa Transfer Agreement signed between Isaac Akingboye and the Adedeji's 22/2/1966

⁷⁸⁶Omolade Documentary Service, 45, Mission Road Idanre, 'Cocoa Transfer Agreement' 20/6/1966

10, 1967.⁷⁸⁷ In the same place, Akingboye purchased another two acres of cocoa farm from Mr. Ilemobayo Ayodeji of No 23 Okerowo Streets, Ondo.

The ownership of farms situated at Kajola Igbaro Camp Idanre was transferred to Akingboye after he paid £75 to the owner's son on December 12, 1967.⁷⁸⁸ On 10th December 1970, Akingboye acquired an additional one and half acres from Claudius Aladetuyi of Isalu. A 1/3d portion of the land was occupied by tall cocoa trees. The cocoa farmland was bounded at Kajola-Igbaro village.⁷⁸⁹ During the period of the oil boom, already discussed in the previous chapter, Akingboye was also among the privileged farmers and money-lenders that took advantage of their debtors by claiming their cocoa farms. The privileged class also took advantage of disputed lands among different families. For instance, when Akingboye's neighbor at Abalaka died in 1963 and a dispute erupted among the children, Isaac Akingboye stepped in and bought their five acres of land for £80.⁷⁹⁰ Akingboye's desire was to own the entire cocoa plantations at Abalaka village. Oral interview showed that, Akingboye *used every means to persuade people to sell their farmland to him when they approached him for financial help.*⁷⁹¹

Indeed, Akingboye was one of the many capitalist farmers that emerged in Idanre in the postcolonial Idanre society. He never sold, leased, or forfeited his farms at any point. At Abalaka, Akingboye continued to buy more farms throughout the 1970s.⁷⁹² Other people that sold cocoa farmlands to him in the 1970s were; Mrs. Bolaji Akinsulure in 1973, (One acre), Mr. Disu Bode eight acres at Bolawole Aduke's farm in December 1972, Abayomi Akintomide, Dupe Akintomide, Mope Akintomide, and Itiola Akintomide, covering two acres at Igbaro Kajola, on 14 May 1974.⁷⁹³ He bought one acre of cocoa land from Mr. Olorode of Isalu at Igbaro Kajola for £27 in 1975. One and half acres from Mr Emmanuel Aladetegbo, at Igbaro Kajola for 31 Naira. Mr. Olorunbamibo Akindele sold three acres filled with cocoa trees and plantain, situated at Ajebamdele farm-Idanre to him on February 18, 1975, for the sum of N210. On the 10th of

⁷⁸⁷ Documentation on Cocoa Transfer between Raphael Olorunfo and Isaac Akingboye, 10/12/1967

⁷⁸⁸ Cocoa Transfer Agreement between Ilemobayo Ayodeji and Isaac Akingboye, 12/ 12 1967

⁷⁸⁹ Omolade Documentary Service, 45, Mission Road, Idanre, 'Cocoa Transfer Agreement' 10/12/1970

⁷⁹⁰ Omolade Documentary Service, Cocoa Transfer Agreement between Mrs. Abigail Makinwa and Akingboye, 10/1/1971

⁷⁹¹ Interview with Mr Sunday Ilemobola, at Odode Idanre, 29/08/2017

⁷⁹² Ibid

⁷⁹³ Cocoa Agreement Document Between Isaac Akingboye and Akintomide's family, 14/5/1974

August, 1977 he acquired parcels of land measured at 30ft by 100ft situated at Odode Opa road from Mr. C Akinyeke and Alhaji Atenidegbe with ten thousand naira.⁷⁹⁴

Along the Idanre Akure road, some land areas declared available for farming were purchased by Akingboye from Engineer DayoIge of Oshinle, Akure and Mr. Kabiru Olawole Abdul for N30 in December 1978.⁷⁹⁵ In the same way, he acquired about two acres of land under the Native Law and custom in the cocoa farms at Igbaro Camp. This he purchased from Mrs. Oguntunrinle Adereleye of No 218 Isalu Broad Street which was her share of her inheritance from her Father in the sum of N120

From the foregoing, it is clear that Isaac Adegbuyi Akingboye had acquired his large cocoa empire which enabled him to dominate the commodity produce trade in Idanre under the Structural Adjustment Programme. The leading role he played in the cooperative society, and particularly as a merchant money lender gave him greater opportunities to acquire farmlands from his debtors and other peasant farmers. Like produce merchants, that dominated the cocoa trade in the town under SAP, Akingboye seized every opportunity to buy cocoa farmland from bereaved or indebted farmers in the community. It almost became a norm in Idanre during the period, that as soon as a man had been declared dead, several wealthy individuals would jostle and lobby to buy his cocoa farms through the disarticulated families of the deceased. As enunciated in the preceding section, there were instances where some children of farmers sold their father's farms to these elites without their parents' consent.

The poor farmers were forced to transfer their lands to the capitalists through money loaned to them in times of unforeseen circumstances, such as the death of a family member, sickness, childbirth or religious obligation. Many families who sought the assistance of these capitalists were lured to sell or lease their cocoa farms. Their strategy was to target people who needed money, many of which were women and aged farmers vulnerable to the changing socio-economic realities of the period. The table below, for instance, is a list of some of the people and families from whom Akingboye purchased cocoa plantations between 1980 and 1996. From table 5.2 below, it is possible that Akingboye used his privileged position as a money-lender to usurp farms and land from impoverished farmers between the 1980s and 1990s.

Table 5.2: List of Cocoa Plantation sold to Isaac Akingboye 1980s-1996

⁷⁹⁴ Sales of Land Agreement/ Purchase Receipt between Mr Akinyeke, Alhaji Atenidegbe and Isaac Akingboye, 10/08/1977

⁷⁹⁵Ojo Disu Documentary Services Akure, 19/12/1978

| S/N | NAMES OF SELLER | LOCATION OF THE FARM | DATE PURCHASED | AMOUNT |
|------------|--|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Chief OjumuAdeyoke | Idane-Akure Road Alade, Idanre | 12/2/1986 | ₦500 |
| 2 | Joseph OmonolaOsho | Igbaro Camp (2 Acres) | 16/1/1986 | ₦620 |
| 3 | Mrs Oguntunrinle Adeleye | Igbaro Camp (2 Acres) | 2/2/1986 | ₦120 |
| 4 | M.A Akinyeye | Sawmill Opp Olofin Gramer School | 15/11/1986 | ₦440 |
| 5 | Daniel Akinmuti | Abalaka Igbaro (1 Acre) | 12/10/1986 | ₦600 |
| 6 | Mr Ishola Akintade | Abalaka (2 Acres) | 5/12/1986 | ₦ 220,00 |
| 7 | Mr Daniel Akinmuti | Abalaka Igbaro | 1/3/1986 | ₦ 600 |
| 8 | OyinboAladetuyi | Odole Idanre | 16/5/1988 | ₦1000 |
| 9 | Arowojule Smart | Odofin Farm (1 Acre) | 17/7/1988 | ₦520 |
| 10 | Akinola Adeoye Adenusi | Apomu Olowobola Camp, Idanre | 5/8/1988 | ₦100 |
| 11 | Chief OdoleAkintola | Ala Farm, Ofosu Road, Idanre (1 Acre) | 13/4/1989 | ₦600 |
| 12 | Charles Akintade And Ibidun Aladeniye | Abalaka Camp | 9/1/1990 | ₦500 |
| 13 | Cecelia Esunola Idowu | Abalaka Camp (2 Acres) | 4/2/1990 | ₦1,600 |
| 14 | Charles Akintade | Abalaka Camp | 4/7/1990 | ₦350 |
| 15 | Mrs Felicia Akinola | Abalaka Camp | 9/10/1990 | ₦1,600 |
| 16 | Chief Oludaiye Ade Muti | Abalaka Camp | 21/10/1990 | ₦500 |
| 17 | Joseph Akinsulire | Omituntun Farm Idanre (1 Acre) | 3/2/1991 | ₦420 |
| 18 | Isaih Akinyinmika | Araromi Farm Idanre (2 Acres) | 30/8/1993 | ₦60,000 |
| 19 | DayoIye | IdanreAkure Road Alade, Idanre. (2 Acres) | 12/9/1993 | ₦50,000 |

| | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|------------|----------|
| 20 | Mr Adebayo Akin Toke, and Thomson Akinbolade | Teju Bola Camp (3 Acres) | 16/12/1995 | ₦120,000 |
| 21 | Mrs Omotayo Adedeyi and Akindupe Olanyi, Felinah Akinyugbo | Kajola Igaro (5 Acres) | 21/3/1996 | ₦420,000 |
| 22 | Chief Olomafe Adeyosoye | Oke Alafia Otun Camp | 25/4/1996 | ₦160,000 |
| 23 | Boluwaji Ogumleye | Oke Lisa Camp | 11/9/1996 | ₦220,000 |
| 24 | Mrs Omolake Ogunbolu | Jagbe Camp | 15/7/1996 | ₦150,000 |
| 25 | Chief Adesoye Akin Lolu | Abalaka Farm (2 Acres) | 25/9/1996 | ₦200,000 |
| 26 | Mr Kayode Akinmeyisetan | Irowo Village Idanre | 18/10/1996 | ₦180,000 |
| 27 | Mr Akinlosose Alex | Oke Ijebu Farm Idanre | 1/3/1996 | ₦170,000 |
| 28 | Mr Olypus Adeoye and family | Jimgbe Village | 23/11/1996 | ₦160,000 |
| 29 | Mr Omotayo Lamidi | Igbepo Abatago Camp | 22/12/1996 | ₦510,000 |
| 30 | Mrs Comfort Olomobuwa | Alade Area | 23/12/1996 | ₦240,000 |
| 31 | Joseph Obomakin And Eunice Olofingba Sofe, Festus Obomakin | Jimakin Camp | 29/12/1996 | ₦325,000 |
| 32 | Mrs Omolabake Ogunware | Jimgbe Camp | 29/12/1996 | ₦250,000 |
| 33 | Mrs Caroline Akingbeso And Dupe Akingbaso | Apefon Camp | 30/12/1996 | ₦130,000 |
| 34 | Sons And Daughters Of Late Omotayo Bemowa | Oniserere | 10/1/1997 | ----- |
| 35 | Mr Buraimoh Alafe | Iloro, Idanre Akure-Road | ----- | ----- |
| 36 | Mr Esin A. Samuel | Apefon Camp | ----- | ----- |

Source: Photocopies of Cocoa Transfer Agreement Papers, collected from Isaac Akingboye, 30/08/2017 at his residence, Odode Idanre.

By the mid-1990s when a lot of farmers in western Nigeria began to experience upward social mobility, Akingboye was a dominant cocoa merchant whose capital resources dwarfed many of his contemporaries, not only in his community but also in the cocoa belt of south-west

Nigeria. Generally, he employed sharecroppers and caretakers. He paid them 1/3d of the proceeds at the end of each cocoa season, while some of his male children accountably managed a few. As the general trend, there were rifts between him and some of his children. A few among his children who managed his plantations attempted to defraud him by transferring his cocoa to themselves and in many instances collected proceeds from the sales of cocoa, without due accountability.⁷⁹⁶

As a result of the conflicts between him and some of his sons on the one hand, and crises among his sons over the control of his resources, on the other hand, Akingboye decided to marry more wives and increased the number of his children from seven to forty. He built houses and established several businesses for all the new women he married in the 1990s. In all, he married twelve wives and had forty-two children.⁷⁹⁷ Akingboye contributed greatly to the development of Idanre during the period of liberalization. His major concern in the 1990s was housing. He built many houses in the town, mostly low-cost houses. At Ododo, Akingboye also built houses that he gave to his loyal sons.

As a popular social elite in Idanre, Isaac Akingboye was concerned with the welfare of poor women in his community. In the mid-1990s when competition among wealthy cocoa farmers in the town rose to a climax, Akingboye bought an acre of land which he used to build a multi-purpose shopping complex at Ojota---Idanre. It is significant to note that this area was the commercial nerve centre of Idanre in the 1990s. He erected hospital facilities and a welfare center which he leased to a private hospital at Opasorun Idanre, in addition to petrol stations and numerous cocoa stores.

Although he was perceived by many indigenes of the community as a very greedy and exploitative individual, Isaac Akingboye acquired two acres of land along the Idanre-Akure road and established a market there to promote inter group relations between the two towns. He erected shops that were rented to small and medium scale traders in the community. The amenities provided easy access to a variety of consumer goods and contributed significantly to the socioeconomic development of the community. Apart from the popular Ojota, Idale and Alade markets, where the Idanre people bought fresh food items such as vegetables, meat, fish,

⁷⁹⁶Interview with High Isaac Akingboye (Ojumu of Idanre) at Odode Idanre, 30/08/2017

⁷⁹⁷Interview with High Isaac Akingboye (Ojumu of Idanre) at Odode Idanre, 30/08/2017

pepper among other commodities, Ojumu Akingboye Market situated at the Idanre-Akure road cemented the relationship between the Akure and Idanre people, especially in the aspect of food security. There are over two hundred shops in the market. People who did not have enough money to rent shops were allowed to operate and sell their goods outside the main complex. Among these were meat, vegetable, fruits, tomatoes, sellers as well as tailors, hairdressers, barbing salon operators, among others.⁷⁹⁸

Furthermore, Akingboye was also a devout religious man. He was the *Baba Egbe* grand patron and Elder *Majeobaje* at the St Paul Anglican Church, Idanre. His passion for the church and the welfare of the less privileged in his church enabled him to create several schemes through which he assisted people. He invested in many church projects in Idanre. As a prominent member of the Saint Paul Anglican church Idanre and a grand patron of Anglican Farmers Association, he sponsored many development projects initiated by the group in their respective farm settlements.⁷⁹⁹

Due to the death of many farmers in the 1990s which led to an increase in the number of widows and poor women in the town, Chief Isaac Akingboye personally donated a chain of shops to his church at Odode. This was intended to help women who could not afford to rent shops within the town. He also provided them with some capital to start up petty businesses. He built a branch of Saint Paul's Anglican Church beside the Owa's palace for the aged people who lived close to the foot of the Idanre Hills to often attend weekly church meetings.⁸⁰⁰

He held three different chieftaincy titles concurrently in the town. In 1978, he became the Chief Adaja of Idanre and in 1988, Chief Bajulaiye of Idanre. Between 1991 and 2019, he was the High Chief Ojumu of Idanre. While the latter is a traditional title, the Adaja and Bajulaiye titles are social and ceremonial titles for important men of high status in society. High Chief Akingboye was a strong member of the 'Ugha council in the Owa (Oba)'s palace. He received several meritorious awards from various associations due to his selfless services, commitment and immeasurable contribution to the growth and development of Idanre Kingdom. Some of this recognition also came from the National Council of Women Society, Diocese of Akure and the Anglican Communion, Saint Paul's Church, Odode Idanre. In 2012, the Idanre

⁷⁹⁸Interview with High Isaac Akingboye (Ojumu of Idanre) at Odode Idanre, 30/08/2017

⁷⁹⁹Ibid

⁸⁰⁰Interview with High Isaac Akingboye (Ojumu of Idanre) at Odode Idanre, 30/08/2017

Development Foundation (IKDF) regarded him as the Idanre Man of the year. In the same way, the Executive World Magazine in Idanre presented him an award of excellent performance in the cocoa industry and development of Idanre in 1995.⁸⁰¹ Educationally, Akingboye was involved in the establishment of primary schools in the distant farm settlements. He also provided borehole water and minibuss facilities for school children in the town.

5.6 Development in the Farm Settlements under the SAP

The changes and development that occurred in the major towns in Idanre, notably Atoshin, Alade, Odode, Ojota and Opa through the wealthy cocoa farmers and merchants did not positively affect the micro villages where many small scale farmers lived. This was partly due to the absence of a central planning forum for the development of the town. Apart from these major towns self-help projects were not intensified in the small farm villages during the 1990s.

Although the numerous small villages contributed more to the economy of the Idanre as well as the revenue of the Ondo state, the villages lacked important social infrastructures.⁸⁰² Cocoa producers in the micro-farm villages were also neglected in terms of the Government's credits and agricultural programmes. It is important to note, that unlike the 1960 and 1970s when the government allocated huge sums for agricultural financing and farm development, the small-scale farmers had to use their little earnings for the development of the villages. Lack of government's agricultural support such as insecticides and fertilizers previously subsidized before 1986, affected the productive capacities of the farmers.⁸⁰³ The Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme and Rural Banking Scheme through which credit facilities were provided for the peasant farmers also hindered socioeconomic development in the farm settlements.⁸⁰⁴

Before the adoption of SAP, 200, 830 tons of capsidicides were allocated to Idanre cocoa farms to assist the peasant cocoa farmers. About 255, 000 tons of copper sulphate, an important fertilizer was also provided to the small-scale farmers by the State Government annually.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰¹Ibid

⁸⁰²Berry S.S, 1985, *Fathers Work for their Sons, Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in An Extended Yoruba Community*, London: University of California Press, p 33

⁸⁰³ Mansour, A 1983, Financing Agriculture :Financing Agriculture, *Bullion, Publication of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Vol 8 No 1*, p35

⁸⁰⁴ Mansour, A 1983, Financing Agriculture: Financing Agriculture. P 35

⁸⁰⁵Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) 1986, *Agricultural Development in Nigeria, 1965-1980*, Rome: United Nations p 54

These, before 1986 had helped to enhance the sustainability of cocoa farming households. The liberalization of the produce trade, however, led to the sales of these agrochemicals.⁸⁰⁶ The marketing Board had raised the price of cocoa by 50 per cent between the 1960s and 1970s. The table below shows the producer price between 1966 and 1987.

TABLE 5.1 SHOWING PRODUCER PRICES OF COCOA, 1966-1987

| Year | Producer Price (N/Ton) | Consumer Price Index, Idanre 1953=100 | Real Producer Price, 1953=10 |
|-----------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1966-1967 | 92 | 45 | 40 |
| 1967-1968 | 296 | 46 | 45 |
| 1968-1969 | 198 | 57 | 42 |
| 1969-1970 | 207 | 56 | 50 |
| 1970-1971 | 209 | 80 | 45 |
| 1971-1972 | 356 | 86 | 44 |
| 1972-1973 | 370 | 87 | 43 |
| 1973-1974 | 440 | 80 | 43 |
| 1974-1975 | 450 | 121 | 51 |
| 1975-1976 | 455 | 127 | 46 |
| 1976-1977 | 655 | 137 | 46 |
| 1977-1978 | 660 | 134 | 63 |
| 1978-1979 | 1,028 | 145 | 86 |
| 1979-1980 | 1,030 | 140 | 52 |
| 1980-1981 | 1,034 | 143 | 86 |
| 1981-1982 | 1,045 | 146 | 76 |
| 1982-1983 | 1,356 | 147 | 82 |
| 1983-1984 | 930 | 156 | 83 |

⁸⁰⁶Ibid p 56

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|-----|----|
| 1984-1985 | 1,302 | 147 | 73 |
| 1985-1986 | 1,304 | 147 | 82 |
| 1986-1987 | 1,340 | 140 | 81 |

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Annual Bulletin, 1998.

The socio-economic condition of small-scale farmers in Idanre farm villages worsened as their income stagnated under SAP. Although the local price for cocoa rose from N1,600 to N4, 500 per ton in the early 1990s, most peasant farmers did not benefit from this, owing to inadequate resources to sustain their farms. According to a World Bank’s research report in Ondo State, SAPs and SFEM opened up export markets that had been closed before the implementation of the reforms. About N549, 000 worth of cocoa and N178, 000 of palm oil were exported to the USA specifically as a result of the open-door policy between 1986 and 1987 alone.⁸⁰⁷ Another World Bank report stated particularly that the liberalization of trade and cancellation of import license and liberalizing sales of agrochemical in the hands of private businessmen tremendously improved the earnings of cocoa farmers in the remote farm villages.

Oral interviews conducted in many villages in Idanre, however, contradicted the World Bank and FAO’s report. As noted in the preceding section, SAP had a good impact on the newly rich farmers, but adversely affected the peasant farmers and farm employees. Economic liberalization left many farmers who operated small farms directly at the mercy of world market prices and this resultantly affected rural livelihood sustainability and social development in the town. Besides the lack of the government’s credit facilities, the peasants were generally unable to feed their families and maintain their farms due to the challenges created by the liberalization of the commodity produce market.⁸⁰⁸

Although the commercial banks patronized the rural farmers to obtain their loans at 30 percent interest rates, this further impoverished many families.⁸⁰⁹ The interest rate was too high

⁸⁰⁷Ibid., pp27-28

⁸⁰⁸Udoh, C.A. 1986. The Role of Banks and other Governmental Agencies in Export/Import Documentation and Control, *Publication of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Vol 10, No 3*, pp 28-29

⁸⁰⁹ Ahmed, A, 1983. Monetary Policy: Central Bank Credit Guidelines for 1983 Fiscal Year, p 46

for small-scale farmers.⁸¹⁰ The government's rural programmes such as roads, storage, through the cocoa marketing board and the Nigerian Cooperative Bank, Cocoa Research Institute, Department of Rural Development and farmers union had been diverted to the manufacturing and industrial sectors. Apart from the challenges of pest and disease infestation and old cocoa trees, small-scale farmers could not afford modern farm inputs such as chemicals. This left many cocoa trees untreated and sold to the wealthy cocoa merchants. The dismissal of many peasant farmers as a result of debt or lack of resources exacerbated the problem of poor amenities in the farm villages.⁸¹¹ A large number of these poor farmers resolved to stay in the farm villages, owing to the high cost of living in Odode, Atoshin and Alade the main towns.

Many people in the villages sold their plantations to wealthy farmers. The absence of basic amenities such as potable water, electricity and good roads, among others in the farm villages, discouraged many low-income producers. The roads that linked farm hamlets to cocoa farm settlements according to informants were in a bad condition. The government made no effort to fix the roads. The major roads that connected the main town notably, Alade, Atoshin and Odode with the cocoa communities at Ofosu, Abababubu and Oniserere farms were largely not passable. From Opa to many parts of the Reserve Areas, the road was also rarely motorable. Consequently, many producers found it difficult to transport their harvested cocoa beans out of the villages.⁸¹²

Most of the water facilities constructed by the government between 1960 and 1980s had become obsolete by the 1990s.⁸¹³ As indicated in the examples of Orosundafosi and Akingboye earlier, some rich individuals gave money for community projects and built houses in the main town; but in the remote farms/ villages, peasant farmers were left to their fate. But in some farm settlements, the poor farmers and migrant used their initiatives and meagre resources to provide basic infrastructures and amenities, where government interventions failed. People who occupied Gbalegi, Ago Sanni and Ipoba in the mid-1990 depended on self-helps and donations at the local

⁸¹⁰ Field work conducted at Jingbe, Itanorowa, Ago-Sanni, Gbalegi, Ipoba other two farms along Ofosu distant farm settlements in Idanre between February – June 2016

⁸¹¹ Interview with Mr Adewumi Ibrahim, Manager Idanre Cooperative Multipurpose Union, 50+ at Idanre Cooperative on 19-9-2016

⁸¹² Interview with Mr Omonijo Rafeal, 54, at his residence at Okewonja Camp, on 19-09-2016

⁸¹³ Ibid

community level, churches and associations' meetings to enjoy some basic amenities. Funds were raised to clear roads within farm villages, dig water wells, build churches as well as support for schools within the remote villages.⁸¹⁴

The majority of the farmers interviewed in different camps in Idanre, recalled that the deplorable conditions of primary and secondary schools in the cocoa farm villages were awkward between the 1980s and 1990s. One of the informants interviewed at Gbalegi captured it simply:

There were inadequate teachers and educational facilities in our primary and secondary schools during the Babangida's era and SAP. Even the few teachers employed, their salaries were not paid regularly, and some of the school buildings were abandoned. As a result of the lack of facilities and teachers in the schools, most times, farmers organized themselves and made joint contributions apart from the developmental levies we paid for our pupils annually. Through this donation, schools were built, old buildings were renovated, and educational facilities were also provided to some extent in addition to our effort in encouraging the teacher regularly. In a bid to ensure proper monitoring of "community project", parents' meeting (*ipade obi*) was organized from time to time.⁸¹⁵ The aim of this meeting was to ensure adequate maintenance and proper monitoring and execution of the community projects of which educational development was included.⁸¹⁶

As noted above, rural economic stagnation experienced by the peasant farmers was due to the abolition of several palliative programmes through which low-income families sustained their farms and families before the SAP.⁸¹⁷ For instance, the removal of farm input subsidies made many small-scale cocoa producing families pay for farm advisory and inputs at an

⁸¹⁴ Interview with Mr Makinwa Sunday, 35, Manager Omans Commodity Resources Limited, interviewed him in his office at Opa, Ojota Idanre on 16/07/ 2016

⁸¹⁵ Interview with Mr Hammed Adegbeyeni, 52 Years, A Cocoa farmer, at his residence in Itanarowa Camp on 29/07/ 2016

⁸¹⁶ Interview with Mr Oladele Akinwale, 87 Years, A Cocoa Farmer, near Gbalegi village-Idanre, 29/07/2016

⁸¹⁷ Granleese, M. 2009. Market Organization and the Process of Economic Development: The case of the Partially Liberalized Cocoa Market in Ghana, pp 22

unaffordable cost⁸¹⁸. It brought immense prosperity to the already wealthy cocoa merchants and farmers, but further worsened the economic situation of the many peasant farmers. Despite the role played by commercial banks providing credits and inputs to the farmers, the interest rates were high.⁸¹⁹ Private businessmen also used the opportunity to increase the prices of agrochemicals especially fertilizers and insecticides. For example, 50 kg of Copper Sulfate sold at N300 jumped to 600, Perenox-Cobrasadox from N85 to N120, Cocot in and Gamaline 20 increased from N50 to N150, Andrex and Undeen 400 increased from N40 to N70 and Gramazone and Attracine from N80 to N120.

The realignment of producers' prices and changes in exchange rates affected the prices of tradable and non-tradable goods. The removal of food subsidies from agricultural inputs also affected many poor cocoa producers.⁸²⁰ The massive prices increase on consumable items, was also detrimental to small-scale cocoa farmers.⁸²¹ However, some peasant farmers who did not sell their plantations outrightly were employed as sharecroppers. Others took their little savings to start non-agricultural businesses.⁸²² It, therefore, seems, that a majority of sharecroppers, caretakers and laborers, mostly descendants of cocoa farmers in several farm settlements in Abababubu and Ofosu villages showed that many families forfeited the ownership of their lands in the 1990s. Many families sold their farms due to economic hardship.

The majority of the youths who abandoned the farms did not move out of the town for alternative employment. They stayed in the town to acquire informal education and skills. Only a few youths were, however, employed in the cocoa farms as wage labourers.⁸²³ According to Oba Awoseyin (Ogunlowo) of Atoshin Idanre:

We lost most of our youths to off farm work, I mean those who for one reason or the other decided to stay back in Idanre, when their brethren deserted the town due to unbearable effect of

⁸¹⁸Ibid., p165

⁸¹⁹ Mansour, A. 1983. Financing Agriculture: The Nigerian Experience P 37

⁸²⁰Mehra, R. 1991, Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers, American Agricultural Economics Association. P 1441

⁸²¹Field work conducted in various farm villages in Idanre, 2015

⁸²² Ibid.

⁸²³ Interview conducted in Gbalegi, Ofosu, and Jingbe farm villages in Idanre, July-September 2015

government's policies in the 1980s and 1990s, took to artisanal jobs like carpentry, barbing, mechanic, tailoring and bricklayer which did not improve their wellbeing compared to those employed as farm labourers. Except that our women who supported us on our farms preferred to sale in the local market than to be associated with us in the cocoa farms.⁸²⁴

Oba Ogunlowo further stated that:

Idanre is not a place where expertise in mechanical works, carpentry, electrical engineering, vulcanizing and so on, which many our people preferred than the cocoa farming thrived in the 1990s. There was no demand for these occupations in Idanre when compared to what peasant cocoa farmers still earned despite debilitating challenges they encountered.⁸²⁵

Consequently, the standard of living of peasants in the community reduced demonstrably. On the other hand, many privileged families established different business outfits in the town.⁸²⁶ Oral interview conducted from Odode to Oposorun, the economic nerve of Idanre, suggested that many self-owned businesses, including but not limited to, petrol-filling stations, hotels, sawmills, bread baking, pure water producing factories, cemented-block molding companies, were owned by descendants of post SAP wealthy cocoa merchants and farmers.⁸²⁷ SAP hindered the possibility of achieving an inclusive development in Idanre under neoliberal reform.⁸²⁸ Idanre experienced a drastic change from community values to individualism.⁸²⁹ A cocoa farmer interviewed at Irele, including Alade and Oposorun Idanre, stated that:

Since we cannot leave our cocoa farms because that was the only thing we had, we preferred to empty our pocket to support our children to get office job in Lagos. We knew that in return

⁸²⁴ Oral interview with HRH Oba Ogunlowo of Atoshin Idanre, at his royal palace- Atoshin Idanre, 2/7/2015

⁸²⁵ Oral interview with HRH Oba Ogunlowo of Atoshin Idanre, at His Royal Palace, 2/7/2015

⁸²⁶ Bryceson, D.F. African Rural Labour, Income Diversification and Livelihood Approaches: A Long Term Development Perspective. p 176

⁸²⁷ Field work conducted in the study area between February 2014 and December 2015

⁸²⁸ Collier, P.& Gunning, J.W, 1997. Explaining African Economic Performance, University of Oxford, Centre for the study of African Economics, Working Papers, Cited in African Rural Labour, Income Diversification and Livelihood Approaches: A Long Term Term Development Perspective. P 174

⁸²⁹ Fieldwork in cocoa farms in Idanre, October 2015.

they will support us when we are down. Our children were our only hope in during the period of SAP.⁸³⁰

Social relations changed significantly among families and different groups in Idanre. At the same time, the majority of the immigrants from Ife, Ondo and other Yoruba communities, settled, invested and contributed to the improvement of the villages where they lived. Many of them built houses and contributed to socio-economic development in the community.⁸³¹ The interviews conducted with Owa (Oba) of Idanre and some of his chiefs suggested that the modern development experienced in Idanre since the 1990s, cannot be clearly articulated without the efforts of the migrant farmers and labourers who used their earnings from cocoa and trade to build houses in the town.

Generally, SAP reconfigured the pattern of social, economic and political relationships and precipitated unprecedented dispossession and exploitation of small-scale producers in Idanre. Liberalization was unfavorable to the small-scale farmers who constituted over seventy percent of cocoa producers in the town. Some of the peasants who had other alternative cocoa abandoned their cocoa farms to cultivate staple food crops, such as plantain and yam.

Liberalization rendered the government incapable of fostering agricultural development interventions for the rural community. Many cocoa farmers lived under deplorable conditions. Also, many farm villages in the town suffered demonstrable neglect in terms of the distribution of social infrastructure and amenities. Despite Idanre access to the Owena River and connection to pipelines, only the privileged few that lived in Odode and Ojota Idanre enjoyed good amenities. Many villages and camps had no regular supply of water between the 1980s and the 1990s. Though Idanre was among the first towns to be connected to the national grid, electricity was a mirage in the villages.⁸³² The few primary and secondary school, healthcare facilities within the farm villages were mostly anachronistic in the 1990s.

⁸³⁰ Interview with some selected aged cocoa farmers at, Alade and Opasorun Idanre in July 2015. See also Sara Berry, 1985. *Fathers Work for their Sons: Accumulation and Class in an Extended Yoruba Community*. University of California Press

⁸³¹ See Berry S, 1985, *Fathers work for their sons: accumulation and class in an extended Yoruba community*. University of California Press,

⁸³² See Akinyeye, Y. 1999, *Iden: historical reconstruction from ceremonial reenactment*..

5.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study is about how agricultural development and earnings from cocoa farming affected rural development, the livelihood of cocoa producers, and social relations in Idanre, southwestern Nigeria. By the 1900s, much of southern Nigeria had come under the British administration; and to benefit from the growing cash crop agriculture and enhance the development of their localities, many Yoruba communities embraced cocoa cultivation as a new means of livelihood. Cocoa was the leading commodity from the plantation agricultural system throughout the 20th century. Its production and sales were critical factors in rural development in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria, with Idanre being one of the foremost centres of cocoa production in the country. Idanre community became one of the major cocoa producing towns in Southwestern Nigeria during the beginning of the twentieth century.

Cocoa production transformed the social and economic lives of the Idanre people and their environment in some ways in the twentieth century. These changes had both positive and negative consequences on human and community development. The cultivation of cocoa also affected the state of the environment. Were it not for cocoa cultivation, the entire area occupied by the people of the modern Idanre would have remained a thick forest and uninhabited farmlands. This was because the Idanre people lived on the top hills (Oke-Idanre) for over eight hundred years before the beginning of the twentieth century when the three major settlements; notably: Atoshin, Alade and Odode were founded as a result of persuasions by Governor Gilbert Carter who visited the town in 1898 and 1900. It was the need to enjoy the benefit of modernity provided by new opportunities in agricultural activities especially cocoa cultivation that motivated the entire pre-colonial Idanre community to move down the hill to establish new settlements.

The study has traced the history of cocoa farming and rural development in Idanre between 1900 when the cultivation of the crop started, and 1996, when liberalization of the produce trade brought great changes to livelihoods, social relations and development in the town. The cultivation of the crop was not indigenous to the Idanre people. Although the people were predominantly agrarian, they were only producers of staple food items such as yam, plantain,

palm oil, vegetables and other food crops before the advent of cocoa. Several professional hunters sold the proceeds of their games within and outside Idanre in the pre-colonial era. As stated in chapter two, the development of cocoa farming which reconfigured the social and economic development in the Idanre community came about as a result of the demographic, social and political changes that occurred in the late nineteenth century in Idanre.

This led to the founding of the three major communities, notably Alade, Atoshin and Odode in the early twentieth century. Odode was founded in 1910, Alade in 1928, and Atoshin in 1930. The massive influx of migrant farmers who needed suitable land to cultivate cocoa in the early 1930s and 1940s, paved the way for rapid growth and expansion. As noted, Ajebamidele and Ipoba among many farm villages were founded as a result of the growth of cocoa cultivation. Aponmu, village and Ogbese, along Ondo route, Ireore, Owena, Atoshin, Arisin, Aiyetoro, Okenifon, Okerisha, Okedo developed rapidly due to the increase in cocoa activities in the town. Other major areas which developed in the “Reserved Areas” included Omifunfun, Ipinlerere, Oloruntedo, Ajegunle, Ajegbale, Ala, Okerisha, Ajegunle among others. The British colonial government capitalized on the surplus land to create competition among cocoa growers in the area. This marked the beginning of agrarian capitalism which became a dominant characteristic of Idanre agriculture in the later years.

The various farm villages that developed had their own headman “Baale”, under the auspices of the *Owa* of Idanre. Each unit also maintained a cordial economic tie with the mother town. Competition over land did not only culminate into conflict among indigenes and migrants, and different groups in the community, it created a protracted conflict that claimed several lives between the Idanre and Akure people.

The spread of cocoa cultivation was an important event in the socio-economic, political, and environmental transformation of the people of Idanre. Profound changes occurred in the community throughout the twentieth century. Through the efforts of African missionaries who also propagated the crop in the town, cocoa cultivation orchestrated the spread of Christianity and the establishment of Christian churches and primary and secondary school education in the town. As indicated in chapter three, Idanre people experienced profound development in terms of employment, income and community development in the early twentieth century. Many farmers left the cultivation of food crops such as yam, vegetables, plantain, to plant cocoa.

After the First World War, the cocoa farmers began to experience stagnation in their earnings, compared to the prewar period. The major foreign cocoa buyers organized a pooling system whereby they aimed to control the cocoa market. The "pool" bought all available cocoa at a price fixed by them and stored it to create an artificial shortage of cocoa in the world market. During the Second World War, the colonial Government mounted pressure on farmers to produce certain crops in which they enjoyed a comparative advantage. In western Nigeria, this led to a great specialization in export crops which favored Idanre owing to ecological suitability for cocoa farming. During the period, Idanre cocoa producers invested immensely in their farms and enjoyed a prosperous harvest.⁸³³ It was clearly shown in chapter three, how Idanre cocoa farms developed during the Second World War because more cocoa farmers affected by the international restriction scheme initiated by the British government in western Nigeria migrated to acquire land for cocoa or work as seasonal labourers in Idanre.

The creation of the Cocoa Marketing Board served as a disincentive to cocoa farmers as it represented agencies for taxation as the producer prices paid to farmers by the board were well below world prices. Nevertheless, earnings from the cocoa made significant differences in kinship and community development between the 1940s and 1960. It was due to the intensive farming that several small villages and hamlets occupied by migrants and indigenous people developed and expanded the town's socioeconomic structure. This among other things paved the way for many self-help projects, such as the construction of roads, expansion of markets, establishment of schools, churches, cocoa industry, timber factories, health care facilities and also intergroup relations. The increased population in the villages paved way for the establishment of several missionary schools such as the Saint Barnabas Primary School located at Gberinjoko Idanre founded in 1931, Anglican Secondary School, 1934, Olofin Grammar School, Methodist Primary and Secondary Schools among others. The Cocoa Cooperative society formed in the 1940s and 1950s provided credits and advances, coordinated the construction of several rural infrastructures such as road, water, electricity, health services, including schools.

⁸³³Kalada, K, 1964. Management of the Cocoa Industry in Nigeria, p 99

With the influx of migrants to the community in the colonial and post-colonial period, Idanre experienced tremendous social and economic development. Before this period, the town had only two markets that operated fortnightly. Between the 1930s and 1960s, several big markets had developed and paved opportunities for the wives of the migrants to travel to their different villages to bring several items to sell to the local people, while their husbands worked on the farms. Thus, apart from contributing to the rural economy, this boosted inter-group relations in the town. Owing to the large output of cocoa emanating from Idanre, many businessmen (cocoa buyers, middlemen and credit institutions) were drawn to the town in the 1950s and 1960s. Some of the major licensed cocoa buying companies established their liaison offices in Idanre. They included, but not limited to, N. Abrekhem, Association of Nigerian cooperative exporters, Compagnie Francaise de I; Afrique Occidentale, Cooperative Wholesale Society, Kajola Kaviouisi Ltd, Ondo Cocoa Buyers Association among others. Idanre hosted several Agricultural Development banks which enhanced producers' access to cheap loans in the late 1950s.

The cocoa cooperative society also played important roles in the capital formation, as well as exploitation experienced by the farmers in the 1950s. The cooperative societies gave loans and services to the peasant producers. Self-help programmes were introduced by the cooperative societies to improve the socio-economic conditions of their members. The societies also promoted a sense of solidarity and responsibility among their members. The credit and banking activities of the cooperative societies were one of the major means through which many farmers coped in pre-harvest times. The societies rendered valuable service in providing credit to their members. The development of co-operative loans for mortgage redemption was one of the greatest gains of the farmers.

The 1960s was a period of great accumulation, economic prosperity and social mobility for cocoa farmers in Idanre. The community, like several agrarian communities in southwest Nigeria, experienced great socio-economic development. At independence, the Idanre people enjoyed an increase in their earnings and income, upward mobility, and class formation. Many wealthy farmers emerged in the town during this period. A lot of them invested their surplus into real estate in Idanre, Akure and Ondo. Others invested in vehicle importation, building materials, block molding industries, hotels and other lucrative businesses. As noted in chapter four, it was during this period the architectural pattern Idanre community, characterized by many storey

houses changed. The peasant farmers who could not build sophisticated houses erected bungalows mostly the farm villages. Unlike in the colonial period when cocoa farmers trekked daily or rode on the bicycle to their respective distant farms, many people in Idanre bought Yamaha and Suzuki motorcycles, Volkswagen, Passat, and several electrical equipment. The motorcycles and cars were used to convey their families and workers to the farms as well as to church on Sundays. In churches and social gatherings in Idanre in the 1960s, vehicle possession was the real evidence of people's accomplishments. Farmers who had cars were highly regarded in the town. Those who could not afford it also used their motorcycle elegantly. Virtually every family had one or two motorcycles in the 1960s.

Many farmers spent their earnings and borrowed to finance their children's education abroad or in the Nigerian tertiary institutions. This also brought about enlightenment, as there were improvements in the number of educated people in Idanre, even though these educated youths abandoned the town for the urban areas in the late 1960s and 1970s. The Nigerian Civil War affected the Idanre community in some ways. The rapid exodus of Igbo and other Easterners from Idanre farms altered the livelihood of many farmers because many farm owners in the town depended solely on migrants' labour. Many cocoa farmers who could not afford the rising cost of employing labourers, leased or sold their farms to the rich merchants and farmers, while they took to sharecropping or in most cases worked as laborers to survive. The situation was worse with the increase in oil exports beginning from 1972.

The oil boom of the 1970s also affected production negatively as the greater focus was on revenue generation from oil rather than rural agriculture. It affected the incomes of several people in the town. Many farmers left their cocoa entirely and shifted to other non-farm activities. It was during this period that some Idanre people (educated and uneducated) relocated from the town to Lagos and other cities. Idanre society lacked basic amenities during this period because producers began to see investment in kinship and community projects with some misgiving. Roads were left unrepaired by even the cooperative societies, and the wealthy people during this period. As rural income stagnated and the cost of living rose high, the rate of several crimes increased and social values began to diminish in Idanre.

The 1970s and 1980s coincided with higher receipts from oil revenue, equally the peak of production coincided with the oil boom. Attention was subsequently diverted to crude oil production to the negligence of cocoa. An increase in urbanization and the quest for none farm

jobs led to rural-urban migration and this seriously impacted cocoa production. The hectares cultivated by an average cocoa farmer in the post-oil boom era were smaller than in the pre-oil boom era. Provision of cocoa seedlings, the problem of access to loan and the problem of storage facilities were the major challenges to cocoa production in the pre-oil boom era while lack of interest by the younger ones in cocoa farming, lack of social amenities in the cocoa communities and aging cocoa trees are the major problems of cocoa farming in post-oil boom era. Indeed, more young farmers were involved in cocoa farming in the pre-oil boom era than in the post-oil boom era. Also, the educational level of farmers significantly affected the level of production in the post-oil boom era.

The introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) brought social changes and economic opportunities. The recommendation under the SAP policy initiative was to create a structure that favour price incentive strategies in form of administrative upward review of producer prices and input subsidization as means of initiating and sustaining increased aggregate output of cocoa. Unfortunately, this did not achieve its set objectives. The extension of Agricultural Development Programs (ADP) to Idanre enabled the farmers to improve their productivity.

However, cocoa production and sales under the neoliberal economic systems in the 1980s and 1990s were revived and a lot of families in the community regained from a past decade of poverty and underdevelopment. Cocoa again, connected the dreams of many Idanre people to their ordinary lives, as desires of several cocoa-producing families and individuals were realized ostensibly through new economic opportunities brought by the free trade system. This paved the way for easy profits that shaped social status, identity construction, consumption pattern, social engagements, accumulative power, habits, as well as the normalisation of different lifestyles.

This greatly contributed to community development in Idanre. In terms of building an idea of social modernity and economic change, as demonstrated through the lives and experiences of Emmanuel Akintan, Issac Akingboye and Rufus Orosundafosi, neoliberal economic systems paved the way for the emergence of many wealthy farmers in Idanre. Surplus accrued by farmers from cocoa production and sales reconfigured social relations in the 1990s. Cocoa production did not only change how people lived in Idanre society but also how Idanre history itself is understood. Changing patterns of livelihood and accumulation caused some Idanre people to discard established principles of social interaction.

The individualism inherent in the new economic structure gave rise to greed. In this regard, the new peasant class often brought complaints of exploitation against the merchant producers. Rich produce farmers and buyers usurped farms belonging to their poorer neighbors, which made quarrels and litigation over land ownership and cocoa farms quite frequent. This type of exploitation increased the number of peasant farmers who steadily lost their livelihoods in the 1990s. But the general prosperity of the capitalist farmers and merchants, besides taking undue advantage of the peasants may be partly traced to favorable conditions thus created by the liberalization of the commodity produce trade in 1986.

Owo cocoa (earnings from cocoa) became the index of power and civility, as people who could not compete with the new agrarian capitalist class were perceived as second-class and third-class citizens of the town. The ‘‘newly rich phenomenon’’, recognition, identity and social inclusion became a dominant characteristic of the Idanre society in the mid-1980s and 1990s. The use of agricultural surpluses by several people shaped relationships between fathers and children, husband and wives, landlords and tenants vis-à-vis the rich and poor in Idanre. Children swindled, and in some cases murdered their fathers and siblings to inherit cocoa farms. Disputes arose among families over cocoa land. Many women abandoned their poor husbands to marry wealthy cocoa farmers and merchants in the 1990s.

The liberalization of commodity produce trade allowed for socio-economic transformation and broadly rural development in Idanre. It brought about a new desire to create wealth as well as the lifestyle with which it was associated. This affected community development and human social relations in some ways. Cocoa reinforced rural social mobility, the capital formation which in turn shaped consumption pattern, changed the social status of people and broadly rural development. The get-rich-quick syndrome became a widely accepted social norm as the quality of cocoa produced in the town diminished due to poor processing.

By dismantling commodity marketing boards, cocoa producers were exposed to the price volatility in the global market and exploitation of local middlemen because the boards tended to cushion producers against the shocks of the global market with a fixed producer price and regulate the activities of local buyers. The dismantling of the boards also led to a decline in the quality of products since the boards played important roles like quality control, insect pests and disease control, and research and development among others.

The social relation of production and the market structure of post-structural adjustment era redefined the human perception of sociality in the town. As noted, income derived from cocoa changed prevailing views of what constituted personhood in Idanre. “Owo Cocoa” (wealth from cocoa) became an indicator of class consciousness, civility, political belonging, and stock share of sociality. Associated with the flourishing of the general rural economy in the town was the proliferation of local markets and the establishment of market days at intervals. There was a network of roads that linked the major towns such as Atoshin, Alade and Odode to adjoining farmsteads and villages, and thus promoted trade in consumable goods. A number of these amenities were constructed through individual but mostly collective efforts of some rich cocoa merchants and buyers. The role played by the agrarian class in the appropriation of agricultural surplus for community development and the socio-economic transformation of the people, indeed paved the way for rural development under the period of neoliberal reforms.

The desire of many farmers to change their consumption patterns, become influential and gain new social status transformed the ways people lived and imparted the community in Idanre society. The section devoted to the life histories of some individuals who contributed in one way or the other to the changes in the town shows how myriad of cocoa producers, buyers and merchants, and the society under the SAPs began to redefine accomplishments mainly, in terms of the largeness of individual plantations, cars procured in given cocoa seasons, houses built within and outside the town, worth of investments in specific enterprises outside the produce trade, such as sawmills factories, fuel filling stations, hotels and guest houses, warehouses and more importantly the number of wives and children acquired by individual farmers.

Cocoa engendered a society dominated by the capitalist class. While the rich cocoa farmers enjoyed a good life in the main town, a preponderance of poor laborers and small-scale farmers in the distant farm villages lived under deplorable life conditions. Despite the town’s access to the Owena River and connection to pipelines, only the privileged few that lived in Odode and Ojota Idanre enjoyed good amenities. Many villages and camps had no regular supply of water between the 1980s and the 1990s. The schools inside the Reserved Areas at Abababubu, Onisere and Ofosu were also left to decay.

The period 1986 and the end of the 1990s was a period of great economic stagnation for small-scale producers in the community. Low-income families were generally affected by the removal of subsidies on farm inputs, health care, basic education, and inadequate government

farm support programmes such as credit and loans. Many of these families left their farms to establish off-farm businesses. The majority of these people saw cocoa production as a business for the rich. The removal of farm input and subsidies made many small-scale cocoa producing families pay for farm advisory and inputs at an unaffordable cost. For example, 50 kg of Copper Sulfate sold at N300 jumped to 600, Perenox-Cobrasadox from N85 to N120, Cocotin and Gamaline 20 increased from N50 to N150, Andrex and Undeen 400 transposed from N40 to 70 and Gramazone and Attracine N80 to 120. The peasants could not afford this, in addition to the high cost of labor and feeding.

5.8 Conclusion

The study state specifically what is typical or unusual about Idanre cocoa farms, compared to other cocoa-growing areas in Ondo State and the southwest, and Idanre's role in the context of Nigerian economic development. It is a study in the economic history of Idanre and its cocoa farming sector—i.e., one that documents the sources of increase and decline in cocoa production in Idanre, the distribution of gains from the value of the cocoa crop there and how those gains were used—a) within Idanre to affect economic development and social relations, including how some indigenes used their own or their relatives' earnings from cocoa to redefine their identity, class and social status within and outside Idanre--- and the trading firms, colonial government, and postcolonial regimes that garnered shares of the value of cocoa output that emanated from Idanre. One way in which the study contributes significantly to extant literature is by tracing the role of cocoa in changing social relations within the kinship, (fathers and children, husbands and wives, as well as farmers and labourers, peasants and wealthy cocoa merchants, sharecroppers and farm owner) and between different groups of people, in the case of migrant farmers, who came to work and contribute to the development of the town.

This work validates the significance of cocoa production to rural social existence and development in Idanre, southwest Nigeria in the twentieth century. The cultivation of the crop ushered in great social transformation in Idanre in the colonial and post-colonial periods. Colonial capitalism had a strong exploitative effect on the farmers and the environment. The narratives changed in the 1950s and 1960s, as many self-help projects were intensified with the construction of schools, community centres, roads, health centres and other social amenities by

members of the Idanre community. Idanre people and society experienced significant socioeconomic change and development at independence. It remained the major means of livelihood until the late 1960s. From the 1970s to 1986, the effect of the Nigerian civil war, inefficient policies of the cocoa marketing board, the oil boom and macroeconomic problems in Nigeria altered labor relations and rural income.

With the policy of economic liberalization and abolition of the cocoa marketing board in 1986, the community began to witness unbridled accumulation, social mobility and uneven development. A new form of dispossession and exploitation began to rear its head in Idanre society. Nevertheless, cocoa production and sales continued to shape social relations, consumption, identity and rural development in the town in the age of flux. Cocoa production transformed the rural space and significantly changed the ways the Idanre people lived in the 1990s.

The Structural Adjustment Programme affected the preexisting social value and norms in the town. Poor farmers had to cope with the burden of indebtedness and intense pressure as a result of the inflation in prices of agrochemicals and the increase in the cost of living in the era of economic liberalization. Poor farmers decided to cater mainly for their children and jettisoned community projects and kinship relations. It engendered individualism, as the Idanre cocoa farmers concentrated their earnings on their children's education and development. This was exacerbated by the competitive neoliberal practices, deteriorating conditions of small-scale farmers due to the high cost of farm inputs, increased wages demanded by workers, the regime of 'accumulation by dispossession fostered by the newly rich; and change from community values to individualism. The liberalization of the produce trade opened the way for the development of capitalist agriculture, at the expense of peasant producers. Land accumulation by the newly rich e.g produced marked inequalities in the size of cocoa holdings which led to conflicts mostly between fathers and children, husband and wives, landlords and tenants, creditors and borrowers and created class formation

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| HRM Fredrick Adegunle Aroloye | 80+ | The Owa of Idanre kingdom | Odode Idanre | 2014-2018 |
| Dr. Rufus Orosundafosi Folafosi | 70+ | The Managing | Odode Idanre | 2016-2017 |
| Madam Bodede A Iyaloja of Idanre | 68 | A Iyaloja at Alade market | Ojota Idanre | 20/09/2016 |
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LIST OF APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Ancient Palace at Oke Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 2: Abandoned School at Onisere



Source: Field work in Idanre, October, 2017.

Appendix 3: St Barnabas Primary School



Source: Field work in Idanre, October, 2017.

Appendix 4: Road to Abababubu farm villages



Source: Field work in Idanre, October, 2017.

Appendix 5: A Road Repaired by Cocoa Farmers at Itanorowa to Ofosu



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 6: Idanre Town Hall Built in 1940



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 7: Isaac Akingboye's House at Broad Street, Odode Idanre



Source: Fieldwork in Idanre, 29/08/2017

Appendix 8: Akingboye's House at Odode



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 9: Akingboye in his shopping complex at Ojota Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, 29/08/2017

Appendix 10: Akingboye's petrol station in Ojota Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, 29/08/2017

Appendix 11: Akingboye's Commercial House Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 12: Market Founded by Akingboye



Source: Fieldwork, 29/08/2017

Appendix 13: Akingboye's last house at Odode



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 14: Chief Ojumu Akingboye in his sitting room



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 15: Church Built by Akingboye for the Mission at Odode Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 16: Donation to St Paul's Anglican Church



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 17: A Dilapidated School along Abababubu Farm



Source: Field work in Idanre, August, 2017.

Appendix 18: Saint Barnabas Secondary School Gberinjoko Idanre in 1992



Source: Collected from the Idanre Development Movement, 2017.

Appendix 20: Houses in Idanre in Atoshin the 1930s



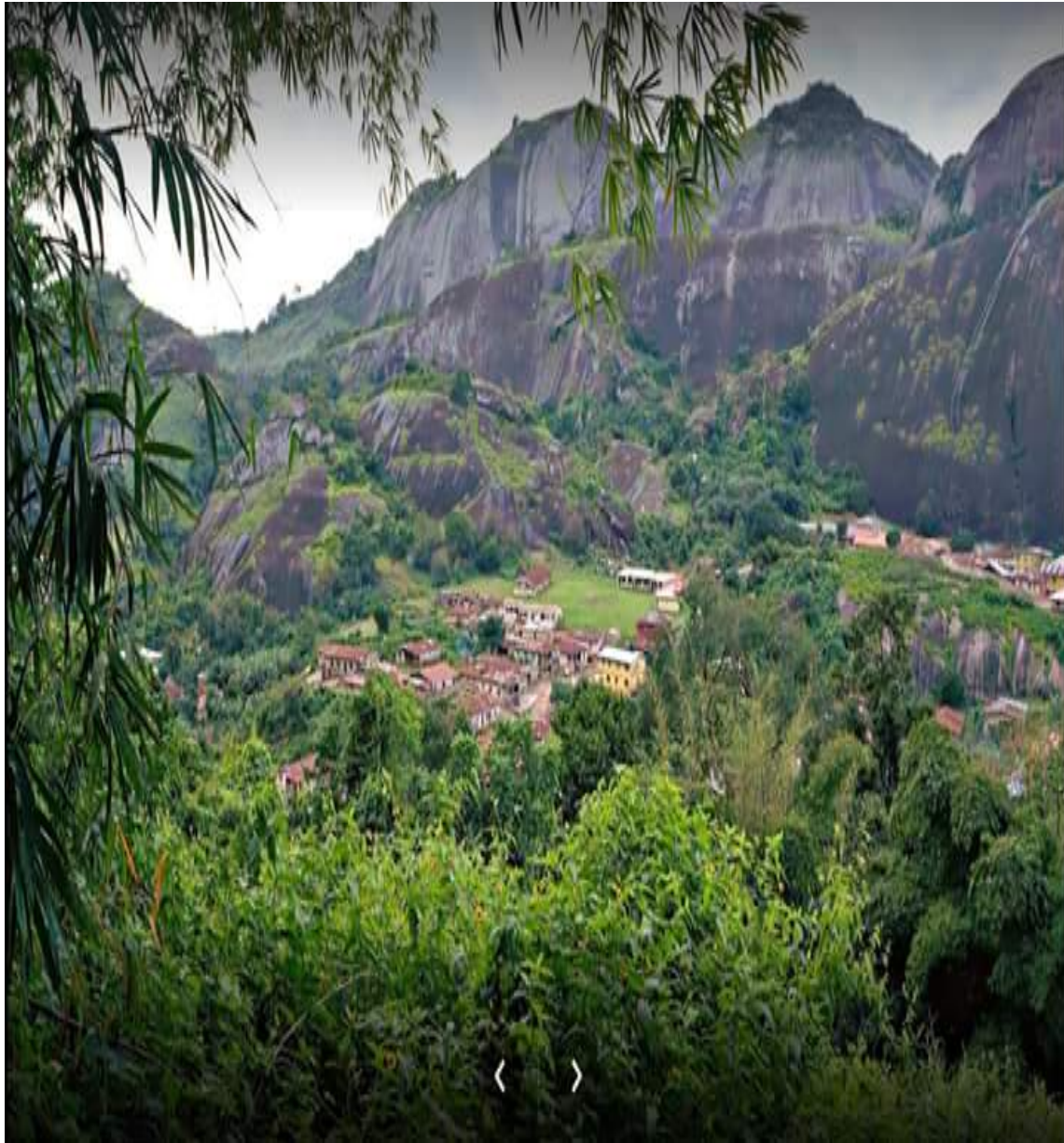
Collected from the Idanre Development Movement, 2017.

Appendix 21: Alade Idanre in the 1940s



Source: Collected from the Idanre Development Movement, 2017.

Appendix 22: Houses in Odode the 1950s/60s



Source: Collected from the Idanre Development Movement, 2017.

Appendix 23: A picture of Odode Idanre in the late 1990s.



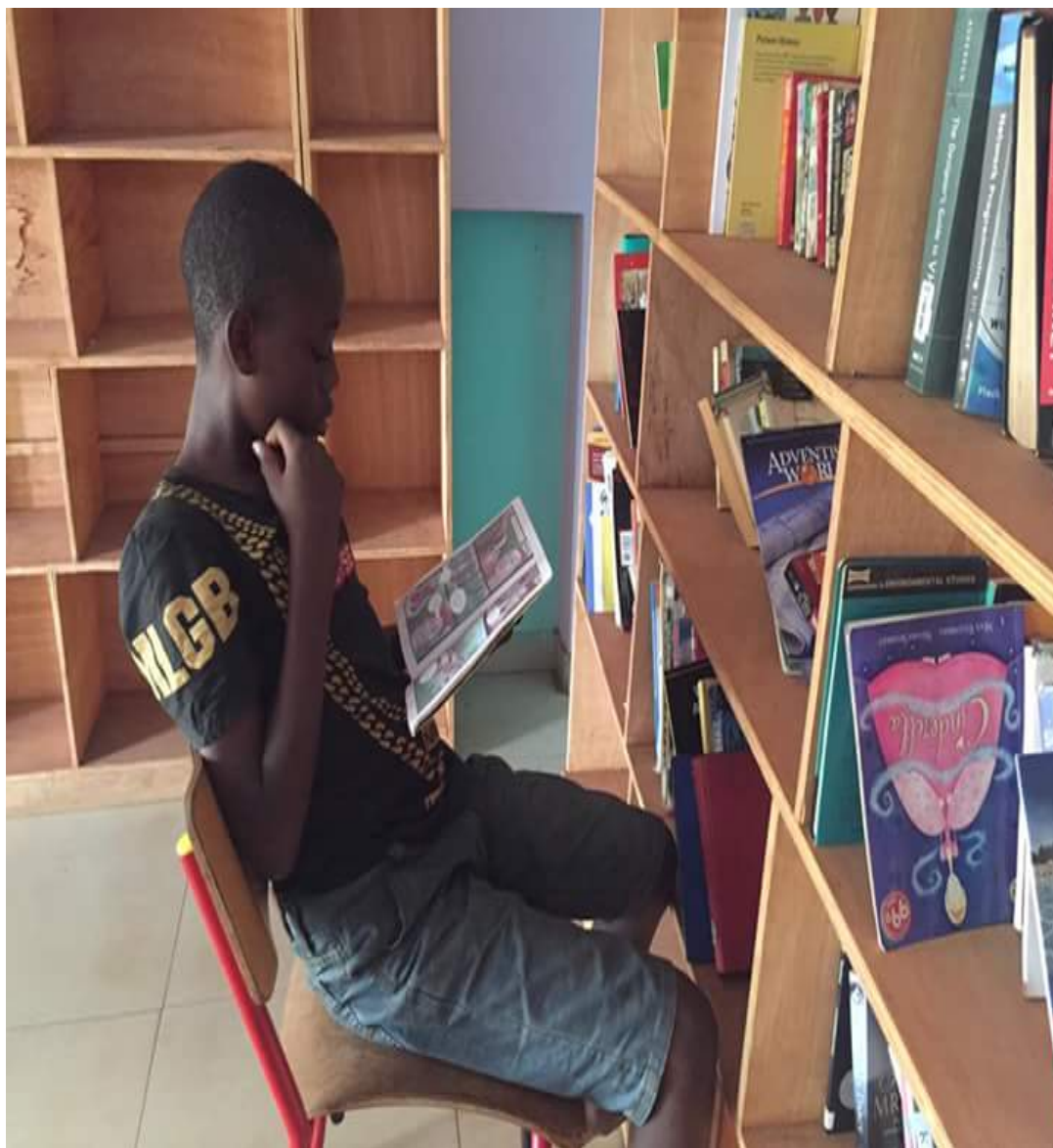
Source: A picture of Odode in the 1990s collected from the Idanre Development Movement, 2017.

Appendix 24: A Cocoa Chocolate Factory Established at Alade in 1995.



Source: Field work in Idanre, March 2016.

Appendix 25: A Library in Odode Idanre built by some cocoa merchants in 1996



Source: Fieldwork in Idanre, 2016.

Appendix 26: HRM Oba Frederick Aroloye Arubiefin III (The Owa of Idanre)



Source: Fieldwork in Idanre, 2016.

Appendix 27: HRH Agunsoye I (The Oba of Atoshin Idanre)



Source: Fieldwork in Idanre, 2016

Appendix 27: HRH Aladelokun (The Oba of Alade Idanre)



Source: Fieldwork in Idanre, July 2016

Appendix 28: The Ugha (Council of Chiefs)



Source: Fieldwork in Idanre, July 2016

Appendix 29: A Public School at Oke Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 30: A Mud House at Oke Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 31: A Migrant Cocoa Farmer and his Family at Oniserere Farm



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 32: The Old Palace at Oke Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 33: A Road at Oke Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 34: Modern Staircase to Oke Idanre



Appendix 35: Modern Staircase to Oke Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 36: Staircase to Idanre Hill



Appendix 37: Houses at Atoshin Idanre in the 1960s



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 38: Alade Idanre in the 1980s



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 39: Renovated Oba's Courtyard in Old Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 40: The Church in Old Idanre (Renovated)



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 41: The School in Old Idanre



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 42: Resting arcade along the staircase



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 43: View of Alade from the top of the Staircase



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix 45: A Road at Opa in the 1990s



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018

Appendix: 46: Aghagha Hill



Source: Field work in Idanre, December 2018