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AN ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS DETERMINING
THE SPATIO-TEMPORAL PATTERNS AND
FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MARKETS
IN THE YOLA STUDY AREA, NORTHEAST NIGERIA.

by

Ken Allison

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Masters Degree in Geography.

Department of Geography
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario.

1975

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be of some interest and value to the Yola District Administration
and to the Northeast State Government of Nigeria.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The market, and marketplace systems, are very conventional features of the economic space and organization of developing countries. By "marketplace" is meant a specific authorized site where buyers and sellers meet at defined, regular intervals for the purpose of exchange (Good, 1971, p.1). Nowhere are these markets as prominent as they are in Nigeria. These markets provide the setting for trading and marketing and thus play a vital role in the economic life of the country. Networks of markets serve as nodal points for the collection and distribution of a wide range of local and regional goods and services. It is also through these markets that most agricultural and cottage industrial products first enter the exchange system, and imported goods finally reach the consumer. Overall, markets are the linking force between rural populations and the national and international economic structure. These markets, however, are not merely economic institutions but are rather multi-functional, serving a variety of political, religious and social functions as well.

It is therefore apparent that the importance of market studies to a full understanding of life and work in Nigeria, and in similar areas of the world, is important. One of the major indicators of economic development in the emerging countries is an exchange system which is growing in sophistication and complexity. In effect, markets allow for

valuable insight into the general economic and social conditions of a country. Markets are one of the formal exchange mechanisms of a country providing an institutional framework in which a more complete understanding of the intermediate stages of development can be obtained.

However, despite the integral nature of markets in the economic life of developing countries, little attention has been paid to these institutions until the last few years. The analysis of the economies of the emerging nations has normally concentrated on the productive sectors or upon the large scale internal and external exchange. The recent upsurge in interest in the markets of different developing countries is a result of the perception of the lack of attention by researchers to the local systems of exchange

In the case of this study, the research opportunity arose as a result of the author's two year stay in the Northeast State of Nigeria. Attention had been drawn to the particular theme of markets in various texts and articles prior to arriving in the study area, and the investigation appeared to be a natural and potentially important extension of several fields of geography. An investigation into the markets in a region of Nigeria facilitates analysis of several research topics - including social and economic aspects of geography. However, for this particular research, an inquiry into the market situation of the Yola District, of Adamawa Province, Northeast State, Nigeria, was

carried out with the general objective of determining the variables or factors involved in the genesis, functional nature and spatial-organizational features of the markets. This investigation into the various agents determining, influencing and modifying the nature of the markets and a subsequent analysis of three different types of markets in the Yola area, therefore represents an attempt to add to the theory of markets and marketing analysis in developing countries. In essence, several key question-issues arise. What are the factors which have, and still are, influencing the area markets? What spatial characteristics exist as a result of these variables? What functions are performed by these markets? What relationships exist between the markets? To what extent do these markets represent or illustrate a number of intermediate steps or stages in the development of an exchange economy?

The study must, however, be regarded only as a preliminary attempt to assess and analyze the market institutions of this part of Nigeria. Apart from the limitations imposed by the large size of the study area, a number of other shortcomings exist and these are discussed in Appendix E.

1:1 OBJECTIVES

Essentially then, based on the problem stated earlier, the shape of

the research revolves around a central objective and several attendant objectives.

The primary objective concerns an investigation into the multiple factors determining the nature and presence of the Yola area markets and calls for an inquiry into the resultant spatial and functional characteristics of those markets. In order to substantiate and supplement the central objective several attendant objectives must of necessity fit into the research design. They include: 1) an investigation of the study area and an inquiry into the physical, economic, cultural and historical features therein; 2) an examination and analysis of the distribution of the markets and the relationships between their spacing and timing; and 3) an analysis of market typology in this area, and of their functions.

Accordingly, this study is organized into two major parts. The first is concerned with the factors determining the nature and presence of the markets. There are three chapters in this initial phase. Chapter Two initiates an examination of the relief, soil, vegetation, climate and the basic economic variables affecting the market situation in the Yola area. Chapter Three is involved with a comprehensive literature review whereby the economic rationale and economic theories relating to the presence of markets are investigated. Chapter Four concentrates on an inquiry into the cultural and historical factors influencing the origin of markets and modifying the present market

phenomena as illustrated by the introduction and examination of three sample markets.

The second part of the study begins an assessment and analysis of the present spatial and functional situation of the Yola area markets, and there are two chapters involved in this phase of the study. Chapter Five examines further the economic rationale explaining markets and examines the resultant Yola area pattern of market distribution and further investigates the spatial and temporal timing of the markets, using data collected in the field to support or refute various hypotheses concerning these space and time elements. Chapter Six establishes a market classification suitable for the Yola area trading and marketing patterns, and then, using information collected from 773 traders frequenting the three sample markets, examines the functional nature of the markets. Attention is drawn to evidence which supports or refutes various hypothesis concerning the different exchange mechanisms of the market. In particular, notions concerning trader activity, diversification, modes of travel, market hierarchies and commodity structures are investigated. Chapter Seven presents a model illustrating the intermediate stages of commercial development as represented by the Yola area markets and draws the conclusions of the study.

1:2 METHODOLOGY - FIELD METHODS

In order to achieve the objectives of the study a variety of research techniques are used. The investigation incorporates descriptive material as well as more empirical, quantitative techniques. Sources of information about the Yola area exchange institutions and trade patterns include residents of the area, local administrative officers and Marketing Board agents. Journal accounts of the early European travellers are also useful primary sources. Published records of Parssage (1907), Moseley (1899), Lugard (1958), Kirk (1958) and others are extremely valuable in the development of the historical and cultural factors phase of the study. Records of an administrative nature for the Yola area are also used in order to assess the trends and forces which shaped the pattern and nature of the marketplaces. However, these records vary considerably in scope, depth of coverage and general quality. Along these lines, the Provincial Secretary and the District Officer's reports were primarily used.

An initial difficulty affecting the geographical investigation into these markets, and their system, in the Yola area was the scarcity of the basic data on markets. A disproportionate amount of time was necessary in collecting such basic data as the location of the markets, the names of the markets and in establishing basic types. Market

distributions are not mapped for this area. Therefore, one of the major tasks involved the compilation of lists of market names and locations. In order to accomplish this, the Local Authority Administration headquarters and the Marketing Boards assisted in establishing a preliminary list of these names and locations. Residents of the area were also polled and asked to name the market locations in their immediate areas and their lists helped to substantiate the initial one. In plotting the data on a 1: 500,000 base map it was necessary to refer to maps of 1:250,000, published by the Nigerian Federal Surveys Bureau. These sheets included the majority of market locations. (Market places are named after the village or town in which they are held). Uncertain market locations were field checked and verified.

Another phase of research involved the selection of the three sample markets. These serve as a framework for analysis and provide a focus for studying the functions and characteristics of traders and of the basic market organization. Several factors were considered for the market selection. One aim concentrated on finding markets which were representative of the major ecological (production) zones and cultural variations. The markets needed to be representative of the fertile river valley (emphasizing fish and fresh produce); the intermediate plains (concentrating on grain and grazing); and the rugged upland areas (cultivating grains and tobacco). Likewise, the tribal groups oriented to a fish economy, nomadic cattle tribes, the

more isolated hill tribes and the urban agglomerated population all had to be considered. Periodicity was another factor, and so both daily and weekly (periodic) markets were selected. Consideration along these lines was based on the general importance of the market. An attempt was made to include markets that lay within small settlements, large urban areas and in more dispersed regions. Attention was given also to such factors as the varying quality and quantity of roads, transport facilities and traffic densities. Markets in the survey thus included some located on the all-year, paved highway and some located on the poorer, less accessible laterite roads¹. Major consideration was also given to the logistics of carrying out the interviews and questionnaires in the markets. Clearly, markets at any great distance from the work quarters for a team of student enumerators (research assistants) was not feasible.

After weighing these criteria it was deemed justifiable to select the markets of Jimeta, Yola and Mayo Ine (as seen in Chapter Four).

Another aspect of the study included the questionnaire. In fact, the bulk of the research conducted at the three sample markets consisted of trader interview responses. A questionnaire designed to obtain information about cultural background, social status, economic and spatial behaviour of the respondent was devised and

1. In this respect, the sample selection is similar to Good's (1970, p.35), field methods in Ankole, Uganda.

tested in the three example markets. Research assistants were recruited and finally selected after being evaluated on the basis of their demonstrated ability to elicit accurate information from a variety of marketplace traders. Assistants were selected also, on the basis of the language which they spoke. This was necessary, for despite the fact that Hausa and Fulani are nearly universal market languages in Northern Nigeria, some of the more primitive tribal members speak only their native tongue. It was necessary, therefore, to acquire assistants capable of speaking the different languages of the area markets.

The questionnaire was administered in a pilot study at the Yola market, was revised, standardized and subsequently administered over a week period (during May, 1974) in three sample markets.

Marketplaces in the Yola area, as in most developing countries, are very congested, noisy and dynamic gatherings. In terms of size they vary from gatherings of less than 100 to congregations of more than 1,000 people, though most fall somewhere between these extremes. As such, the interviewing procedure needed to cover the market places had to be very flexible. Essentially, the three markets were inventoried, surveyed and mapped prior to the administration of the questionnaire. The markets are segmented, with very distinct product - tribe divisions. Consequently, the market sites were gridded

according to these tribe - produce sections and the enumerators (of those same tribes and speaking their native language) were allocated grid areas².

Interviews were conducted by a two man team and questioning was carried out in the major market language of Hausa or Fulani, and if this failed to elicit a response from the trader, the secondary technique called for the question being asked in the native dialect. As mentioned, this was a practical solution as the enumerator (field assistant) for the particular grid was fluent in that particular language³.

To ensure the correctness of the interview questions in all languages, the research assistants were requested, in trial sessions, to translate the English question into the tribal language which they may have encountered (based on their assigned grid area). Other assistants, not having seen the original English question were then asked to retranslate the question into English. The question was reviewed, and if the essence (key words) of that question was still evident, then the question phrasing was retained. Consequently, the questions were, of necessity, concise and short. Unfortunately, due to the number of potential market languages, the questionnaire could

-
2. For example, assistants from the Verre tribe, or speaking that language, administered the questionnaire in the grid areas occupied by Verre tribe members.
 3. In fact, this technique worked very well and even enhanced correct answers because the respondents were especially pleased that someone was conversing to them in their native tongue.

not be written into the various tribal languages, but rather, English was used.

Many factors influenced the design and content of the questionnaire itself. This dilemma is representative of the limitations and constraints involved in investigations in the Third World - and as such is discussed under that heading in Appendix E.

Finally, as noted previously, maps and other recorded data were in most cases unavailable; and, except where otherwise indicated, the Figures and Tables in this thesis are based on data and information collected by the writer during his period of field work in Nigeria.

REFERENCES

Good, C. M. Market Development in Traditionally Marketless Societies. Ohio University, Centre for International Studies, Africa Program, Ohio, 1971.

Good, C. M. Rural Markets and Trade in East Africa. University of Chicago, Research Paper #128, 1970.

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY AREA

Prior to beginning an investigation of phenomena in any given region, it is essential that one be aware of the various environmental characteristics therein because of the very real modifying effects those conditions and characteristics may have on the phenomena. This chapter of the study is, therefore, concerned with an examination of the physical, social and economic traits of the Yola study area as used for this research paper.

Specifically, the chapter initially undertakes a survey of the physical factors of climate, relief, soil and vegetation. A second section examines the cultural, historical and settlement characteristics. A third portion of the chapter covers the transportation networks. The final section deals exclusively with the economic patterns of the region and includes a statement of the implications the indigenous economic situation has for the area.

As mentioned, the information presented in this chapter is of major significance when analyzing the overall marketing and periodic market phenomena in the Yola area and represents an essential foundation for this study.

The study area in which the research for this thesis was undertaken lies, roughly speaking, in the Yola District of Adamawa Province in the Northeast State of Nigeria. This will be referred to hereafter as

the Yola study area. To set precise limits to this study area is difficult for it embraces a market area which draws a diverse population from the surrounding region, including areas outside the above mentioned politically defined district. In fact, the bordering districts of Verre, Gurin, Ribadu, Girei, Mbula, Bachama, Batta, Wafango and Mayo Belwa are also included in part in the study.

Rather than define the Yola study area according to political boundaries, it is more practical to define it by way of the physical characteristics and in particular, the relief features. The Yola study area is located on the upper reaches of the Benue River system in Northeastern Nigeria, bordering on Cameroon. It is the continuous land area running from the Cameroon border downstream to the Numan District and is contained by the Bagale Hills and Mandara Mountain system to the north and the Verre and Alantika Mountain system to the south. Defined in this way, the Yola study area is a compact region of some 3,000 square miles. Figures 2:1 and 2:2 show the exact location and the basic relief features.

2:1 PHYSICAL FACTORS

Relief

The region's most prominent natural feature is the Benue River and its associated trough. The river originates in the Western

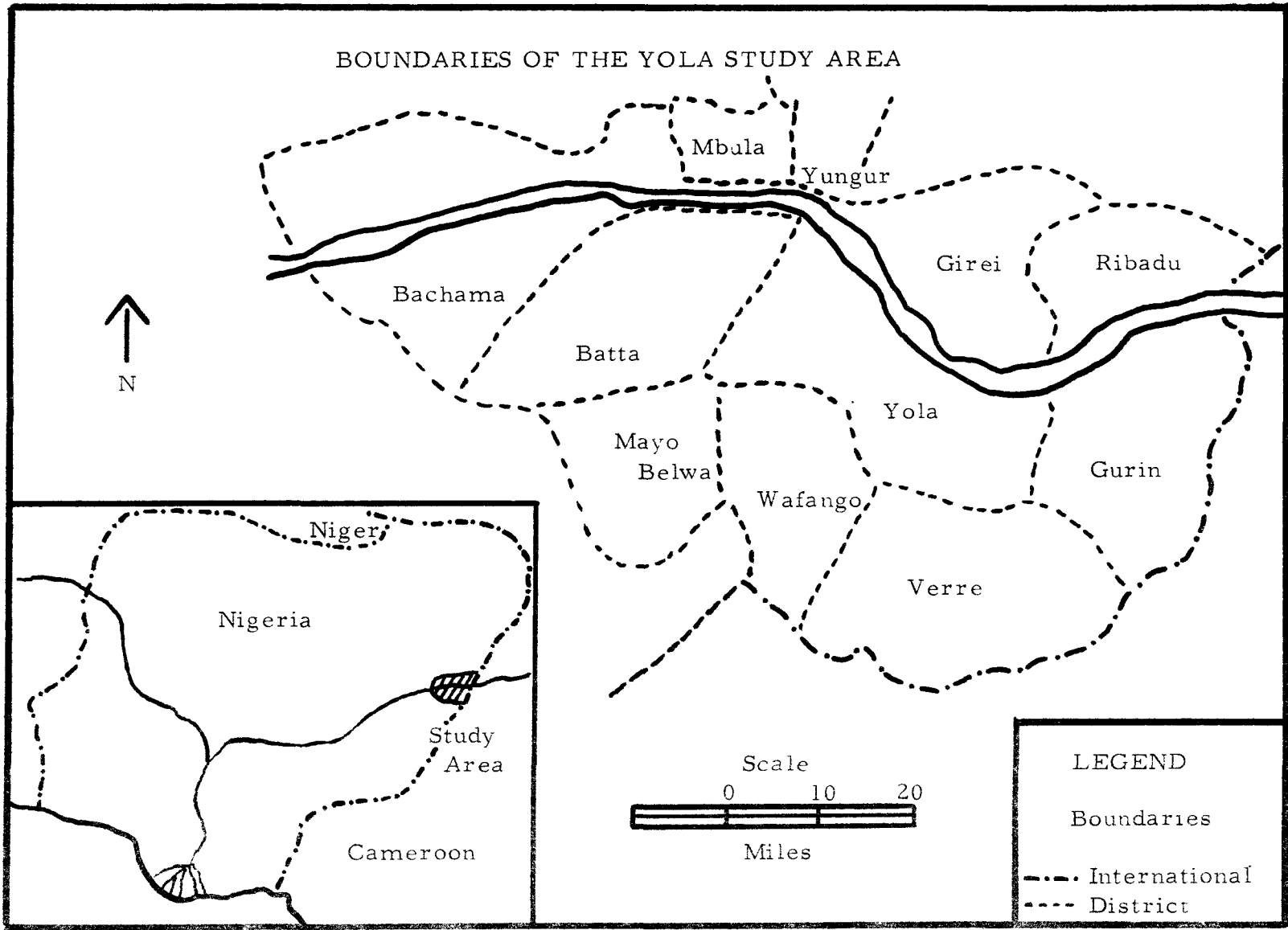


Figure 2:1

NATURAL DIVISIONS OF THE YOLA STUDY AREA

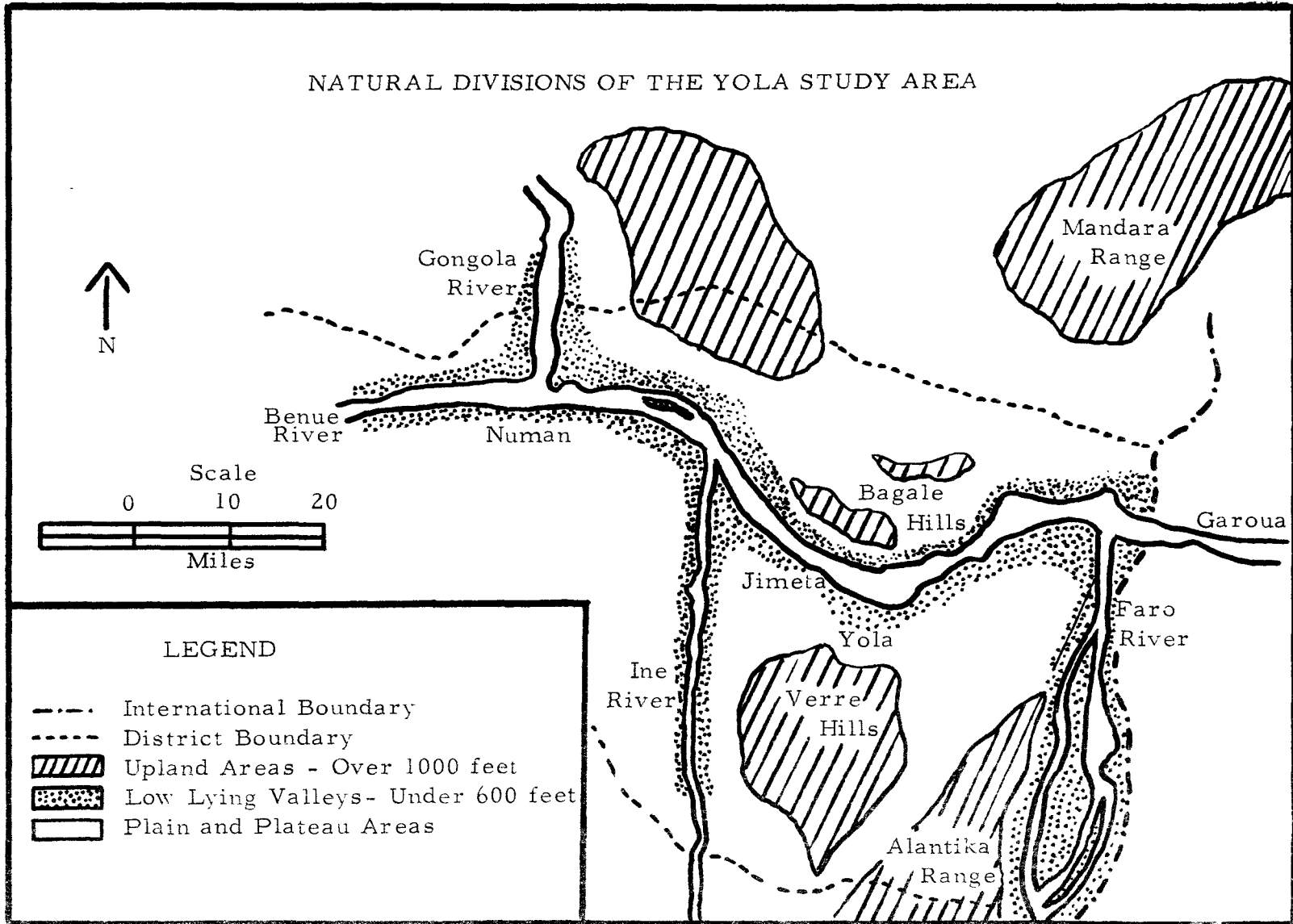


Figure 2:2

Cameroons above the city of Garoua, as seen in Figure 2:2. It enters Nigeria and its channel bifurcates into shallow crossings (Uda, 1970, p.133). The Benue Valley just above the town of Yola constitutes part of Nigeria's eastern borderlands and this part of the trough consists of a synclinal basin filled with cretaceous sandstones which are covered with extensive flood plains and alluvial sediments. At several locations the sandstone outcrops near the river in various forms. The hills of Gurin and the Bagale Hills immediately north of Yola are examples of these outcroppings. Other features include the sandstone crests and ridges which occur mainly on the north side of the valley (Uda, 1970, p.193).

At Yola, where the sandstone rocks on the south side of the river approach the Bagale Hills, the flood plain narrows to about 4,000 feet. At other points in the valley the flood plains extend outwards several miles. The Benue River varies considerably in size and depth according to the climatic seasons. In the rainy months, as compared to the dry months, a difference in depth in the river of twenty feet can be measured (Kirk, 1958, p.9).

Sandbanks, straight, high water shores and a few meandering channels with islands characterize the forty or so mile stretch between Yola and the town of Numan. The Gongala, which is the main tributary of the Benue from the north, joins the river opposite Numan. Most of the Benue's tributaries, however, come from the

south and are for the most part narrow and shallow. They are the Mayo Ine, Faro, Kunini, Lamorde and Mayo Belwa.

Geologically, the major formation is an exposure of the basal crystalline rock common to most of Northern Nigeria, which in the immediate area of Yola emerges as granite and gneiss (Kirk, 1953, p.10). South of the Benue River there is an area of discontinuous mountain ranges and dissected high level plateau surfaces. Rocks of the basement complex mentioned above make up these ranges. The Verre Hills and the Alantika Mountain Range both rise abruptly from pediment slopes at the margins of the Benue Plains to elevations of 3,600 feet and 4,000 feet respectively (Uda, 1970, p.199).

An open, undulating area, the Jada plain, drained by the Ini River, separates the Alantika and Verre mountain systems. In general, the relief features in the south of the Yola study area (south of the Benue) are much higher and more extensive than those north of the river.

The Mandara Mountains, running north-south, lie just north of the Benue. West of the Mandara system the landscape consists of vast high plains dominated by inselbergs and isolated domes at different stages of disintegration. Hills appear on this plain in the terraced slopes and abrupt scarps of the Bagale system immediately opposite Yola (Uda, 1970, p.198).

This description of the physical site of the Yola study area gives an indication of Yola and its environ. Three basic physical divisions are evident. They are the rugged uplands, the river valleys and the various plains. These, in turn with a further account of soils, vegetation and climate, will reflect characteristics of the area which determine numerous features of marketing and periodic market types.

Soils

The basement rock, as mentioned, is a crystalline rock. On the elevated plains and wider valleys that run between the ranges of the area, the basal rock is covered by a thick layer of laterite (Kirk, 1958, p.10). Basically there are two main types of laterites. The primary laterite which occurs as cappings on eroded remnants and the younger but lower laterite composed of weathered primary laterites.

P. R. Tomlinson (1964) establishes a more specific soil classification for Northern Nigeria based on the primary factors of location, climate and vegetation and on the secondary factors of site, time and the degree of acidity or alkalinity of the soil. A ferruginous tropical soil comprises an important group of soils in the Yola study area and is derived from crystalline and sandy rocks. Lithomorphic vertisols, derived calcaceous or crystalline basic rocks are a second group. A juvenile soil, largely alluvial, occurs in the recent

deposits of the Benue trough.

In all, the soils of the Yola study area are all of generally low fertility, even though they are of a varied nature, and this has important resultant effects on the level of productivity and in turn affects the quantity, quality and degree of marketing in the study region, effects which will be studied more thoroughly in subsequent chapters.

Vegetation

The general pattern of natural vegetation consists of stretches of undulating country covered with thin, low-growing bush and grasslands, intermittently broken by fertile valleys and abrupt hill systems. Basically, the area is distinguished by a mix of Sudan and Guinea savannah. Though affected in its physical appearance by farming and seasonal firing, it is characterized by a continuous grass cover, dotted with tree growth, generally of the small tree size, xerophitic in nature and rarely providing continuous tree cover. Much of the area is covered with secondary tree growth with the principal types being acacia, shea nut, locust bean, with sporadic concentrations of debel palm and isolated baobab. In the Benue Valley proper, there stretch great areas of marshlands (Kirk, 1958, p. 7).

As elsewhere in Nigeria, the vegetation on the Yola study area

has been extensively modified by man; the modification being most striking in the closely farmed areas around the larger towns, where various grain and root crops are fairly easily cultivated. The natural vegetation, as is evident, readily supports the grazing economy of the area. However, more on the economy of the Yola study area will be discussed later in this chapter.

Climate

The climate of the Yola region is best classified as wet and dry tropical climate. Koppen has grouped it into an Aw climate type. Trewartha has this particular area classified in the Aw to BShw group¹.

There is a well defined dry season, and this occurs during the winter months - specifically between November and April. These months are extremely hot as well. Relief from the heat, in the form of a local wind system, the "harmattan", occurs from late November until February, and somewhat lower temperatures are recorded at this time. However, with the dissipation of "harmattan" in late February, the months of March and April tend to be exceedingly hot. This hot, dry season directly affects commodity presence, prices

1. Refer to Trewartha, 1957; and Koppen, Geiger and Pohl, 1953 in Strahler, 1967, p.458, Plate 2.

and visitation patterns of the marketing scene in the Yola study area.

The rainy period lasts from May to September, with April and October being considered marginal periods with isolated shower activity. Heavy rainfall occurs from May to September yielding approximately 40 inches (101 cm.) of precipitation. The climate is influenced by two wind systems: the rain bearing South West monsoons which blow from the ocean and the dry North East trades from the Sahara.

Generally speaking, where the country rises to 2,000 feet and more there tends to be ample rainfall and the climate is pleasantly free of excessive heat and humidity. Along the Benue and in the lower plains however, evaporation produces a trying, humid heat in the wet season and an intensive dry heat during the dry season. Mean annual temperatures are 80 degrees Fahrenheit (27 degrees Celsius) and above². Table 2:1 shows the basic climatic data.

The extreme fluctuation of climate from season to season has very real effects on the marketing patterns in the Yola study area. Crops tend to be seasonal and prices fluctuate accordingly. Regional specialization of crops take on extra importance under these conditions.

In general, the climate, soil, relief and vegetation all affect the

2. Information obtained from the Ministry of Transport, Yola Meteorological Station, Yola Airport.

| YOLA CLIMATIC DATA | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------------|------|
| Months | J. | F. | M. | A. | M. | J. | J. | A. | S. | O. | N. | D. |
| Elements | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rainfall (Inches) | .0 | .0 | .3 | 1.9 | 4.9 | 6.2 | 6.8 | 7.7 | 7.8 | 3.2 | .2 | .0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Total 39.0 | |
| Temperature (F.) Max. | 95.1 | 98.4 | 102 | 103 | 96.9 | 90.5 | 87.4 | 86.2 | 87.2 | 91.1 | 96.9 | 96.0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Average 94.2 | |
| Min. | 65.2 | 69.4 | 75.5 | 78.8 | 76.1 | 73.4 | 72.4 | 72.5 | 71.5 | 71.9 | 67.5 | 65.1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Average 71.6 | |
| Relative Humidity (%) 6 A.M. | 35 | 33 | 34 | 55 | 76 | 87 | 90 | 92 | 93 | 91 | 71 | 47 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Average 67 | |
| 12 Noon | 16 | 15 | 17 | 26 | 39 | 61 | 66 | 68 | 69 | 60 | 29 | 19 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Average 40 | |

Source: Yola Meteorological Station, Yola, Northeast State, Nigeria.

Table 2:1

marketing situation of the Yola study area, and the periodic markets examined in this study certainly reflect the variety of the physical environment. In effect, several distinct natural regions can be identified. They include the low-lying, relatively fertile river valleys, the high, grass covered plains and the rugged upland areas. Each zone produces different crops, is inhabited by a variety of tribal groups, has different needs and combines to produce the multiple factors influencing marketing and trade in the Yola study area.

2:2 POPULATION and SETTLEMENT

Compared to other regions of Nigeria, the Yola area is very sparsely populated. Estimates of the density vary, but 50 people per square mile seems realistic³.

One hundred and sixty-two tribes are represented in and around the study area (Kirk, 1958, p.2). It is this fact which accounts for the very real lack of urbanism in the area. Members of tribal groups in the Yola area rarely leave their "home" territory. No tribe has an overwhelmingly large population, and there are even separate

3. Data on population and population densities vary from source to source and is therefore difficult to determine the true situation. See the Federal Office of Statistics, Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1971.

lineages within the same tribe. Consequently, no large urban areas have developed outside the administrative centre of Yola and the mission and ferry-crossing town of Numan. Rather, there exists a large number of agricultural villages and hamlets dispersed throughout the area and located according to tribal boundary. Hill settlements still exist, particularly those of the more traditional tribal groups. However, many occupants of these settlements have abandoned earlier sites for more accessible and productive locations on the plains.

The current size and distribution of the population can be explained by several circumstances. Historically, the region derives from religious wars called "jihad" led by the Moslem Fulani tribes of the north. One Modibbe Adama led the first jihad in the area at the turn of the last century and became the area's first leader or "emir" (Kirk, 1958, p.15). The history, therefore, only dates back to the jihad, and the current Fulani aristocracy rarely trace back more than three or four chiefs before 1800. Among the heterogeneous tribes currently in the area, it is unlikely that any represent aboriginal inhabitants, for all have traditions of migration from other lands (Kirk, 1958, p.15).

What existed at that time of the first jihad was a Muslim minority ruling over a pagan majority, and the sparse population is sometimes

attributed to extensive slave raids during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Under the emir Mallam Adama, and his successors, the Fulani carried out many raids in the Upper Benue where many of the indigenous pagan people inhabiting the open, flat and fertile plains of the area were killed. Many of those who escaped retreated to the protection of the nearby hills. This seems to offer an explanation for the great number of people currently inhabiting the more rugged country where the hillslopes as well as the intervening plains are still cultivated (Uda, 1970, p.142).

However, slave raiding and other historical incidents do not totally explain the current population situation of the Yola area, for there were, and still are, large tracts of plains where there has always been sparse population. It seems areas have always been restricted as a result of swampy conditions during the rains, lack of water in the dry season and the problem of the tsetse fly (Uda, 1970, p.14!).

Another determining feature seems to be distance from the main settlements, for there are many empty land areas which are very fertile, particularly the "fadamas" or river flood plains, which are well cultivated in the vicinity of settlements but are left barren any distance from a settlement (Uda, 1970, p.141).

The majority of the population in the Yola area dwells on the south side of the Benue for the Bagale Hills are still extensively wooded. Numerous fishing villages are built on natural ridges

above the high water level along both sides of the river. The heaviest concentration of population in the area occurs in the towns of Numan, Yola, its offshoot or "sabon gari", Jimeta, and the numerous villages adjacent to Yola. These form a more or less linear pattern along the south shore of the Benue. Population densities here reach 200 per square mile, but other areas taper off to less than 5 persons per square mile⁴.

2:3 TRANSPORTATION

The Yola study area is poorly served with transportation facilities (Uda, 1970, p.206). The Nigerian Railroad does not penetrate the Upper Benue region. The closest rail connection from Yola is at Gombe - some 150 miles to the west.

Throughout the region roads are few and far between. The hilly terrain and the numerous river systems make road construction difficult. A major paved road does connect Yola on the Gombe, Bauchi, Jos route of central Nigeria. However, a difficult river crossing is necessary, and this somewhat curtails the road network's effectiveness. Other roads in the region are laterite bush roads and are only safely used during the dry season.

4. Information obtained from the Provincial Secretary's Office, Yola.

The Benue River is navigable throughout its course in Nigeria, provided there is sufficient depth of water. Navigation is easy at the height of the wet season but the river is impassable during the dry season. Port facilities in Yola - Jimeta are very limited. Vessels which use the river include trading company ships of the United Africa Company and John Holt firms, government ships and barges owned by various commercial companies.

In short, despite the apparent potential of river transport, it is of little importance in the local economy of the Yola study area.

A local airport service is run on a packed laterite air strip runway. This transportation mode is used primarily for mail and passenger service.

The transport networks of the Yola study area are limited and this restricts trading activity. This directly affects the marketing situation. Imported goods for local distribution are for the most part transported by commercial truck. Air, and water networks play little, if any, part in the marketing and trading setup of the study area.

2:4 ECONOMY

The Yola study area, due to a host of contributing factors - including isolation, poor transportation, variable conditions of soil,

vegetation, relief and climate and its low population - is not one of the more prosperous regions of Nigeria. It is nowhere as developed as the more industrially oriented parts of Southern Nigeria. Yet it is not as badly off as the more extreme northern parts of the country. The population, as previously mentioned, is almost totally rural in composition. Even those living in urban areas own farms outside the town limits. For the most part agriculture in the area is mostly shifting and marginal cultivation (Cohen, 1973). More specifically, a northern grain economy predominates in the region with millet and guinea corn being the main crops. Maize, sweet potatoes and groundnuts are also widely grown. All of these crops are for the most part grown on the plains. The Yola region is also one of the main areas of dry season grazing of the Gudale breed of Fulani "Bororo" cattle. In addition, the Benue River provides a more than adequate fish economy.

Guinea corn is the most important crop in the area because of its resistance to drought, because it produces a good yield, because it fits well into the rotation system of agriculture used in the area and because it provides a fine source of food for the population.

Various root crops are cultivated. Sweet potatoes are the major commodity, with yam and cassava grown to a lesser extent. Sugar cane is grown in small patches of alluvial soil, and rice is

cultivated to a limited extent, likewise on the alluvium. Bananas, mangoes and papaya are seasonally grown, with citrus fruit also in evidence, but to a very limited degree. Tobacco and fibrous plants are also grown. Groundnuts flourish under the drier conditions of the area where there is 25-45 inches of rain, a long dry season and fairly light, sandy soils exist (Natural Resources of Nigeria, 1973, pp. 35-37).

Three basic elements can be identified in the economy of the Yola study area:

- 1) a subsistence economy.
- 2) a local and internal exchange economy involving surplus foodstuff. e.g. fish and guinea corn.
- 3) a central place function.

For the most part though, the area's production is concentrated on the second category. However, it is difficult to separate clearly one type from another, especially in any analysis of areal distribution of economic activities. In any one area the pattern of land use is always complicated and constantly changing (Hodder, 1969, p.15). To add to the problem, many farmers engage in other activities, such as trade and cottage craft industry. Those who are recorded as engaged in occupations in the town usually own farms as well. Therefore, from the point of view of trade and marketing, agricultural production and exchange give rise to a most complex pattern of commodity flow and areal interdependence (Ukwu, 1969, p. 119).

The non-agricultural sector of the economy in the Yola area is essentially undeveloped. There is some mat weaving, calabash decorating, pottery, primitive metal working, basket weaving and net and rope making. The only factory industry is that producing basic furniture. Consequently in this study little attention has to be given to the extent to which the concentration of industrial and other centralizing functions affect the pattern of marketing. Similarly, due to the rural composition of the area, the existence of rural industrial centres in determining the transformation of the marketing landscape need not be considered.

On the whole the bulk of manufactured goods entering into local and internal exchange in the area are the products of local craft industries or have been imported from abroad.

Because of the diverse nature of the tribal groups living in the area, it is difficult to generalize about the division of labour between the sexes. Different tribal groups specialize in the production of certain commodities⁵. For example, members of the Verre tribe concentrate on producing pots made from a local red clay. The Batta tribe produce various types of fish nets, and the Fulani create different forms of grass matting. With the largely Mohammedan

5. Information gathered from field observation and substantiated by several authors, e.g. Hodder (1969, p.17).

influence, the economy is largely dominated by the man. However, women of tribes not overly influenced by Islam do take over the seller function for their family and village. Women also play a very large part in the actual work on the farm. They are dominant in certain craft industries such as pottery and calabash decorating. They also engage in the basic food processing industry, involving the making of beer, spices and dairy products.

In reviewing what has been said to this point, it is evident that the markets in the Yola area, and the associated local and internal exchange functions, to a large extent reflect the wide variety of environments - economic, physical and social-cultural. Certainly, in the past, the tribal hamlets and villages in the area were largely self-sufficient in food supplies and most other household goods. However, even then marketing and trade was carried out both tribally and intertribally. Today, that kind of household or at least village self-sufficiency is probably more characteristic in this region than elsewhere in the country; but it is far from a complete self-sufficiency. The exchange of goods on a local scale and internal exchange between different parts of the area has always been a characteristic feature of the economy. Inherent within the movement of goods from one part of the area to another there has been and is a degree of local specialization of production, both in agricultural crops and craft industrial products. This is readily

apparent when one considers the varied nature of the physical environment - for example, the hot, humid alluvial flood plains in Yola as contrasted to the rugged upland areas of the Verre Hills. Specialty items such as rice, sugar cane and fish may be desired by the upland tribal groups (if it has become part of their diet) and will be exchanged for tobacco and root crop goods, which are scarce in the lowland areas.

Larger scale internal trade must also be considered when viewing movement of goods. The kola nut, for example, is not grown in the north, but is a much desired and needed product. It is therefore shipped to the Yola area. The southern region, the producer of kola, also ships palm oil, yam produce and fresh fruit to Yola in exchange for dried fish, cattle and maize.

The specialization of production between different parts of the Yola area and into adjacent regions calls for and stimulates the growth of extensive trading systems and markets. In subsequent chapters of this study, the local and internal exchange of these commodities and their resultant patterns, processes and relationships will be studied.

2:5 CONCLUSION

The term market, "kasuwa", has been introduced into the

discussion, and because it can mean many different things to different people, it is necessary to discuss "markets" at some length.

Certainly they are important for local and internal exchange and they form an integral link in the export-import distributional chain. They also have many important social and political functions. However, their characteristics and functions embrace far more than what has been stated above. Many variables in different countries in various stages of economic development determine the nature and importance of markets. In the next chapter, therefore, markets and marketing principles and theories and concepts in the Third World will be considered, drawing upon the published literature. Then more specifically, detailed determining influences in the immediate study area can be assessed and analyzed.

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CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Authors of published literature dealing with markets and marketing in the developing countries often attest to the fact that there has been very limited work on the subject¹. Certainly geographical literature on markets in the developing countries is still very limited in comparison with the volume of anthropological writings (Bromley, 1971, p.125). In effect, the field is at a stage of preliminary hypothesis testing and theory building.

This study will utilize some of the theories put forward by other authors and place them in the context of cross comparative, empirical studies and research in the Yola District, Northeast State, Nigeria, in order to assist in building up valid generalizations on periodic markets and marketing.

The primary objective of this chapter, then, is to review significant works in the field of marketing and markets in the developing countries in order to illustrate what has been studied and how that work will assist this particular study.

The published literature can be broken essentially into two basic components. First, there is material which is of a very

1. Among several authors noted, Ukwu (1969), Bromley (1971), Hodder (1969), all mention the scarcity of work in the field of marketing and periodic markets in the developing countries.

general theoretical nature. A second body of literature tends to concentrate on more specific principles in the field of periodic markets and carries out more applied work.

This chapter is accordingly divided into two sections which review the two basic categories of published material.

3:1 GENERAL, THEORETICAL LITERATURE

The earliest works involving economic issues in the developing countries originated from anthropological texts. For example, Thurnwald (1932) discusses trade and markets in various communities which he investigated. Bohannan (1955) does likewise, but concentrates on the Tiv tribal group of central Nigeria. However, these works are more oriented towards kinship groups, roles and migration patterns than to the various economic principles of distance, demand and supply. They fail to describe the economic importance of periodic markets to their users and the behavioural patterns of the traders, producers and consumers. Rather, they merely provide backgrounds and the context within which various traditional communities live and practice different types of trade and exchange. Their works illustrate the effects environment and history have on societies and cultures.

More economic and spatially oriented texts were published in

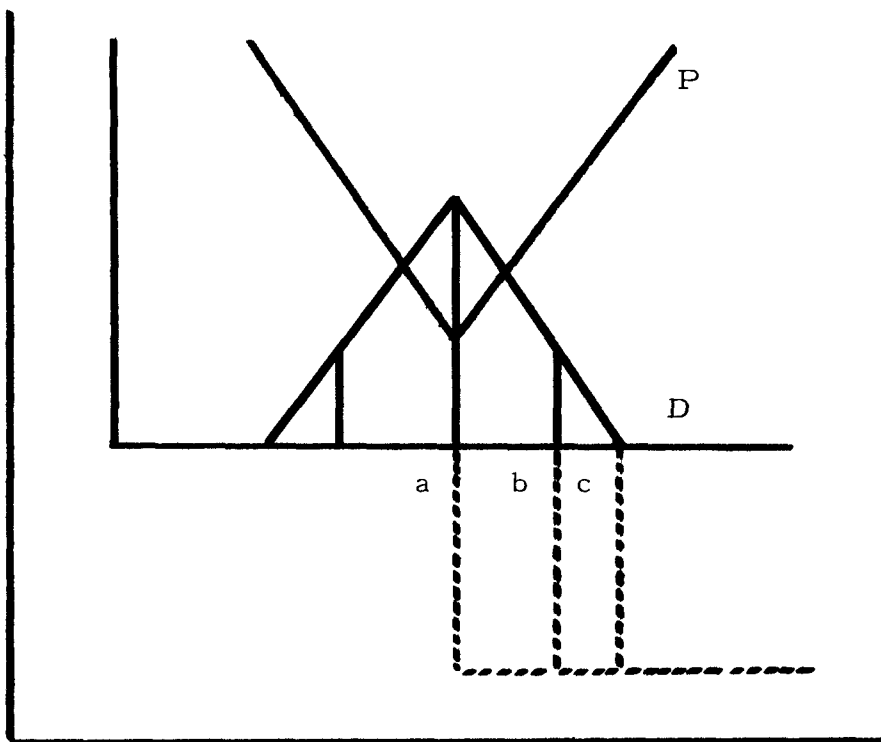
the 1960's. The geographical importance of markets was emphasized in Berry's Market Centres and Retail Distribution, (1967). A section of this book is devoted to markets in peasant societies, with emphasis on the periodicity and locational aspects of markets. In this section, Berry relies on material researched by Skinner (1964). In fact, the idea that markets in the developing countries could be investigated in terms of the concept of location theory may be traced to Skinner and to Stine (1962), who employed ideas derived from Central Place Theory (Christaller, 1966 and Losch, 1954).

Stine's explanation of periodic markets rests almost entirely on the feature of seller mobility. Stine analyzes the market in terms of the maximum and minimum thresholds². Stine argues that where the maximum range of goods is greater than or equal to the minimum range the firm will survive and be fixed or immobile. By contrast, if the minimum range of goods is greater than the maximum distance a consumer is willing to travel, the firm will either not survive or will be mobile. Furthermore, the degree of mobility will increase the greater the difference between these two ranges. Figure 3:1 represents a basic model of this concept. Stine contends that the

2. Stine's research was oriented around Central Place concepts. The minimum threshold is the minimum level of demand needed to support an economic activity (such as trading). The maximum range refers to the maximum distance a consumer is willing to travel in order to acquire the goods or services from the economic activity.

Figure 3:1

MODEL OF THE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM
RANGE CONCEPTS EXPLAINING PERIODIC
MARKETS



LEGEND

- a Market Location
- b Minimum Range
- c Maximum Range
- P Price Gradient
- D Demand Gradient

Source: Stine, 1962, p. 75.

two ranges vary with income density, elasticity of demand and transport costs (Symanski and Webber, 1973, p.214).

Skinner (1964), also by way of economic rationale, argues that the periodicity of the markets is related to the mobility of the individual businessmen or traders. Using detailed information from parts of rural China, he has conducted one of the most complete studies of a periodic marketing system. His classification of the markets according to size and function, the examination of the spatial and temporal arrangements of the markets at the various levels of the hierarchy and the theoretical pattern for the movement of traders in the system are of particular significance. In all, the whole concept of marketing systems as researched by Skinner in China, illustrates that markets are not merely simple exchange mechanisms but tend to comprise the basic building blocks of the country (Berry, 1967, p.97). The investigation of the Yola study area marketing system also hopes to show the building or development process through the examination, based on a framework, of the market rings, periodicities and synchronization and through the analysis of the three example markets.

More recently, Hay (1971) has analyzed the phenomenon of periodic markets in terms of a framework similar to those used currently in the study of location analysis of retail establishments in the more developed economies of the world. Hay interprets

periodic marketing in very general terms. He argues that periodic marketing may be adopted in order to achieve viability, to increase profits or to lower retail prices so as to forestall competition. In periodic markets, these aims are achieved by spreading overhead costs over a variety of activities including buying, selling, producing or by spreading them over a variety of markets, which results in mobile marketing. Hay states that mobile marketing can only be successful if demand does not fall as the time spent selling in a given market falls, if costs of vendor travel do not offset the savings made by spreading overhead costs and if each market is independent (Symanski and Webber, 1973, p.215).

Hay, Stine and Skinner examine other aspects of periodic markets and marketing. However, the important concepts of Central Place and Location Analysis used by these researchers in their respective studies provide the major basis for studying periodic markets and form the basic framework within which the study of markets in the Yola District in Nigeria is carried out.

R. Symanski and M. J. Webber (1972, 1975), have been the most recent researchers to carry out extensive work in the field of periodic markets. Their work is oriented generally around location analysis. Basically, Symanski and Webber try to fill various gaps which they feel have been left by Stine and Hay. Their material is addressed primarily to three characteristics of peasant or traditional

markets. These are: periodicity, mobility of sellers and the phenomenon of agglomeration. In particular, Symanski and Webber observe that the amount of activity that occurs in many large markets on a major market day could be spread more evenly throughout the week and support several full-time vendors. They suggest, like Hay, that one reason this does not happen is that the person who sells in the marketplace is also often the producer, and in many cases this dual role virtually precludes selling on a continuous basis. Symanski and Webber also note that goods are traded over relatively long distances and between different ecological zones and thus a hierarchy of periodicities may be created by the range of different goods sold.

These two theories proposed by Symanski and Webber are incorporated into this Yola study and act as inquiry points later on in this research.

A comprehensive review of the literature dealing with spatial aspects of periodic markets is presented by Bromley (1971). In his article Bromley synthesizes the research studies on periodic markets and marketing which had thus far been carried out. Bromley examines the various articles on the subject and organizes his paper according to the major topics which have evolved.

E. A. J. Johnson (1970), includes a substantial chapter on "Market Systems and Spatial Design". He examines Skinner's work

in China and his own work in India. The chapter, like the book, is a mix of description and analysis, prescription and policy. In effect, it inspects several major market types in developing countries, and Johnson subsequently sets up a very general classification, including: 1) dendritic market systems, which are comprised of a major "port" city connected to inland "strategic" cities by some linear transport system and these in turn, are connected to several dispersed "local" market areas dependent on the "strategic" cities; 2) intermeshed market systems which are essentially interlocked spatial systems performing different functions by several types of markets in a well integrated Central Place hierarchy; and 3) contrived market systems which are consciously and deliberately ordered to accomplish explicit and defineable goals. Yola area markets are clearly of the intermeshed system, the dendritic system being a type developed in Nigeria's southern coastal regions and the contrived system not being evident, thus far, in Nigeria.

3:2 SPECIFIC, APPLIED LITERATURE

This second section of the chapter reviews books and articles which deal more specifically, and in an applied fashion, with periodic markets and market place systems. This body of literature tends to examine specific theories and tests hypothesis in the study regions of

developing countries.

An important pioneer work appeared as far back as 1947 - it was F. W. McBryde's book on Guatemalan markets. However, the main development of work by geographers has really only taken place in the sixties³, with a fair volume of material being published in the 1970's.

Hodder (1969), in his study of Yoruba markets in Western Nigeria, locates markets, classifies them according to periodicity and describes differences in the functions performed in night, daily, morning and periodic markets. He also collects information for many periodic markets on the number of sellers and their characteristics. Hodder argues that Yoruba markets could be classified according to their functions in the distributional chain.

Ukwu (1969) presents a comprehensive analysis on both an extensive and intensive level of Ibo periodic markets in Eastern Nigeria. He considers the exchange system to be composed of two integrated systems: the Central Place sub-system and the Market Place sub-system. He also analyzes market visiting patterns and derives statistics for the distance travelled to different markets thus obtaining information on variations in market area size for different parts of Iboland. Using functional criteria, Ukwu distinguishes a five level hierarchy for each of the two sub-systems.

3. This was, as mentioned, prompted by Berry's (1967) work.

Both Hodder's and Ukwu's work provide background information and framework material for this study.

Good has also carried out considerable work in the field of periodic markets. Good (1970), attempts to describe and evaluate the functional role of marketplaces as elements of exchange and distribution in Ankale District, Uganda. The first section of his paper is concerned with the nature of the market system, typology of markets, a trader analysis and an examination of the spatial behaviour of the market consumer. The second section is concerned with an historical perspective on the market area.

Good (1971), uses the Western Uganda area as a case study in illustrating the development of the market as an institution and for creating a market network, in this, a traditionally marketless society.

Finally, Good (1972) assesses and analyzes the problem of how the relative locations and temporal spacing of markets can be explained, given the economic rationale for periodic markets - namely the Central Place Concepts of threshold and maximum range. Essentially the paper reviews elements of a theoretical basis for periodic markets and uses data from Ankale, Uganda, to test hypothesis which stem from research in Ghana carried out by V. G. Fagerlund and R. H. T. Smith (1970) concerning the spacing and pattern of periodic markets. Fagerlund and Smith basically attempt to unravel the complications of the

relationship between market location and periodicity. The authors construct a preliminary map showing the location and periodicities of markets in Ghana. Then, in order to test the hypothesis that spatial proximity is inversely related to temporal proximity, they compare the distance between neighbouring periodic markets with the number of days by which their occurrence is separated. Nearest neighbour analysis is used to examine the pattern of all markets and the markets taking place on each separate day.

Good (1972), by way of cross comparison, tests two hypothesis. The first, as mentioned above, states that the temporal and locational spacing of periodic markets is complementary (i. e. proximity in space implies separation in time). The second hypothesis draws on Central Place Theory and simply acknowledges that periodic markets are space competitive and that their locational patterns should therefore be expected to reveal some uniformity.

Both Fagerlund and Smith's study and Good's follow-up analysis are used in part for purposes of this study. Specifically, basic nearest neighbour market, adjacent market and two day separated market measurements are used for the study with modifications made in order to accommodate the Yola study area.

The Anglophone countries of West Africa, in particular, attracted the attention of economic geographers in the early 1970's who were interested in the study of marketing and periodic markets.

J. B. Riddell (1974), in an article in the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, deals with the traditional markets of Sierra Leone. Riddell discusses origin, condition and the fundamental dynamics of the present and evolving **system** in this West African country and provides a comprehensive, descriptive account.

G. J. von Apeldorn (1971), utilizes the 1970 census data of Ghana in order to carry out a simple inventory of markets in that country under the categories of location, number, productivity, size and importance according to foodstuff. The information is used to understand better the periodic markets as institutions and more effectively implement policy and planning. It provides an excellent framework from which to inventory various market functions and characteristics.

W. McKim (1972) focuses his attention on the spatial and temporal distribution of markets in Northeast Ghana and includes an identification of a hierarchy of markets and a discussion of the movement of goods and people which link these markets into the overall system.

There are of course, other papers, articles and texts which examine traditional markets in other countries⁴. However, it is the objective of this chapter to review the literature on periodic markets and marketing for purposes of illustrating how past reference

4. Some of these works include Mikesell (1958), Mintz (1964), and Johnson (1965).

material has assisted in the development of this study. The literature not covered in this chapter was omitted because of its repetitiveness to the other works already examined here or because of various societal/cultural factors which render it quite different from the situation in the Northeast State of Nigeria.

There are, however, besides the Hodder (1969) and Ukwu (1969) studies, several other geographers who have carried out applied research on markets and marketing in Nigeria.

T. N. Eighmy (1972) presents evidence that rural periodic markets, as a phenomenon, can be understood in terms of general spatial diffusion and Central Place Theory as modified to reflect the indigenous Nigerian situation. In the article Eighmy deals with functions of markets, market periodicity and rings and with the concept of range and the role of transportation.

E. P. Scott (1972) carries out an analysis of three themes. They incorporate market centrality, market periodicity and market visitation patterns.

P. Hill and R. H. T. Smith (1972) test hypothesis concerning the number of markets occurring on Fridays in Northern Nigeria. These authors contend that the occurrence of Friday markets is significantly greater than those occurring on other days. They also insist that periodic markets are meshed in such a way that there is an inverse, rather than direct relationship between their temporal and locational

spacing. This theory is similar to the one emphasized by Smith with Fagerlund (1970) in Ghana, and the one endorsed by Good (1972) in Uganda and by Symanski (1974) in Latin America.

Another hypothesis tested by Hill and Smith, and again one utilized for the purposes of this study, involves proving that markets meeting on the same day are distributed uniformly.

Finally, L. R. Vagale (1972), in a study which parallels that of von Apledorn (1971) in Ghana, sets out to examine and study the major markets in Ibadan and its environ, with a view to making an appraisal with respect to market location, distribution, type, extent, accessibility and environmental conditions. It is more of a basic inventory but provides for this study of Yola a framework for inventorying and classifying.

This, then, concludes a concise, yet hopefully comprehensive, review of the literature concerning periodic markets and marketing in traditional societies. The review examined the more general, theoretical material dealing with the subject, with particular reference to the concepts and principles of Central Place Theory and Location Analysis. The study of the literature then focussed on the more specific, applied investigations where the theories and hypothesis were tested in the periodic markets of various traditional countries. Further reference is made again to published literature in later portions of this study. In particular, several authors are reviewed in order to

assist in establishing a classification scheme for Yola area markets.

Almost every text and article used for resource and reference material (and reviewed in this chapter) verified the very real significance of historical, cultural, and environmental factors in determining the nature, pattern and dynamics of the periodic markets. It is therefore essential to examine the markets which are to be analyzed by way of these factors in order to better understand the conditions under which they operate. This then, is the supposition of the following chapter.

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CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON PERIODIC MARKETS

The dynamics of periodic markets, their characteristics, their pattern and their organization are the results of historical and environmental variables as much as they are of economic criteria. It is therefore essential that a study of marketing and periodic markets in the Yola District of Northeast Nigeria should explore the multiple effects that these conditions have had on the markets. These will be investigated in this chapter, and the discussion is in three basic phases.

First, it is necessary to examine the many variables which have acted on, and affected in some way, the market situation in the Yola study area prior to the impact of European colonialization. Such determining factors as tribalism, insecurity and long-distance trading will be examined. Second, many new concepts/innovations were introduced by the British during the nineteenth century and it is possible to distinguish several which directly influenced the nature of markets and trade in the study area. These factors will be identified and examples of their effects will be drawn from the Yola study area.

Having thus established the variable conditions under which the markets originated and were subsequently organized, it will then be possible, in the third phase, to introduce the three specific case study markets which will be analyzed in Chapter Six. This will be

completed in order to illustrate further how the various historical and cultural factors have influenced markets in the study area. The three sample markets will be briefly described in terms of position, location, basic organization and site characteristics.

4:1 ORIGINS AND INFLUENCES OF MARKETS: PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

In the pre-colonial period, trade and marketing were conducted throughout much of West Africa by a system of permanent and periodic markets¹. Although the volume of trade was low, at times sporadic, and often disrupted, it was significant enough to support a small but important segment of the population and to integrate disparate economies and societies. And this trade was carried out largely in market places which formed an integrated system of mobile and fixed nodes extending over most of West Africa (Riddell, 1974, p.541).

Several conditions seemed to determine the existence of these markets. In the first place, they needed generally high levels of suprasubsistence production, relatively stable political conditions and significant inter-regional and external trading contacts (Riddell, 1974, p. 541).

Along these lines, studies have uncovered no positive support for

1. This is substantiated by both Good (1970) and Riddell (1974).

the theory which holds that local markets arose through an evolutionary sequence involving an individual's propensity to barter surplus goods and the need for local exchange (Good, 1970, p.8).

The market institutions of the Yola area researched for purposes of this study seem to have been established, for the most part, on the presence of the aforementioned long distance, external trading contacts. These, of course, having been introduced and supported by the nomadic Fulani conquerors of the region (Kirk, 1958, pp. 125-165).

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not markets were established prior to the Fulani invasions during the eighteenth century, because of the lack of written records. Any assessment of the market situation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is purely conjectural, but a trend would seem to indicate some sort of trading and market situation existed among the indigenous, pagan people due to the pronounced areal variations in relief, vegetation and soils (mentioned in Chapter Two), and the subsequent variety of trade produce available. Parssage (1907) recounts a meeting between two pagan tribes for the purpose of trade:

On the upper Benue River the Munchi tribe brought skins and meat for sale, while the Jukun appeared at the appointed place, on the opposite bank with fish and grain, only the men being present. Every man stood prepared for battle, with bow and arrow in his left hand and the knife in his right, in front of his treasures. In every canoe sat a Jukun ready to push off. Trading in these parts usually ends in bloodshed. When the war alarm sounds, the Munchi rush into the bush and the

Jukun escapes in his canoe, while arrows and curses fly to and fro. The combatants then go home, leaving a few dead on each side. Probably, this custom should be regarded as the result of strained relations than as a survival from the earliest times. (Thurnwald, 1932, p. 164).

Evidence seems to indicate that the indigenous tribes of the Yola study area have carried out this sort of crop specialization exchange for some time.

Certainly, trade and market places flourished under the Fulani rule. L.H. Moseley (1899), an agent of the Niger Company, gives this account during his visit in 1897:

In the town of Yola is a large native market, a stroll through which would show cloth, silk, salt, tin-ware, etc. of European manufacture, exposed for sale side by side with cloth and gowns from Kano and Nupe, beads, calabashes, looking glasses, knives, etc. even to scents brought all the way from Tripoli. This market forms a terminus of the great ivory caravans from the hunting grounds and markets of Tibati and Ngurundere. (Kirk, 1958, p. 40).

The earliest literary material is provided by the first European observers in the Yola District². From their accounts it is possible to reconstruct something of the background to trade and markets in the area. This account will be examined, as mentioned, in two parts. The first deals with the period prior to colonial administration³, and

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2. Most historical reports originate from travels to the Upper Benue and Adamawa Province. Historical accounts are documented by Kirk (1958).
 3. Up to 1905.

the second examines the European impact.

Briefly reviewing the historical setting of Yola District, it is possible to view several situations which would directly affect the marketing and trade situation of the study area. In the first place, there existed a minority ruling tribal group with extensive contacts over a great deal of North Africa and a great portion of Nigeria. The Fulani in the Yola area gradually abandoned their pastoral way of life in order to concentrate better on the politics and religious conversion of the indigenous pagan tribes. Secondly, the pagan tribes of the area not only constantly contested and fought against Fulani rule but also endeavoured to eliminate other tribes. In effect, what existed was an intensely unstable and insecure situation which had immediate effects on the marketing and trade functions.

These conditions of physical insecurity which prevailed in the Yola study area, even until the 1930's (Kirk, 1958, pp. 181-185), were responsible for a number of market characteristics, many of which have continued through to the present.

For instance, the presence of women traders in the Yola district markets, despite the influence of Islam and its male dominance principles, can be attributed to the need to adapt marketing and trading to the dangers of movement throughout the countryside. Even during the earliest tribal wars the mutual need to hold markets seems

normally to have been recognized sufficiently to allow transactions to be carried out on neutral territory⁴. In these cases the women would go to the market while the opposing warriors remained at a distance on either side. It is also possible that the presence of women in these markets resulted from times when it was unsafe for men to move from their farms while women enjoyed relative immunity from attackers (Hodder, 1969, p. 139).

Within the actual market, the generally insecure conditions were reflected in the positioning of the traders. Vendors sat in sections by tribal or lineage groups, closest to that part of the market nearest to the paths leading to their home territory. In this way tribal members would not have to traverse the market place in order to flee homewards in the event of a disturbance. The mere presence of so many different tribal groups, as is the case in the Yola area, make this a logical adaptation to the need for security (Hodder, 1969, p. 25).

Insecurity was also reflected in the exact location of many early markets. Certainly, neutral ground between warring groups was unlikely to be within a town and should a fight break out in a market less damage would occur if the market site was in an open area some distance from the town proper. Consequently, in a good many cases, markets were held in open lands on the peripheral areas of towns.

4. Refer to the passage by Partridge (1907).

Even where a market was held in a town, its precise location still took into consideration the need for security (Hodder, 1969, p. 25). In Yola town the market continues to be held in an open field just outside the walled palace area.

Traditional markets, then, reflected in a number of ways certain adaptations to the prevailing conditions of insecurity within the Yola study area. Given the need for exchange of products, even on the most local scale, market places where reciprocal arrangements to maintain the peace between warring factions could be most easily affected, were vitally important institutions. Market places made local exchange possible and, moreover, encouraged and facilitated the perpetuation of social relationships and public order. In this sense, market **institutions** evolved as necessary elements in a countryside torn by tribal conflict and strife (Hodder, 1969, p. 25).

Another notable feature of the Yola area prior to the imposition of the European administration was the trading function carried out over great distances. The Fulani, of course, had direct ties to Northern Nigeria and from there to the great camel caravans of North Africa. Yola, as mentioned by Moseley (1899), lay on one of the principal trade routes cutting across West Africa. Undoubtedly, this gave great impetus to a trade network and a marketing landscape in the Yola region.

So too, the Yola area lay at a juncture or contact zone between

the forest belts on the upland areas to the south, the savannah and the desert environment to the north. Yola area markets thus provided the setting for trade between different ecological zones. Salt from the north was often traded for grain and meat from the savannah plains and ivory from the upland forest areas.

It has already been mentioned that goods came from as far away as Libya along the long distance trade routes⁵. Internal trade commodities linked up to these large routes from such central Nigerian cities as Kano and Nupe. Surprisingly, the Benue River system was not used to any great degree other than for local trade. The answer may lie in the fact that the Hausa and Fulani traders, being northern desert and savannah dwellers, were far more accustomed to horse and camel travel.

Due to the necessity of travelling through country inhabited by warring groups, travellers and merchants were forced to gather together into bands and caravans where they could support each other in case of attack. In the days before the arrival of the European, these caravans helped to distribute European goods as well as commodities from Northern Africa. They also made possible the reciprocal movement of slaves, ivory and skins. These routes acted as the basic communication paths even up to the beginning of British

5. Refer to Moseley's description of Yola market (Kirk, 1959, p. 40).

administration in Adamawa Province. And the routes along which these caravans passed acted as channels not only for trade, but also for culture, and the markets on these highways played an important role in diffusing the cultural influences which accompanied trade (Hodder, 1969, p.23).

Both from the commodity structure, which included European and other non-local goods as well as local produce, and from their location on the long distance trade routes, all the major traditional markets in the Yola study area described by the early travellers in this region appear very closely related to long distance trading. One theory in the literature of marketing, mentioned in the previous chapter, contends that local markets arose through an evolutionary process involving the individual's inclination to exchange surplus goods and the need for local trade. However, in view of what is known of the early markets in the Yola area, it appears the principle of long distance trade and not the local trade concept has more bearing on the origin of markets and on determining their various characteristics.

4:2 INFLUENCES ON MARKETS: COLONIAL PERIOD

This second section examines the effects that the European colonial administration had on the Yola area markets.

After an early and concerted effort by the British to administer

the southern regions of Nigeria, Lord Lugard took over the administration of what was termed Northern Nigeria from the Royal Niger Company on January 1, 1900. Lugard placed particular emphasis on opening up the Yola area, "mainly on the grounds of their supposed salubrity and mineral wealth, the necessity of checking the rapid depopulation by organized slave-raiding and of dealing with the problems offered by the presence of the French" (Kirk, 1958, p.55). The advent of the British had several profound effects on the trading and market landscape in the Yola study area. In the first place, as has already been noted, physical insecurity restricted the movement of people and the occurrence of markets to some degree. Admittedly, the establishment of peace was not immediate, nor was it complete. Incidents involving tribal friction are recorded as late as the 1950's in Yola District (Kirk, 1958, p. 186). However, during the early 1900's conditions were certainly more stable and peaceful than they had been for some time, and this allowed easier movement of people and an increase in trading activities. In particular, the slaving tendencies of the region were drastically curtailed. Lugard mentions that there was probably no part of Africa in which the worst forms of slave raiding still existed to so horrible an extent (Kirk, p. 56). In fact, slave trade elements continued to operate well into the 1920's (Kirk, p. 180), and head hunting until the 1930's (Kirk, p. 182).

Policing of the area was gradual, and consequently, unlike

portions of Southern Nigeria where the British had more complete control, change was slow.

Eventually trade did expand and the number of markets grew. And with a gradual improvement in the policing of the region, sellers and tradesmen from Southern Nigeria migrated to northern markets where opportunities were good (Hodder, 1969, p. 34).

The changes created by the improvement in physical insecurity were made possible, to a large degree, by the building of new lines of communication. And it was to a large extent the building of roads in the Yola area that most drastically aided its economic development. Roads were built or improved more often for military and strategic than for economic reasons, and this is logical considering that the chief means of moving goods in this land was by "headloading".

In the early years, communications to the remote Yola area were oriented on the Benue River and on the Bauchi and Maiduguri caravan routes. Road networks developed on these routes, and the first car was observed in 1922 (Kirk, 1958, p. 115). Yola gradually developed its road networks to the point where it now has one first class road leading east to Bauchi and on to Central Nigeria. All other roads in and around the Yola study area are and have been "bush" laterite roads.

The transportation networks nonetheless did stimulate the development of trade. In some cases new markets were built at

the nearest point to the road. In practice, this sometimes affected at least a partial movement from the original site to the market places near the roads.

The building of roads, together with the peaceful conditions being maintained, stimulated the movement of the inhabitants of settlements away from their former defensive sites toward locations more suitable for trading.

Thus the establishment of peaceful conditions, in addition to the extension of European control and the building of communications networks, lent further impetus to the number of markets and the general extent of local and internal trading movements.

Another effect created by the European influence was the advent of trading firms, such as the John Holt Company and the establishment of centres and depots. Initially these centres were concerned chiefly with buying cash crops. However, they soon became involved in the import distributional chain.

The British also introduced new crops, such as groundnuts and sugar, into the area surrounding Yola. Admittedly, other than groundnuts and cotton there is very little in the way of cash crops in this region.

To summarize, internal trade in the Yola study area, based on regional and craft specialization, grew under European administration as a result of the general peace, improved roads and methods of

transport, employment with the government, the growth of trading firms and the introduction of new crops. But one of the greatest single effects of the European impact was the introduction of money which could be used for all purposes, for all commodities and as an interchangeable standard of value.

By the time of European travel to the Upper Benue (Yola area) the indigenous traders were no longer trading on the barter system. During the 1850's the main medium of exchange was the cowrie shell and brass rods and bracelets for small transactions and slaves for larger transactions. These items of exchange, with the exception of slaves, continued for some time before the British implemented a satisfactory coinage. Cowrie shells, brass rods and bracelets are still in evidence in the region but only as ornaments. However, travellers report their usage as late as the 1930's and 1940's⁶.

In summing up the European impact on trade and markets, it may be said that in general, the effects were not as widespread as in Southern Nigeria. Certainly though, the development of modern transportation facilities, the introduction of western trading and administration institutions and the implementation of new crops, together with a reliable, fixed coinage, had in the Yola area markets the effect of reinforcing the economic elements and the functions of

6. Information from the Divisional Office, Yola, Officer in Charge of Adamawa Division.

the market.

It is now practical to examine the location, site and basic market characteristics of the three example markets (Mayo Ine, Yola and Jimeta) in order to observe better the various effects the colonial and pre-colonial environments had on Yola area markets. Figure 4:1 shows the approximate locations of the three sample markets.

4:3 MARKET EXAMPLES IN THE YOLA STUDY AREA

The purpose of this section is not to scrutinize these markets but to briefly examine the markets to illustrate better the very real influence that history and culture had on these exchange institutions, and to introduce the three markets. A detailed analysis of these institutions is presented in Chapter Six.

The market place of Mayo Ine was chosen for purposes of this study to portray conditions in a small, full day periodic market. The basic design of the market is seen in Figure 4:2⁷. Mayo Ine is a rural settlement approximately twenty miles from the town of Yola. It is located on the right bank of the River Ine, which traverses the Jada Plains in the southern portion of the study area. The market in

7. Table 4:1 lists the type of goods and services available under the category headings used for the legend of the map designs.

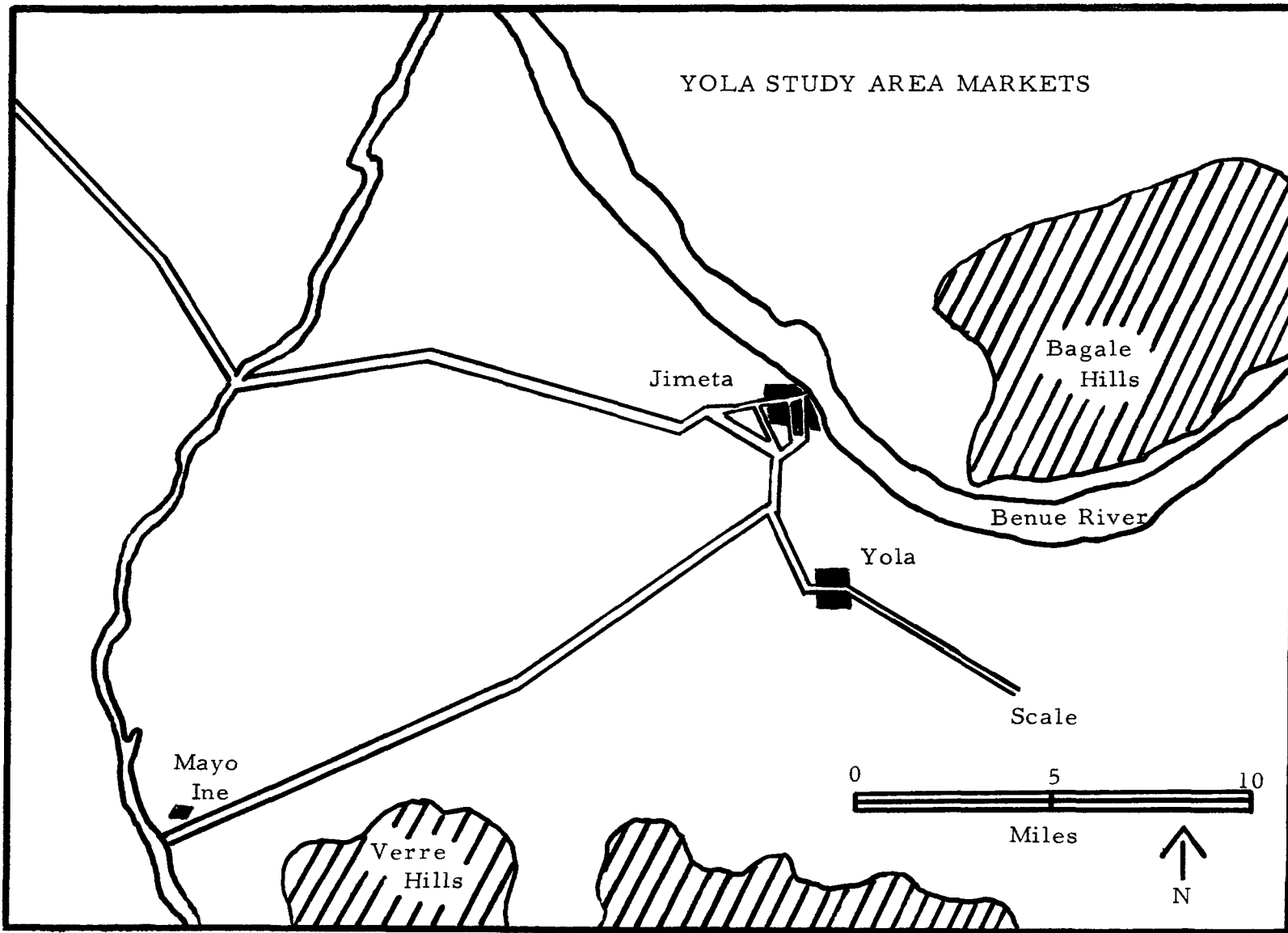


Figure 4:1

Table 4:1

| CATEGORIZATION OF GOODS AND SERVICES | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Category | Example |
| SERVICE TRADE | Bicycle Repair Storage Facilities Shoe Repair Tailor Barber Watch Repair Grinding Services |
| FOOD | Vegetables - Tomatoes Onions Peppers Ochre Grains - Millet Guinea Corn Maize Bread Yam, Cassava Cooking Oil Hot Foods |
| TEXTILES | Cloth - Local Imported Used Clothes Hats |
| MISCELLANEOUS | Household Goods Shoes, Polish, Laces Flashlight, Batteries Tobacco Books, Pencils Jewellery |
| COTTAGE CRAFTS | Rope Mats Clay Pots |

Figure 4:2

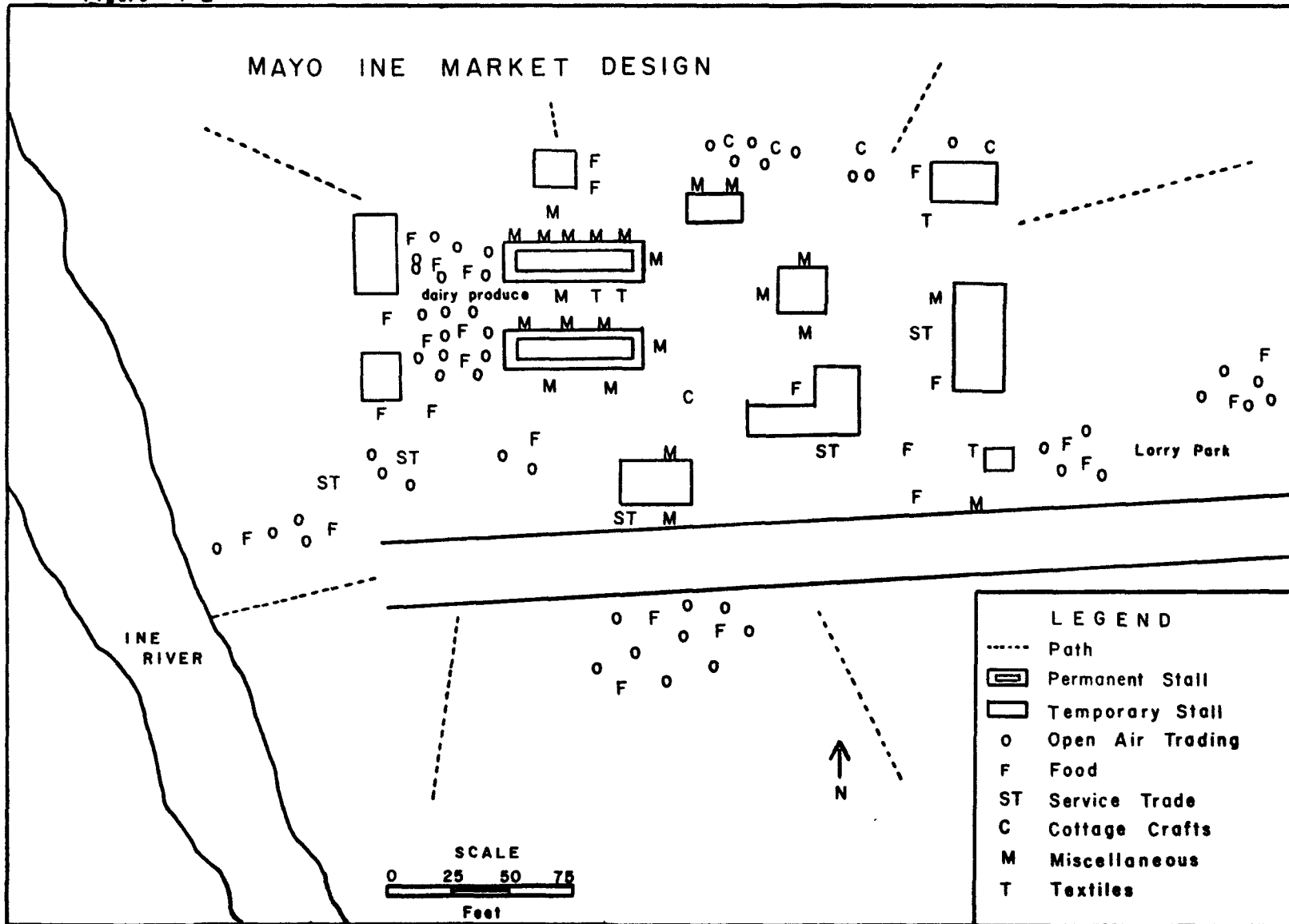


Figure 4:2

this village presents an example of a market located outside the village proper. Interesting here is the fact that this particular region is a juncture point not only of the upland hills and plains ecological zones but also of a number of different tribal groups. The village is composed predominantly of Hausa and Fulani, but peripheral areas are inhabited by Verre, Chamba, Bata and Yangdang. Considering the presence of these tribes and the position of the market along the river bank and well outside the village, it seems reasonable to assume that Mayo Ine is a market type created by the presence of past insecurity⁸.

The Mayo Ine market would be classified in local jargon as a "Bush market". Ukwu (1969, p. 155) groups it more specifically as a rural, local market. Specific economic principles and classifications by various authors will be assessed in much greater detail later on in the analysis phase of this paper. However, it is possible at this time to suggest that the Mayo Ine market serves essentially two basic functions. First, it is a local exchange centre where various hill and plain inhabitants may secure needed goods and services. The market, as is evident by its small size, serves a limited populace and has nowhere near the provisions available at the larger Yola and Jimeta markets. In effect, small scale transactions occur at this site. Secondly,

8. Refer to the passage by Parssage (1907).

Mayo Ine market is a bulking centre. Fairly large commodities of foodstuffs - primarily grains (guinea corn, millet and groundnuts) are collected here by middlemen for transfer and sale at the larger area markets. In this respect, Mayo Ine may be categorized as a bulking and wholesale market.

The market site facilities are limited. There exist only two permanent selling stalls⁹. Ten temporary stalls of various sizes and shapes are also present¹⁰. The remainder of the market is comprised of open air trading which tends to be fairly evenly dispersed.

Motorized access to the market is only available by a laterite road which connects Mayo Ine to the main Yola - Jimeta route. The majority of buyers and sellers travel to market by way of bush paths which radiate out from the market site¹¹. Donkeys and bicycles are used for transportation to a degree, but this type of market is usually frequented by traders and sellers who walk¹².

Yola market provides an excellent case example of a large, well established periodic market. Ukwu (1969, p. 155) categorizes

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9. Concrete based and metal roofed.
 10. Wooden supports dug into the ground and roofed with a grass matting.
 11. This feature is obvious from simple observation at the market site but is statistically verified by the questionnaire results as seen in Table 6:8 of Chapter Six.
 12. Headloading is most prevalent in the more remote sections of this study area.

it as a rural, central market and its basic layout is seen in Figure 4:3.

The town of Yola has, since the Fulani invasion, been the administrative centre. Early in its history a market site was established. Again, the presence of early tribal conflict and its resultant insecurity caused the Yola market to be placed at the outskirts of town. Since the early 1900's virtually all development has taken place in the sabon gari (new town) of Jimeta. Consequently, due to the lack of growth, Yola market remains on the outskirts of town.

The market is a wholesale as well as a retail market. It serves not only as a major foodstuff collecting centre for an extensive hinterland, but also as a major centre of redistribution of local products of the region. Thus, it serves the local trade economy functions. It is also from this type of market that imported goods begin to reach the consumers who live in quite remote areas. Another distinctive characteristic of this market is its specialization in craft articles of local manufacture.

Yola is not only a venue for economic transactions but also the traditional meeting centre for socio-cultural and political activities, such as the dissemination of local news, meetings, performances and religious ceremonies.

Yola has been the site of the central mosque since its inception as the Fulani capital of the region. It is no coincidence that Friday is the Yola market day and also the Moslem holy day.

The major road connection is the fine paved road leading to

Figure 4:3

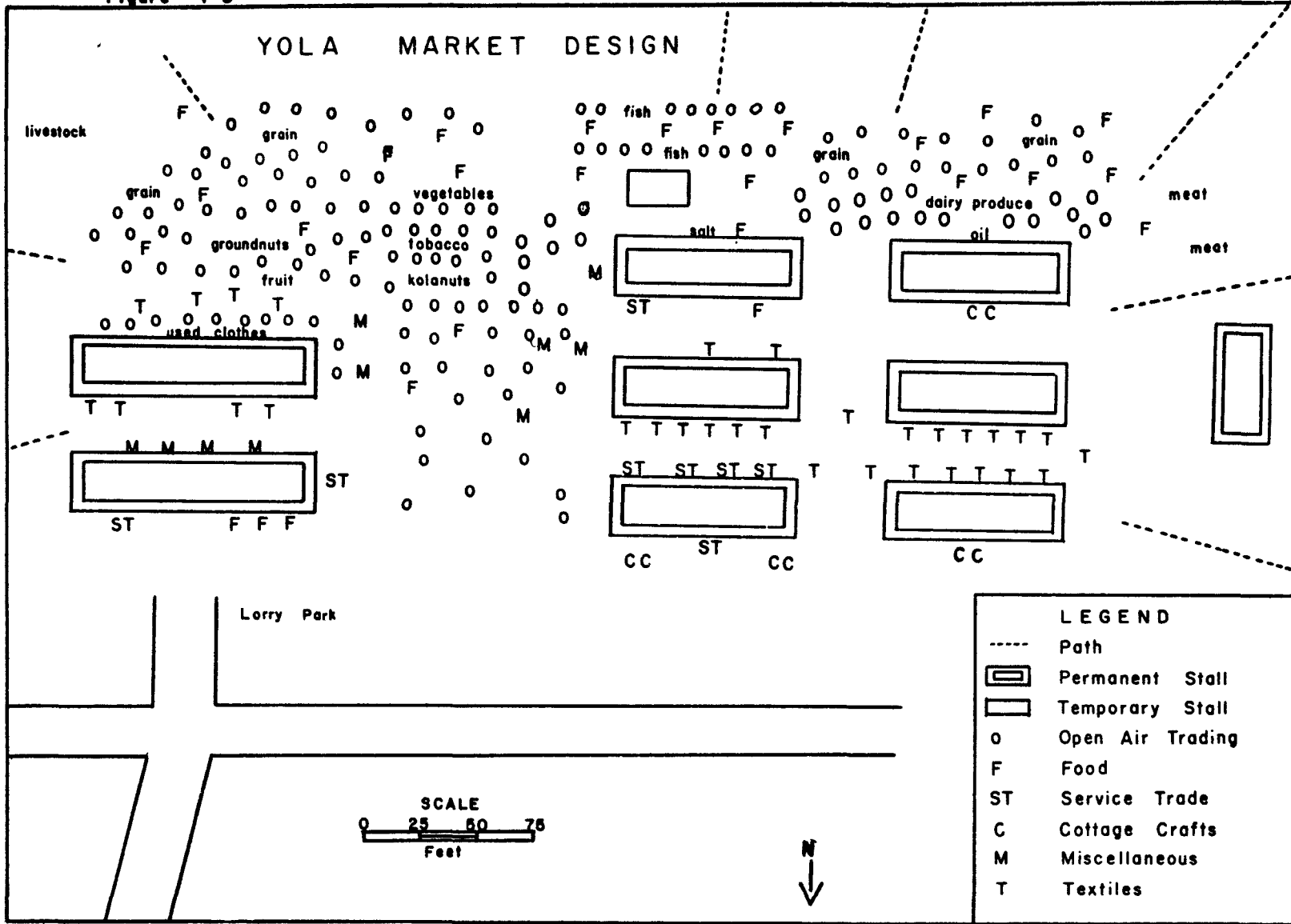


Figure 4:3

Jimeta. A "bush" laterite road converges on Yola from the west connecting it to that hinterland region. Because of this adequate road network, a good many people in attendance at Yola market have travelled by road¹³.

The Yola market tends to be an extremely busy exchange place and is quite congested. It lies on a tree covered field on which ten permanent market stalls are erected. However, for most of the vendors, open air trading is the norm. Unlike the smaller rural markets (i. e. Mayo Ine) Yola market is segmented according to goods and services available and also, coincidentally, by tribal group. This is certainly attributable to the former tribal conflicts of the area and the attendant insecurity.

Yola market is largely a food exchange institution with fish and grain produce being the most dominant commodities. Textile goods in the form of cloth and used clothing also make up a sizeable portion of the goods.

Jimeta is the largest town in this region of Northeast State. It originated as a product of the Niger Company's activities on the bluff-escarpment site some three miles downstream from Yola town. In 1912 the town was moved to its present location and grew in importance

13. This feature is obvious by simple observation at the truck park of the market but is statistically verified by Table 6:8 in Chapter Six.

with the development of the Provincial Headquarters. Jimeta market, then, illustrates well the importance of an administrative centre in the establishment of trade and marketing. In the first place, it greatly increased the scope for trade in local produce. The garrison and administrative personnel constituted the nucleus of a non-rural based population dependent on the countryside for food. Traders and persons engaged in other service occupations as well as men who came in originally as conscripted labour all settled near the government station (Ukwu, 1969, p. 143).

Jimeta market according to Ukwu (1969, p. 155) is an Urban Central Market. It is a large daily market but the physical extent of the market site is small in comparison with the open Yola market site. It has been walled in and is therefore extremely congested and has no room for expansion. Because of its central location and easy accessibility, the volume of trade is high and this adds to the difficulties. Figure 4:4 illustrates the market design.

The market is a laid out concourse, though not a planned one. It contains ten large permanent stalls and ten equally large temporary structures. These fixtures virtually cover the market area and almost eliminate available space for open air trading.

Jimeta market supplies a wide variety of goods, of which food and household commodities are important. Some wholesaling is in evidence for purposes of sale in other regions of Nigeria. Again, various grains

Figure 4:4

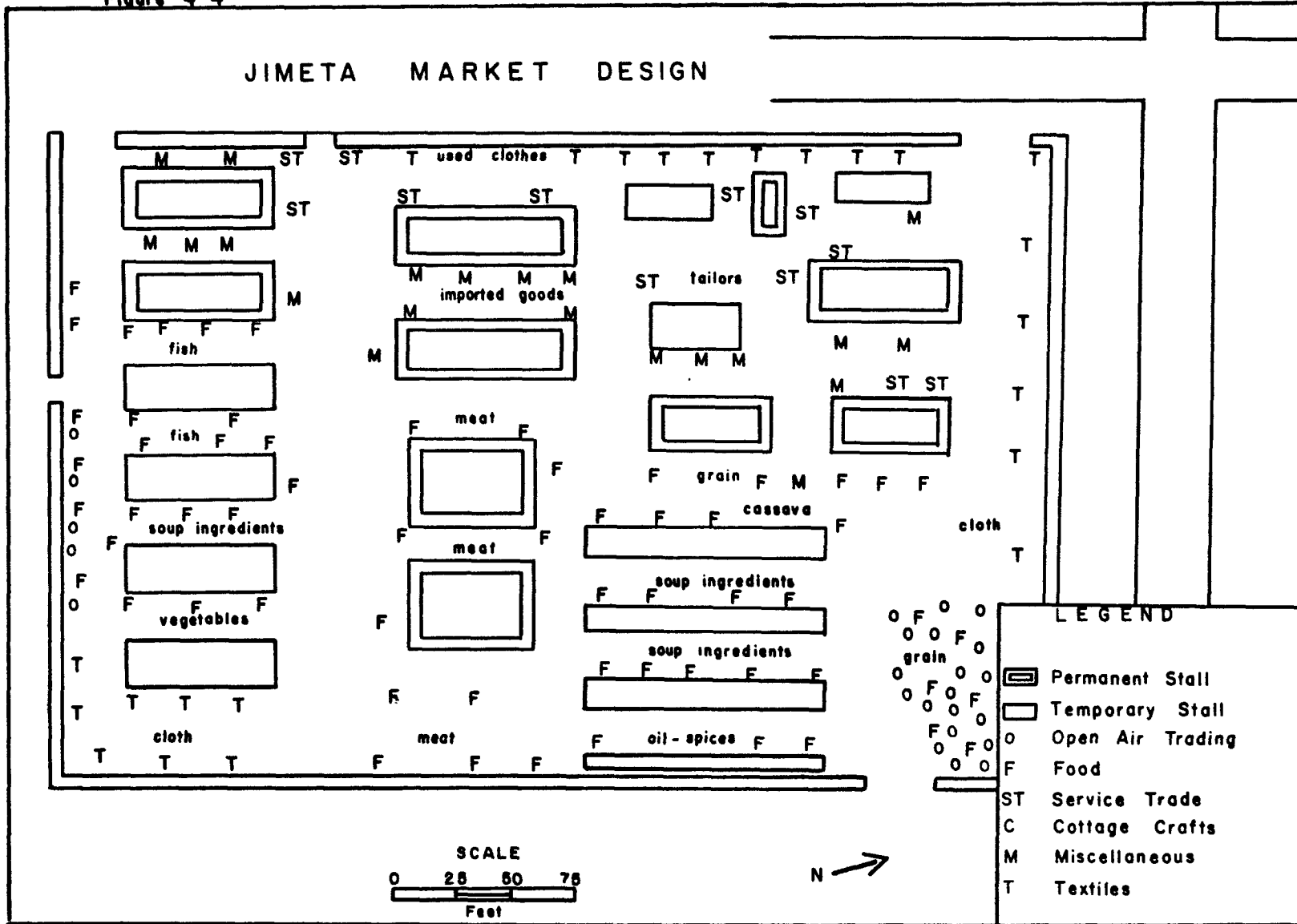


Figure 4:4

such as millet, guinea corn and groundnuts make up this trade. However, the major function of Jimeta market lies in supplying the urban centre with food produce, and it is thus very much a retail centre. It is also this market which supplies the area with the majority of imported goods. Many services are provided, including storage conveniences, grinding facilities and shoe and bike repair.

This chapter has considered the historical and cultural factors which have influenced the nature of markets in the Yola study area. Three of those markets were then examined briefly. In the ensuing chapters a more detailed **economic analysis** will be presented.

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CHAPTER 5

THE MARKETING LANDSCAPE OF THE YOLA STUDY AREA

Market places have been defined as authorized or institutionalized public concourses of buyers and sellers of commodities and services meeting at places more or less strictly defined at a definite or appointed time (Hill, 1963). The market provides opportunities in time, place, personnel and social understanding for exchanging goods and services. Markets offer the local populace access to goods not otherwise available and in turn provide them with the possibility of selling local produce to a much greater population. Over time, as the economy in traditional areas has changed from self-sufficient to a commercial or exchange system (local or internal) there has appeared on the landscape facilities for the collecting, distributing and exchange of commodities. And as a whole, these market places form an integrated system of both fixed and mobile nodes over the economic space of an area.

The present economic landscape (trade and marketing patterns) of the Yola study area derives from various traditional elements - social, and cultural - and historical processes. These have been noted in Chapter Four. The present chapter concentrates on the various economic variables determining and characterizing the marketing and period market systems in the Yola study area.

Inherent in this economic analysis phase is an examination of the economic rationale pertaining to the presence of periodic markets and

a comprehensive study of the overall Yola area marketing landscape inclusive of an analysis of market periodicities (temporal occurrences), their connection in market rings or cycles and their spatio-temporal synchronization.

5:1 ECONOMIC RATIONALE

The existence of market places depends upon the demand for goods and services offered. Market places can be fixed and continuous when such demand is concentrated in urban places, in rural areas with high population densities, or in commercially advanced areas. However, the seller cannot remain as a viable institution when effective purchasing power is widely diffused as is the case in the Yola study area (Riddell, 1974, p. 542). Very simply stated, mobile systems of marketing exist when sellers, because of a lack of sufficient consumer purchasing power, move from place to place over time and thus collect sufficient demand for their goods and services. In the Yola region, surplus produce is relatively low as is effective demand and such conditions are aggravated by poor transport, all of which limit the extent of the market place and by the lack of storage facilities (Riddell, 1974, p. 542). Consequently, mobile marketing (or periodic markets) results.

Further economic rationale, including the prime concept of threshold was introduced in Chapter Three of this study but will be further

expanded here.

In the first place, a well known feature of the market sites at which exchange takes place in Africa is their periodicity of occurrence. In effect, buyers and sellers converge on a given location each day, every second day, or fourth day, or eighth day, or every n^{th} day, where n rarely exceeds two weeks. In the Yola study area markets follow a seven day regime.

While there appears to be room for debate concerning the reasons for the existence of a certain periodicity in a given area¹, the rationale for periodic markets seems to be understood. The theory of mobile marketing or market periodicity has been articulated by Stine (1962) and basically draws on the notion of the range of goods or service.

The range was defined by Christaller (1966, p. 22), as the farthest distance the dispersed population is willing to travel in order to buy a good or service offered at a place. This, in fact, is the maximum range of a good. In contrast, the minimum range is the amount of consumption of this good needed to pay for the production or the offering of that good (Christaller, 1966, p. 54).

In economic terms, if a uniform resource base is assumed to exist on a flat, isotropic plain, these ranges define the radii of concentric circles around a central place housing the establishment

1. As for example the four day markets of Yorubaland in Southern Nigeria and the seven day markets of Northern Nigeria.

or institution where the good or service in question is offered for sale. For the establishment to be locationally immobile, the maximum range must be greater than or equal to the minimum range (Stine, 1962, p. 72).

In situations where this is not the case the institution either will fail or will become mobile and should circulate amongst a group of sites (periodic markets) according to a given schedule. In so doing the establishment attracts buyers from a much wider area at each location, but for a short time only, thus achieving the threshold of demand (minimum range) for the good or service offered. Trading activity becomes concentrated in both time and space by focusing on only one location in a system of locations (market rings or cycle) on any given day (Fegerlund, 1970, p. 334).

Whereas Stine has relied on the concepts of thresholds and maximum range derived from Central Place theory, Hay (1972) focuses his economic rationale on conditions which may lead sellers to adopt periodic marketing and mobility, and these include the need to achieve viability and to forestall competition by reducing retail prices.

Furthering the economic theories of periodic markets, Webber and Symanski (1973, p. 213-227), as noted briefly in Chapter Three, argue that periodicity depends only on the fact that characteristically low levels of disposable income in less developed economies permit sellers to concentrate sales in a relatively short time span. The mobility and immobility of sellers, their decision to agglomerate and

the profitability of specialization depend on the mix of transport and the size of the agglomeration. Also, sellers choose either full time or part time selling on the basis of transport costs relative to consumer travel and their relative overheads (Webber and Symanski, 1973, p. 213-227).

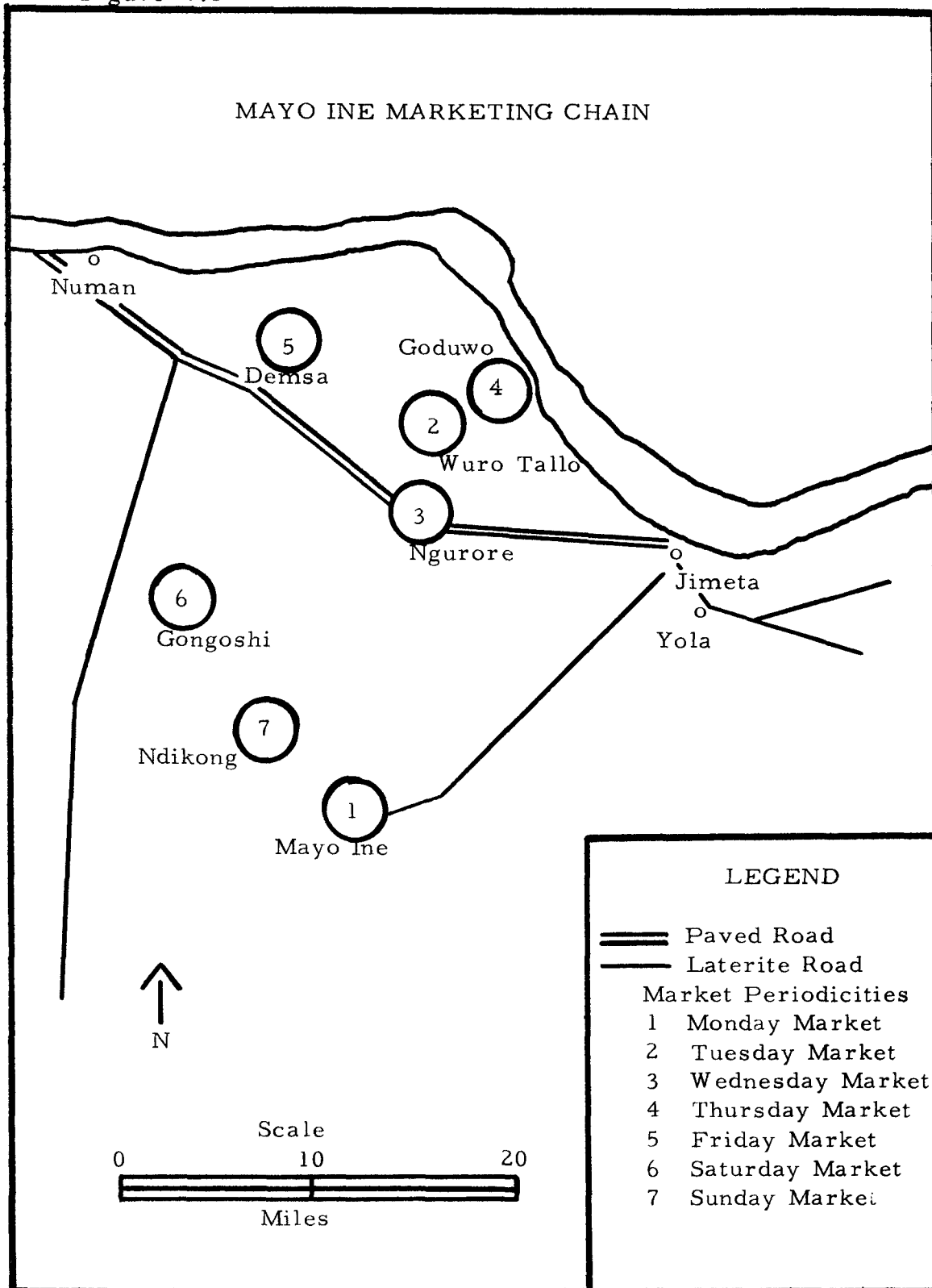
These are the basic economic theories explaining the existence of mobile marketing and periodic markets. It is now useful to further examine economic rationale with reference to resultant market characteristics.

5:2 PERIODIC MARKET CHARACTERISTICS

Most periodic markets in the Yola study area operate on a ring or cycle system, each ring comprising a complete and integrated sequence of markets taking place over a seven day period. These rings can be defined as interrelated groups of neighbouring periodic markets taking place on different days (Bromley, 1973, p. 16). In effect, this situation minimizes the competition between markets and conveniences persons (buyers and sellers) wishing to visit several markets.

By way of example one of these ring systems is examined. Figure 5:1 illustrates this system. It involves the Mayo Ine rural market ring. The whole cycle system is, in fact, comprised of small market

Figure 5:1



institutions taking place in the market quarters of seven rural villages in the area to the immediate west of the Yola-Jimeta urban area.

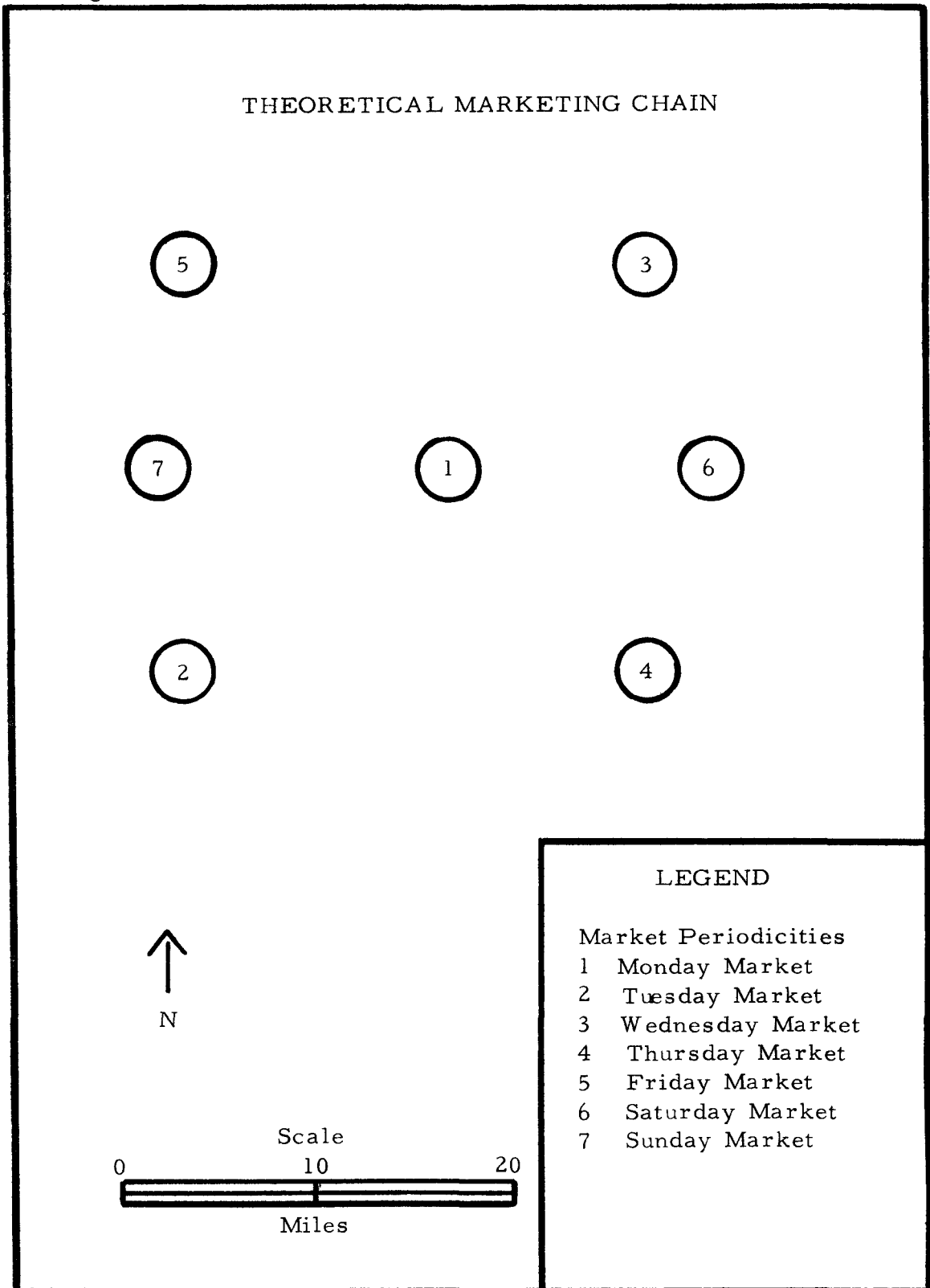
These markets operate on successive days in such a way that each of the seven day markets takes place on a day on which it is the only one operating within the ring or cycle. The process is repeated after each market has had its turn. This ring operates in such a way that successive markets are not normally adjacent markets. If they are adjacent, there appears a sizeable geographic distance separating them².

The first market, referred to as the Monday market here, is Mayo Ine. It takes place on the southern extreme of the ring. The second, or Tuesday market, occurs to the north. The third market, Wednesday, is centrally located, and the subsequent markets more or less move equally around that central area.

This ring is not as ideally structured as it could be, as Figure 5:2 indicates. The lack of markets to the east of the ring for example, is attributable to the fact that the Jimeta daily market operates here and consequently, demand is low. A second fact concerns the concentration of markets to the north of the ring, and this indicates the greater population densities along the Benue River valley as opposed to the drier inland plains. On the whole, however, considering the various

2. This geographic distance is in terms of walking.

Figure 5:2



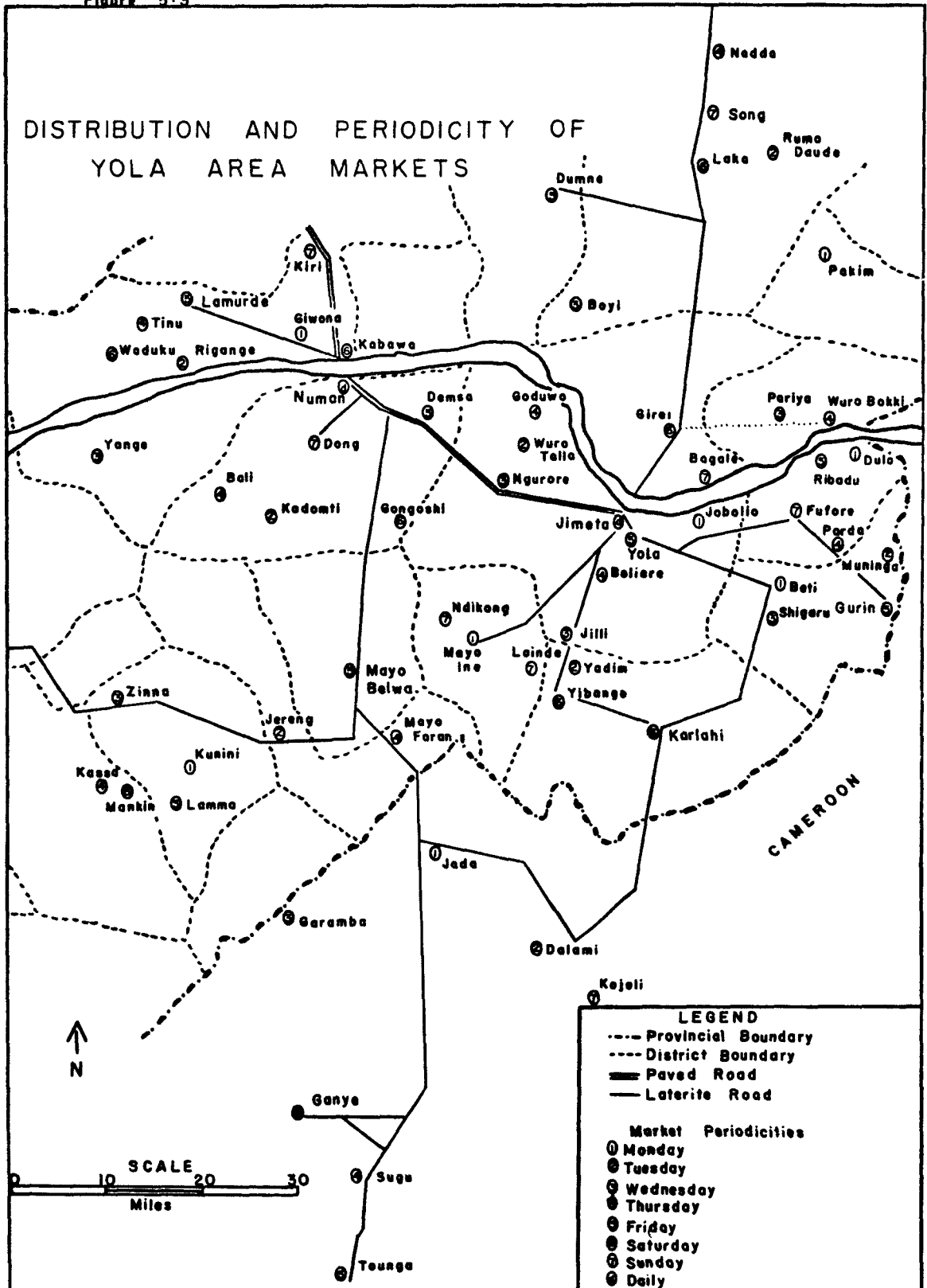
localized determining factors, the ring or cycle of integrated markets is an expression of the area's need to contact a wider and more varied section of people and goods than is possible when only one market takes place. For instance, markets 4, 5, 6, and 7 indicate a channel network whereby food produce from the fertile river valley (i.e. rice and fish) could be transferred by a wholesale function, to the markets further inland. In all, the various localized features determine the positioning of the markets in the ring to a great extent and render it unlike a theoretically perfect ring.

Similar market rings are characteristic of most parts of the Yola study area, all occurring in the seven day market cycle. Very few of these market rings are in any sense wholly self-contained. In fact, adjacent market rings often impinge on one another with, for example, a Monday market acting as a first day market for two separate market rings, as is the case of Mayo Ine. It fits into the sample ring used previously and also links into the Yola marketing ring.

Several researchers refer to this sort of development as a loose chain-mail type of pattern (e.g. Hodder, 1969, p. 67). These interlocking cycles do not occur all over the study region. In fact, there are several physically separate rings represented in the marketing landscape as can be seen on Figure 5:3.

It must also be pointed out, however, that individual traders do not adopt the entire market ring for trading purposes. They may frequent

Figure 5:3



only a couple of markets in the ring or they may trade in several markets, some of which are co-ordinated into different rings. Scott (1973, p. 331) substantiates this in his investigation of farmers, villages and periodic markets in Northern Nigeria.

5:3 DIFFERENCES IN MARKET PERIODICITY

The market characteristic of periodism is a very conspicuous and widespread feature of rural market place exchange in the Yola region. It is here useful to consider some of the factors associated with differences in periodicity. Some of these differences are related to what may be termed the "development process" whereas others are quite independent of it.

The distribution of periodic markets in the Yola study area reflects, in general, the broad pattern of population distribution. Hodder (1969, p. 50) has suggested that a threshold population of fifty people per square mile must be reached before periodic markets are found. However, Fagerlund and Smith (1970, p. 336) feel that increases in population alone will not necessarily lead to a more frequent periodicity pattern in an area. They feel that there must be a rise in per capita income and in disposable surplus produce.

Generally, increases in population density, per capita income, along with the development of regional specialization and greater

accessibility lead to a quickening of market frequency of meeting and, in fact, eventually culminate in the emergence of spatially immobile establishments in towns and cities (Fagerlund, 1970, p. 336). This development of permanent retail establishments can be seen as a characteristic attributable to developing economies. The transformation of a market from a periodic regime to a daily activity is a change in its nature, making it a fixed centre analogous to the conventional central place (Ukwu, 1969, p. 156). A further investigation of this notion is carried out in the succeeding chapters.

There are at least two other factors, more or less independent of the development process, which must be associated with market periodicity patterns in varying degrees.

The first of these is indirectly related to the development process and concerns the nature of the commodities being traded. A frequent periodicity regime may emerge in areas where produce is highly perishable due to weather conditions. In the Yola study area the seven day market is practical because of the lack of overly perishable goods such as fruit. Hill (1972, p. 349) did recognize a small number of markets in the Northwest State of Nigeria which meet every second day. She has suggested that they are associated with Fulani cattle routes, being places where the Fulani buy grain and other essential supplies from the local population to whom they in turn sell milk and butter. No two day marketing ring exists in the Yola study area or

its immediate environ, but this feature may prove to be a factor with regards to the frequency regimes to be noted later in this section.

If further data collection and testing were carried out, one might expect to find evidence of the perishability factor of food produce contributing to an increased frequency of markets, particularly in the humid, wet and forested southern areas of Nigeria as contrasted to the northern savannah belts. This is certainly research for further, future consideration.

The other factor contributing to market periodicity is the traditional calendar characteristic of the Yola area. The influence of Islam is well founded in the study region and is a powerful ordering force for market cycles. Hill and Smith (1972, p. 343) have carried out an investigation into the importance of the day in the meeting of markets and especially the importance of Friday as a market day in Islamic areas. A similar testing procedure is carried out in this section of the chapter. The specific proposition to be tested states that there is a significantly greater number of markets occurring on Fridays in this Yola study area. The approach involves establishing a null hypothesis stating that there is an even distribution of markets in the test cases of the study area. The Yola sample uses the overall marketing landscape and periodicities. Two other comparative examples were tested and these were samples taken from Hill's (1972) study of

other representative areas of Northern Nigeria.

The frequency of days of meetings for the Yola study area and for the two other regions of Northern Nigeria is shown on Table 5:1 along with the mean number of markets per day and the Chi Square value testing the even distribution. Chi Square does not prove the market day distribution even at the .05 significance level, and it is possible to reject the null hypothesis. By running across the rows, one obtains market meeting frequencies for the three sampling regions. We are able to note a significant concentration of markets not only for Friday but also for the Wednesday and Sunday cases. Certainly, these three days enjoy an above mean concentration of market meetings. Friday however, does not have an inordinately large concentration of meetings as has been suggested by the hypothesis and by studies for other Islamic oriented regions. It is suggested here that the Moslem influence in the Yola study area is not as powerful as other northern areas of Nigeria. It must be remembered that the Fulani religious wars or "jihad" were concluded at the Benue River and many of the numerous tribal groups, in the immediate area were never dominated by Islam, but were able to carry out their own, locally determined social and economic styles. However, with regards to the significance of Friday markets, upon further investigation, it is evident that Friday markets are held more often in the larger and more important urban areas than any other market

Table 5:1

| FREQUENCY OF DAYS OF MARKET MEETINGS | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|--------|------|-------|
| | Study Area | Gwandu | Yola | Total |
| | Argungu | | | |
| Day of Meeting | | | | |
| Monday | 2 | 4 | 11 | 17 |
| Tuesday | 3 | 1 | 8 | 12 |
| Wednesday | 2 | 8 | 16 | 26 |
| Thursday | 4 | 9 | 11 | 24 |
| Friday | 5 | 8 | 13 | 26 |
| Saturday | 2 | 2 | 11 | 15 |
| Sunday | 8 | 9 | 13 | 30 |
| Total | 26 | 41 | 83 | 150 |
| Mean | 3.7 | 5.9 | 11.9 | |
| Chi Square | 3.67 | 4.02 | 3.7 | |

Source: Testing Procedure based on data collected from the Yola Study Area and data from research by Hill and Smith (1972, p.346).

See Appendix A for calculations.

day meeting³. Clearly, the influence of Islam despite its relative importance in comparison with other northern regions, is significant in the Yola region. Traders and buyers are able to accommodate the dual function of marketing and attending mosque⁴.

By contrast, Tuesday, Saturday and Monday markets have a consistently below average number of market occurrences. And several reasons may be considered for this trend⁵. The gradual heavy second-third day emphasis in frequency may be attributable to the need for selling the more perishable food commodities of butter and milk⁶. However, overall we may consider other general factors which are responsible for sustaining the successive high-low (peak-trough) regime of the Yola study area. These factors include low population densities, low levels of disposable income and low food, trade surplus.

In view of the above temporal occurrence pattern for Yola and two other northern Nigerian areas, it is pertinent to examine briefly temporal frequency characteristics in other parts of West Africa by way of comparison. Hill (1972), Smith (1972), and Fagerlund (1970)

-
3. If we refer to Figure 5:3 where the district and regional centres are noted, we see a direct relationship between Friday markets and these urban areas.
 4. Mosques are for the most part located in larger, built-up centres like district towns.
 5. The trends referred to are in evidence in Figure 5:4.
 6. This was mentioned previously as work carried out by Polly Hill (1972) in Northwest Nigeria.

give examples of seven day market frequencies in regions of Ivory Coast and Ghana. These are graphed in terms of market day frequency (occurrence) on Figure 5:4 and compared to the Yola study area.

It is interesting to note that the predominance of Fridays as a major market day is repeated only in the Southern Ghana case. In Guro, there is only one Friday market and the region of Man in Ivory Coast has only the number of Friday markets as indicated by the seven day average. In so far as the regime in the south is concerned, Monday and Thursday market days appear to be considerably more important than the counterpart northern days. By contrast, Sunday, Saturday and Tuesday market days emerge as the least important market occurrence in terms of below the mean number of market meetings.

Again, many factors are associated with this areal difference in market day meetings - some of which have already been noted. Clearly, further investigation should reveal the importance of the multiple influences of population densities, levels of disposable income, kinds of commodities produced, the nature of the indigenous and contemporary calendar and political decision making.

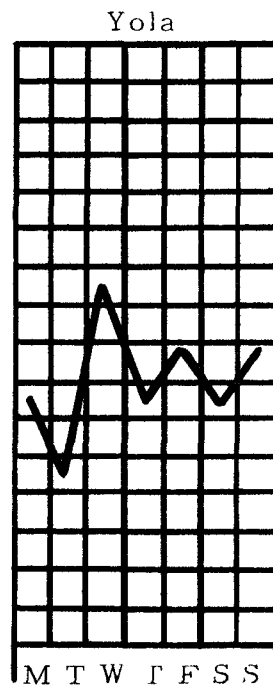
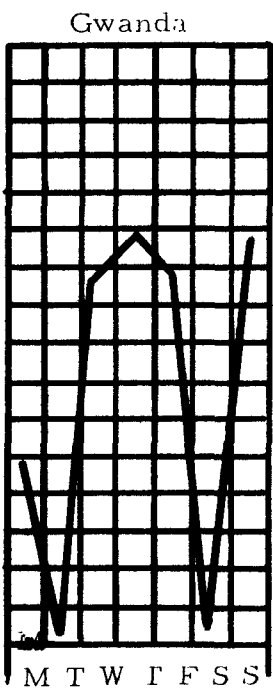
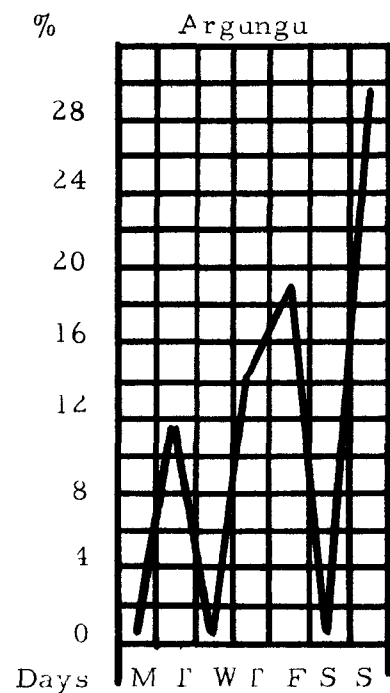
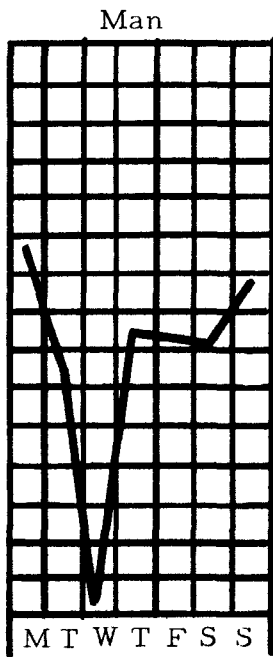
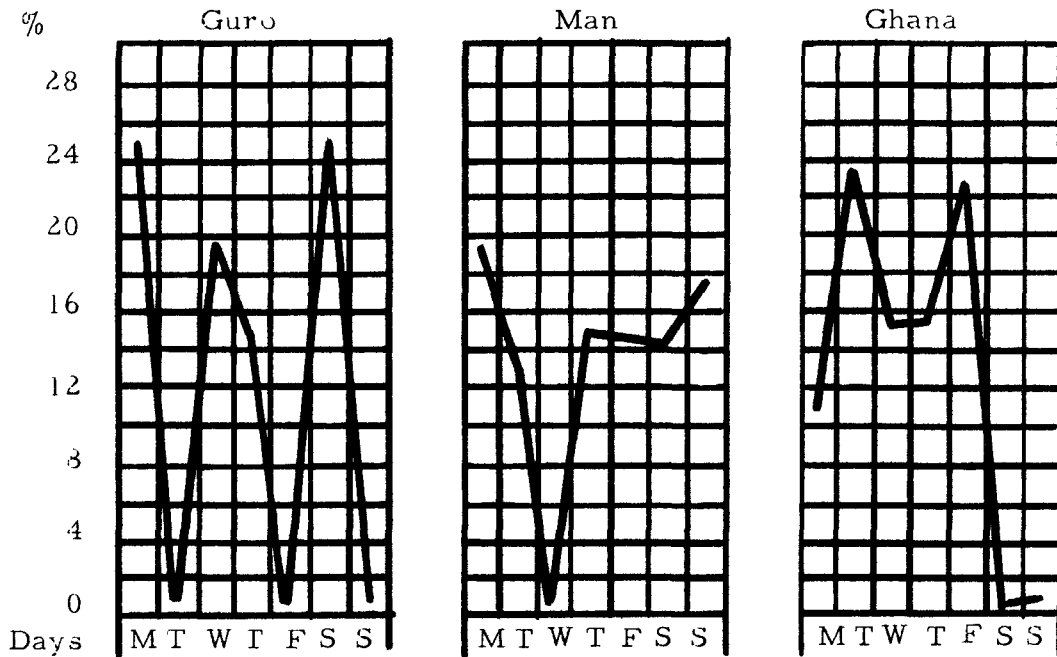
5:4 TEMPORAL AND LOCATIONAL ELEMENTS OF MARKETS

The ultimate question in any investigation or analysis of periodic markets is really not how or why a particular pattern of periodicity

Figure 5:4

FREQUENCY OF MARKETS

Southern West Africa



came into being, or why market day frequencies fluctuate, but rather how well does the market system facilitate the marketing process in the area. In theory (economic rationale) periodicity enables a greater number of markets to achieve the threshold of demand than would otherwise be possible and should therefore result in an efficient allocation of marketing activities within the area encompassed by a marketing cycle. However, Smith (1971, p. 326) feels that temporal periodicity alone does not ensure for each marketplace the achievement of the threshold-attendance level, or minimum range. Rather, a consequence of periodicity is the partial substitution of temporal for spatial competition between centres (Hill, 1972, p. 349). Ukwu (1969, p. 159) has suggested that competition between periodic markets is partly spatial and partly temporal. In fact, for periodic markets, temporal and spatial competition are complementary. Smith and Fagerlund (1970, p. 343) argue that proximity in space implies separation in time.

It is generally believed that periodic market meetings are organized in space and time in order to achieve an optimal sequence if only to ensure that markets occurring close together in time are sufficiently widely spaced to attract threshold populations (Hill, 1972, p. 349).

Simply stated, when two markets are located near each other, meetings will be separated by a relatively long period. Thus two

markets within a comfortable walking distance of a dispersed population would not normally meet on the same day, nor would they meet on adjacent days since the demand for trading would have been temporarily exhausted (Fagerlund, 1970, p. 343).

Unfortunately, it is difficult to devise an adequate test for this proposition. The sophisticated testing procedures are outstripped by the available data. However, some of the information can be used for a more basic analysis as has been carried out by Fagerlund and Smith in Ghana.

A preliminary map of the Yola study area and its markets is presented in Figure 5:3. The map is based on information compiled from records of the Divisional Office in Yola, the Marketing Board and from a poll of residents who frequent the area markets⁷.

The basic hypothesis to be treated states that proximity in space implies a separation in time. Straight line distance measurements were taken from each seven day market to the closest market meeting on the same day, adjacent day and two complete days later. Then calculations of mean distances for each set of measurements are made. The findings are seen in Table 5:2.

The evidence suggests the existence of a complementary relationship between spatial and temporal competition. The progression from same

7. The testing procedure was fully explained in the **Field Methods** section of Chapter One.

Table 5:2

| TEMPORAL AND LOCATIONAL SPACING OF SEVEN DAY MARKETS | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| | Mean Locational Spacing (Miles) | | |
| | Yola | Ghana | Ankole (Uganda) |
| Temporal Spacing | | | |
| Same Day | 30.5 | 20.1 | 10.8 |
| Adjacent Day | 17.9 | 13.2 | 8.7 |
| One Day After | | 12.7 | 8.1 |
| Two Day After | 18.1 | 15.9 | 7.0 |

Source: Testing Procedure based on data collected from the Yola Study Area and from Good (1972) and from Fagerlund (1970).

See Appendix B for calculations.

day markets to adjacent markets to two day after markets records a steady decline in geographic or spatial distance. Clearly, this gradual diminishing distance supports the spatio-temporal location hypothesis.

Good (1972) has carried out a similar analysis for the Ankole District of Uganda and the results are charted by way of comparison in Table 5:2, as are the results from Ghana.

Fagerlund's results from Ghana show an unusual increase in spatial distance for the two day after markets. Good suggests this anomaly is caused by spatial inefficiency while Fagerlund and Smith attribute it to incomplete data on the actual relative frequency (temporal competition) of two or more markets in their population. However, the presence of the same trend in the Yola study (and incidently in Good's investigation when his generalized pattern is broken into county analysis and two of the four units show this similar trend) suggests that perhaps more is involved than is at first suspected. Further investigation of this supposed anomaly is suggested for the future, with specific concentration on various areas other than economic. This further testing, both in technique employed and results obtained, will have to be examined in the light of several limiting problems involving source error and bias. In the first place, the primary data on market location and timing must be accurate and comprehensive and secondly the linear type measurement used in this sort of testing tends to underestimate the factors of local relief and does not consider circulation patterns which are other than

straight (Good, 1972, p. 213 and Smith, 1970, p. 327).

Two other important features when considering the temporal and spatial factors or elements of periodic markets remain to be discussed. The first concerns the relationship of the spatial distribution of markets to the distribution of the population. An analysis along these lines would indicate the degree to which people have access to various marketing facilities. Certainly, by way of example, in a large area, a highly agglomerated population would be imperfectly served by a network of periodic markets evenly dispersed over the entire area (Hill, 1972, p. 349). Unfortunately, the data problems involved in the testing of this hypothesis limit the success of the procedure. Accurate maps of the location of periodic markets are needed as well as reliable dot maps showing the distribution of the rural population for the Yola study area. Neither accurate periodic market location data nor statistical material on population are available.

A second issue concerns the locational pattern of markets. Several authors⁸ have carried out research and analysis concerning the pattern of same day markets. Essentially the processes giving rise to locational patterns are of two types. The first is a contagious process which results in the clustering together of units in agglomerations, and the second is a process of mutual repulsion or competition which, given the appropriate topography and population distribution characteristics in an

8. Hill (1972), Fagerlund (1970) and Good (1972).

area, will result in a uniform (or maximally spaced) pattern of market location. As periodic markets occurring simultaneously are engaged in direct, functional competition with one another, it seems appropriate to hypothesize that they should display uniform spacing patterns. Nearest Neighbour Analysis is a means of testing this hypothesis, but again a lack of data in the Yola study area negates the possibility of utilizing his test. In the first place, there is a need for the use of a large study area for it is only in these regions where the number of markets is sufficiently large to justify nearest neighbour tests and perhaps more importantly in which one could be reasonably certain that all markets had been identified⁹.

This chapter reviews elements of a theoretical basis for periodic markets and subsequently uses data collected in the Yola study area to test various hypothesis which stem from research concerning the concepts of periodicity and spacing (temporal and spatial) of those markets.

The next chapter continues with the economic analysis phase of this study. Having established and investigated the market landscape of the study region, it is now possible to examine the various economic functions of periodic markets with specific emphasis and analysis of the three markets introduced as representative of the Yola marketing network in Chapter One and Chapter Four.

9. Smith, for example, uses the well studied Yoruba country of Western Nigeria for his analysis.

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CHAPTER 6

PATTERNS OF TRADE

The study, to this point, has centred on the various factors determining the present periodic market situation of the Yola study area. The previous chapter was also instrumental in illustrating the form and design of the market sites on the landscape and included periodicity factors and ring formation characteristics. In order for this study to be a complete geographical investigation, several other objectives must be fulfilled in this present chapter. In the first place it is essential to establish a classification in which to examine and analyze the periodic market examples of the study area. This classification will form the basis from which a comprehensive analysis of the functions of periodic markets can be carried out. The inquiry into market function, which is the second objective of the chapter, will center on the internal exchange, external exchange and on Central Place functions, as well as on the non-economic functions relating to the social and political elements of markets.

A third aim of the chapter is to investigate the interactions and processes occurring in and between markets and concentrates on the exchange mechanism in the form of trader movements, characteristics and types. In effect, this phase of the chapter appears as a correlate of market function and form and also focuses on the development issue

of the markets.

6:1 A CLASSIFICATION OF MARKET TYPES

Markets in the Yola study area vary in size, function, commodities offered, market organization and market population profiles. In this section of the chapter the relevance or suitability for the Yola area of a number of classifications of markets in the literature is discussed, and the most useful classificatory framework is presented.

One possible classification indicates types according to function in the distributional chain. Bohannan (1961, p. 7), for example, in his investigation of the Tiv in Central Nigeria, distinguishes four such types: 1) the Feeder Market which overlaps into subsistence trade; 2) the Bulking Centres, which collect the small amounts of produce brought from the Feeder Markets and combines it into fairly large loads; 3) the Major Markets marked by money (large scale) traders who purchase the bulked lots and send them on to 4) the Large Scale Trade Centres where the produce is consumed or redistributed to other major market lines. The Mayo Ine market, of the Yola study area, fits best into the Feeder and Bulking categories. The Yola market fits loosely into the Bulking Centre group, while the Jimeta market can be categorized to some extent into the Major market. Such classifications as Bohannan's

can have only limited value in the absence of far more detailed data on the movement of goods and traders within the area (Hodder, 1969, p. 58). This is evident by the fact that the three example Yola area markets have, to some extent, all four of Bohannan's classificatory characteristics.

A grouping based on the division between retail and wholesale trading likewise has little value because the majority of Yola area markets include both these functions at the same time, and a clear cut distinction is not evident.

A similarly unworkable classification in the context of Yola area markets focuses attention on the kinds of goods and services provided in the market. These include: 1) Perishable Produce Markets; 2) Personal Service Markets; 3) Agricultural Staples Markets; 4) Manufactured Consumer Goods Markets; and 5) Capital Goods Markets (Shannon, 1957, p. 132). However, again, no market in the Yola region studied exhibited a significant orientation to any of these market types. Most of the markets are inextricably mixed and any form of absolute commodity market specialization is very rare.

Yet another classification has a simple morphological basis and may distinguish markets according to linearity, squares or rectangular shapes of the market sites. Clearly, this type of classification has little value for this research (Hodder, 1969, p. 58).

In effect, a theoretically substantial classification for markets could

be approached through an analysis of specific information concerning goods and services available, number of traders involved, scale of operation and the size and nature of the area served. While this approach would produce a very precise classification, it requires much more time and resources than are available for this research. A more practical approach involves observation and interviews. A general picture of the types of transactions and size and relative importance of a market can be obtained in one or two visits at selected times. Interviews or questionnaires may be used to ascertain the way local people distinguish and perceive the periodic markets in the area. Ukwu (1969, p. 163) states that in every locality the principal markets are known by common repute and are usually ranked by persons interviewed. It is basically this type of approach that can yield a classification which is most useful for further analysis (McKim, 1972, p. 335).

Skinner (1964, pp. 3-43) primarily using this interview technique, identifies a five level hierarchy market classification. Minor Markets are the lowest order market and are characterized by only local trade and have no imported goods present. Standard Markets are starting points for the upward flow of agricultural products and craft items into the higher reaches of the marketing system and are also termination points for the downward flow of imported goods for peasant consumption. Intermediate Markets occupy the middle position in the vertical flow

of goods and services. Centre Markets are situated on the strategic sites on the landscape and have important wholesaling functions. Finally, Regional Markets support more than one market and are large destination points for the flow of wholesale goods. Examining the three Yola area markets, Mayo Ine is best suited to the Standard Categorization but also fulfills the description of Intermediate Market functions. Yola market likewise occupies the categories of the Standard, Intermediate and Centre Market groups. Jimeta may be classified as both Centre and Regional Market types.

Scott (1972, p. 319) establishes a classification system utilizing the same questionnaire observation techniques and has centred his investigation in Northern Nigeria. It would therefore appear that his market classification comes closest to encompassing Yola area market types. Scott states that markets exhibit varying degrees of central importance and therefore attract different categories of people from the population. He feels that any classification scheme which attempts to be all inclusive must include market orientation, function and periodicity factors. Scott subsequently distinguishes five types of markets. The Village or Roadside Market is extremely small and its commodities are of the disposable, emergency kind which tend to be broken into very small lots. Weekly Evening Markets take place from 6:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m. and are larger than the Village or Roadside Markets both by way of traders and in the variety of goods offered. Evening Markets are competitive because

they do not conflict with the daylight hours used by many for farming purposes. Both the Roadside and Night Markets are strictly local in nature and have only minimal occurrence in the Yola study area.

A third classification by Scott includes what he refers to as Two Day Markets. These take place in large villages and occur in a major-minor regime. They are important retailing markets with incipient bulking functions. These markets are the start of a more externally oriented exchange system. However, again, no significant market of this type was observed in the Yola study area.

Scott's last two classification types most closely resemble Yola area markets. Weekly Day Markets are the most important rural markets economically and meet once per week during the day. There are many buyers and sellers and there is a great variety of commodities for retail and bulking. Local, internal and external exchange systems are all successfully integrated. Weekly Day Markets provide a link with extra regional markets and effectively integrate weekly markets into the national exchange system. Both the Mayo Ine and Yola markets are representative of this market class.

Urban Daily Markets form Scott's fifth classification. These are usually located in historically important urban areas, transportation or administrative centers. They are large markets and are important in the internal and external exchange systems.

Scott's classification scheme comes quite close to describing or

summarizing the market situation in the Yola study area, but several discrepancies exist. Under Scott's grouping, Yola and Mayo Ine markets are classed together. However, Mayo Ine and the Yola market are far too dissimilar, both in size and function, to be classified together. Mayo Ine for example, is representative of a multitude of small weekly markets dispersed over the area and which deal mainly on a local or possibly a basic internal exchange system. Yola, on the other hand, is an example of the fewer, yet larger, regional type markets in the study area. Yola is more representative of a central market type which brings people from a greater area and quite successfully carries out local, internal and central place functions.

Hodder (1969, p. 59) by way of a solution to the problems or limitations of the above type classification suggests a simple scheme based upon the location in rural and urban areas and the periodicity of the market. Hodder sets up a classification with: 1) Urban Daily Markets; 2) Urban Nightly Markets; 3) Rural Daily Markets; 4) Rural Periodic Night Markets and 5) Rural Periodic Day Markets.

Ukwu (1969, p. 155) likewise uses location and periodicities but implements a functional ranking in order to establish: 1) Metropolitan Markets; 2) Urban Centre Markets; 3) Urban Local or Neighbourhood Markets; 4) Rural Centre Markets and 5) Rural Local Markets.

However, Ukwu's scheme is devised for the Southeastern part of Nigeria which is a large, diverse, heavily populated area and his classification

is not practical for the Yola area.

In fact, none of the published classifications seems to be applicable or useful in the mix of the Yola area markets. Therefore, for purposes of this chapter, a combination of classification schemes is used, based on periodicity, and the location in the rural - urban setting. The result establishes: 1) Weekly, Rural, Local Markets (as represented by Mayo Ine); 2) Weekly, Rural Central Markets (as represented by Yola); and 3) Urban, Central, Daily Markets¹ (as represented by Jimeta).

There are slight variations in this basic grouping depending on the size of the market but for the most part only these three classification types exist in the study area.

6:2 FUNCTIONS OF PERIODIC MARKETS

Having established a broad classification scheme suitable for Yola area markets, it is now practical to examine and analyze the various market functions.

In effect, these periodic markets are multi-functional institutions. They provide the integrating force in the socio-economic life of the Yola area residents. Economically the markets perform local exchange,

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1. The essence of Daily marketing is that it is continuous as distinct from periodic. It encompasses a variety of commodities with proportionately more services than weekly markets and is more oriented to the internal exchange system and to central place functions.

internal trade and central place functions (Eighmy, 1972, p. 299). On a much larger plain they also form the link to a higher level national economic system. Not only are most economic transactions carried out at these markets but also various social and political events occur in the market place (Scott, 1972, p. 316).

Among the more fundamental functions of the market system is the connection between food supply and demand. In this respect the dominant economic function of the periodic market is the collection, bulking and distribution of food products and products of food processing (Hodder, 1969, p. 71). These collecting, bulking and distributing functions are carried out, in differing degrees, under the headings of local exchange, internal trade and in Central Place functions. The local exchange function represents a small scale division of labour and basically mediates family or small level surpluses and deficits. Eighmy (1972, p. 299) states that for a single item of food, for example (using the Yola study area) groundnuts or guinea corn, there is little spatial separation of production, market and consumption sites. Similarly, depending on the storage qualities of the food item, there may be little temporal separation of production and consumption and services performed at the market site. The local exchange function, in effect, is present at all levels of development of the market and really requires no more than a subsistence economy.

On the other hand, the internal trade and central place functions

are closely related to a larger scale division of labour, increases in local wealth and the spatial extension of a monetized exchange economy (Eighmy, 1972, p. 300). In internal trade, there must be a connection between spatially separated food surpluses and food deficit areas. This separation necessitates a transportation network whereby excess commodities may be transported at reasonable costs. Also, when a commodity is produced in excess of local demand there develops, in the market, a bulking function which is an integral part of the internal trade sequence. The three case example markets in the Yola study area all contain, on their respective sites, this bulking function. As internal trade begins to dominate the local exchange economy at the market sites, the services performed by the market become more complex (Eighmy, 1972, p. 300). In order to show evidence of this associated rise in service function in the change to internal exchange the three markets were examined. Table 6:1 shows the finalized data. The basic service trades and available storage facilities were utilized as an indication of this service type presence. The Daily, Urban, Central Market of Jimeta, which is the most sophisticated Yola area market, is made up of 37.6% service trade and clearly substantiates this development trend indicating only in the Jimeta market is there a significant degree of internal trade based on the above criteria. At the opposite end of the scale, the most undeveloped markets, the Weekly, Rural, Local Market represented by Mayo Ine and the Weekly

Table 6:1

| SERVICE AND STORAGE FACILITIES | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|------|--------|
| Market | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
| <u>Services</u> | | | |
| Storage | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Hot Food | 7 | 21 | 12 |
| Bicycle Repair | 4 | 6 | 7 |
| Tailors | 3 | 11 | 45 |
| Barbers | 5 | 10 | 2 |
| Medicine | - | 4 | - |
| Food Processing | - | - | 2 |
| Shoe Repair | - | 10 | 10 |
| Total Services | 19 | 62 | 85 |
| Total Market Functions | 83 | 463 | 226 |
| Percentage | 22.9 | 13.4 | 37.6 |

Source: Market Questionnaire and Market Inventory.

Rural, Central Market have considerably less service facilities with 22.9% and 13.4% respectively.

The Central Place function of markets occurs as the population seeks a wider range of goods and services than can be provided within their own compound or local tribal community. Low order manufactured goods such as jewellery, medicine, skin creams, grooming aids, and more "exotic" foodstuffs such as kolanuts, and such services as barbering and tailoring are generally available in markets if the lower type central place functions are in evidence (Eighmy, 1972, p. 300).

In the Yola study area, imported goods in particular, illustrate the presence of this low order central place function and this criterion is used for an inventory analysis of the case example markets as seen in Table 6:2. Again the percentage of imported goods clearly illustrates the central place importance of the Daily, Urban, Central Market of Jimeta. Even if the Yola region was a homogeneous, flat plain, market centres would unlikely be of the same size and importance. Major administrative centres such as Jimeta will always have relatively high levels of demand and frequently require unusual commodities. Certain goods with high minimum threshold range values can only be offered at the largest market centres. These goods not only serve their immediate urban population needs and special requirements, but also provide for the special requirements of the neighbouring market areas. In effect the import distribution mechanism of these markets is another

Table 6:2

| IMPORTED GOODS | | | |
|---|----------|------|--------|
| Markets | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
| Goods | | | |
| Kolanut ¹ | 5 | 20 | 15 |
| Imported ² | | | |
| Shoes and Clothes | 1 | 17 | 14 |
| Sundries (Jewellery, Bicycle Parts, Flashlights, Batteries). | 10 | 10 | 33 |
| Total Imported Goods | 16 | 47 | 62 |
| Total Market Functions | 83 | 463 | 226 |
| Percentage | 19.2 | 10.2 | 27.5 |

Source: Market Questionnaire and
Market Inventory.

1. These represent large scale internal trade as they have been transported from Southwestern Nigeria. They also represent a function of Central Place in that they typify an exotic good.
2. These goods are imported from abroad, e.g. Britain.

very important function².

Several non-economic functions are performed by these periodic markets and must be mentioned for any research on market function to be complete. Admittedly, the primary reason for attending the market is for the selling or buying of goods and services. However, the importance of non-economic reasons cannot be underestimated.

Hodder (1959, p. 51) states that one of the most significant and interesting ways in which markets fulfill an important social function concerns the use of the market as a meeting place for the perpetuation of lineage rights and obligations. In such a dispersed population as exists in the Yola study area the local periodic markets provide an excellent setting for the meeting of tribal and lineage groups. Local news can be passed along and thus the market becomes a communication system.

The religious aspects of markets in the Yola study area are likewise important. As noted in Chapter 4, the Moslem (and Christian) missionaries recognized the value of the market as a place for the propagation of the gospel and the main mosque (or Church) is normally adjacent to the market place³.

2. Table 6:10 lists the types of international goods on sale in the market.
3. This situation exists in the Yola market. At the two o'clock prayer calling the Yola market virtually empties.

Markets can also be looked upon as effective meeting places of urban and rural culture. There tends to be a certain amount of copying by the rural population of the urban fashions and trends and in this sense, rural markets play a significant role in bringing social change to the rural dwellers.

The political functions of the markets are well founded and can clearly be seen in the precise location of the market site. For most of the major markets (as is the case for Yola's Weekly, Rural, Central Market) the site is normally in close proximity to the palace of the emir of the settlement. In the smaller Rural, Local Periodic Market local chiefs can likewise keep track of and meet with their people.

Markets, as alluded to earlier, are used as centres for the dissemination of information relating to local and central government administration. And certainly the spread of knowledge about health matters, vaccination against disease and the passing of information regarding taxation and census can best be spread through the markets (Hodder, 1969, p. 55). Also, to the extent that the Northern Nigerian Marketing Board represents an arm of 'local' authority, various political transactions occur along marketing lines and information necessary for both daily and long-term decision making originates in rural periodic markets. This is particularly significant in terms of the farmers' commitment to scarce resources and to specific food growing programs.

6.3 THE EXCHANGE MECHANISM - TRADER CHARACTERISTICS

This section of the chapter is primarily concerned with the interaction and processes between and in markets. At this juncture, the analysis concentrates not so much on the goods and services offered, but rather on the mode of exchange, namely the traders who comprise and are responsible for the market institution. This investigation into trader activity will also assist in further understanding the functions of Yola area markets and should throw some light on economic rationale for trader existence. Data for the analysis of this section was obtained from the inventory and questionnaire (Appendix C) administered in the markets.

The word trader (vendor or seller) is employed here as a broad classificatory term incorporating the entire range of individuals who may be found offering goods or services for sale in a market place (Good, 1970, p. 68). In theory mobile trading occurs when the minimum range of a good exceeds the maximum range (Stine, 1962, pp. 68-88). In areas of low population density, such as the Yola area, or low per capita demand for a given good for which the consumers are not prepared to travel long distances, the only way in which a seller of that good can make a living is to travel around selling over a wide area. These travelling vendors are therefore greatly inconvenienced by the existence of periodic markets.

Traders involved in the marketing landscape of the Yola study area, represented by the three case example markets, are differentiated by a great variety of factors including: sex, age, religion, tribe, personal capital resources, style of selling and a host of other variables. Table 6:3 illustrates age, sex, religion and tribal characteristics.

However, in order to examine best this heterogeneous group, Mintz (1959, pp. 20-30), has suggested a two divisional trade type in order to distinguish traders for analytical purposes. Mintz's division for traders can be useful for the Yola area study. First, horizontal trade is synonymous with village and intra-regional trade (local and incipient internal trade) which includes the movement of goods and local foodstuffs from rural to urban areas within the same region. Vertical trade, on the other hand, is associated with extra-regional trade (internal trade and Central Place functions) including the movement of goods and services from rural to urban areas from other regions. Accordingly, traders can be classified on the basis of the economic system in which they generally participate (Scott, 1972, p. 320).

In the Yola study area (and in the three case example markets) these two categories of traders fit well. The horizontal exchange trade system is represented by a group of: farmer-traders, farmer-sellers, itinerant traders and local traders. Essentially this group trades only locally, buys cheaply and in small lots and retails these

Table 6:3

| TRADER CHARACTERISTICS | | | | |
|------------------------|----------|------|--------|--|
| Characteristics | Markets | | | |
| | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta | |
| Male | 76 | 317 | 179 | |
| Female | 8 | 146 | 47 | |
| Total | 84 | 463 | 226 | |
| Adult | 79 | 444 | 218 | |
| Child | 5 | 19 | 8 | |
| Total | 84 | 463 | 226 | |
| Religion | | | | |
| Moslem | 73 | 362 | 153 | |
| Christian | 11 | 72 | 63 | |
| Pagan | - | 29 | - | |
| Total | 84 | 463 | 226 | |
| Tribe | | | | |
| Fulani | 44 | 247 | 45 | |
| Hausa | 18 | 67 | 89 | |
| Ibo | 4 | 4 | 44 | |
| Batta | 6 | 45 | 7 | |
| Verre | 4 | 60 | 2 | |
| Kanuri | 3 | - | 8 | |
| Other | 5 | 40 | 31 | |
| Total | 84 | 463 | 226 | |

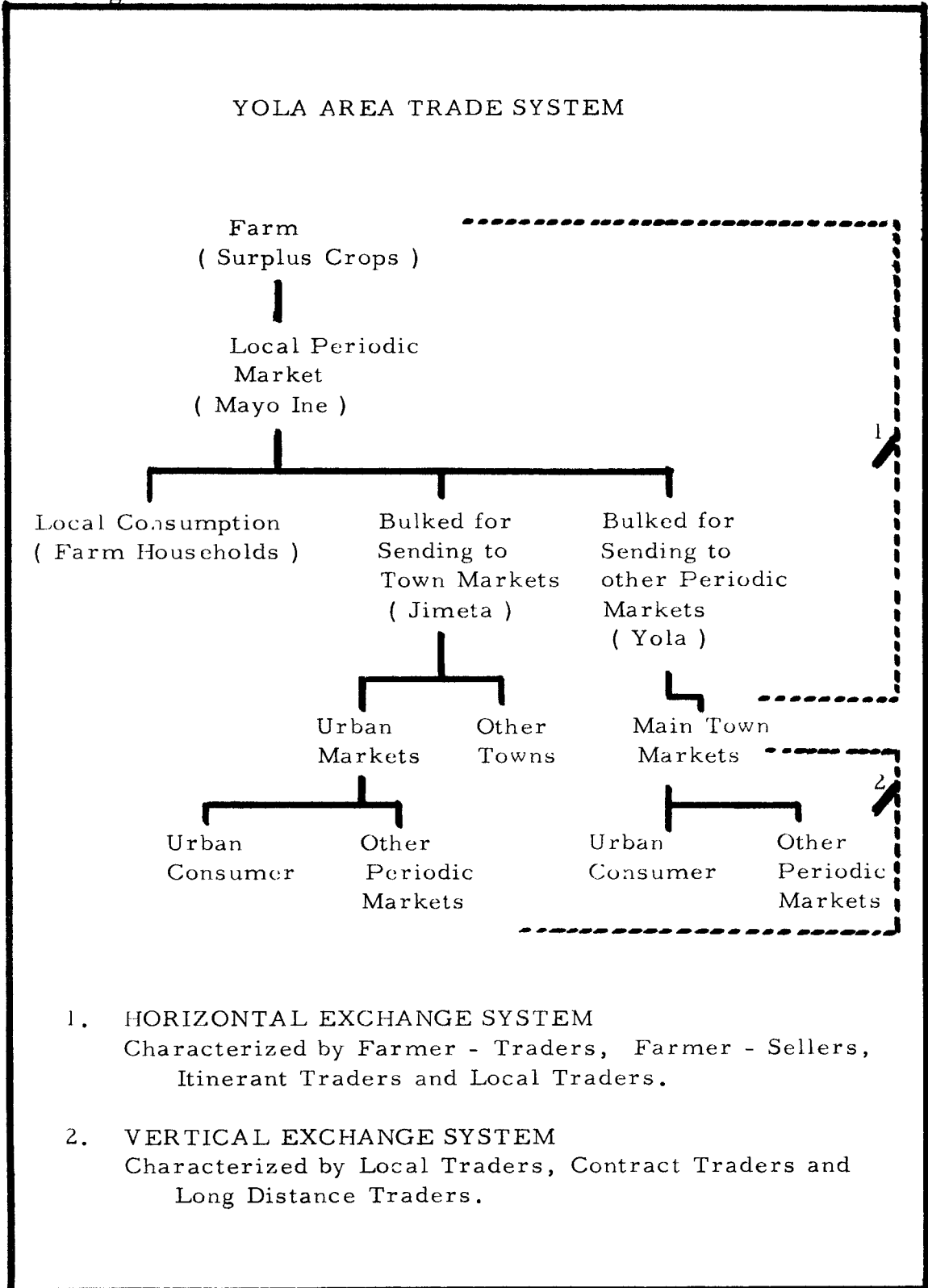
Source: Market Questionnaire.

goods to the buyers of the local area. Their profit margins are understandably low and commodities are seldom transported for any great distance. The Weekly, Rural, Local and Central Markets represented by Mayo Ine and Yola illustrate this type of trade system and trader group.

By contrast, the vertical exchange system is composed of local traders who (unlike the local trader involved in the horizontal exchange system) buy in large lots or consignments for sale to wholesalers outside the local area. The vertical exchange system is also made up of contract traders and other long distance traders. This group buys products in the rural markets in order to retail them in the large daily markets. They also buy large bulk consignments to be sold, in bulk, in district regional markets at the national scale. The Urban, Daily, Central Market of Jimeta illustrates examples of many traders of this category. Figure 6:1 illustrates, in graphic form, the basic trade system in the study area.

These two types of exchange systems and the traders of those systems can be further examined and analyzed by two other types of investigations. The first inquiry involves a trader's strategy which is adopted when demand is too low to sustain the trading activity, as would be the case in the dispersed areas of the more local, horizontal exchange system. The trader could diversify the goods he sells

Figure 6:1



until he offers such a variety that local demand is sufficient to offer him a reasonable profit. It would be reasonable to assume that the traders who dominate the small, rural, periodic market types (Mayo Ine and Yola) would carry more of a mix of goods proportionate to the total number of goods sold at the market place. This proposition can be tested by inventorying goods sold at the three case example markets, computing proportions (percentages) and comparing the rural periodic markets to the Jimeta Daily, Urban, Central, Market. Most of the traders in the less developed systems, of Yola and Mayo Ine, will maintain general rather than specialist shops and overall economic development (as represented by the permanent Jimeta market) is associated with increasing specialization and a division of labour. One could reasonably expect more specialty items on sale in the Jimeta market while the Mayo Ine and Yola markets should, conversely, have more miscellaneous goods proportionate to the total market inventory. Accumulated data are represented in Table 6:4. The Mayo Ine and Yola Weekly, Rural Markets show a significant number of miscellaneous goods, representative of the diversification trend with 18.1% and 17.5% respectively. The more established, vertical exchange system, represented by Jimeta market, is made up of only 11.9% miscellaneous trade goods.

Secondly, many traders are not full-time traders but are rather local producers who sell their goods in order to supplement their

Table 6:4

| MISCELLANEOUS GOODS | | | | |
|--|---------|----------|------|--------|
| | Markets | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
| Miscellaneous Goods (Beads, Soap, Sugar, Biscuits, Oil). | | 15 | 81 | 37 |
| Total Miscellaneous Goods | | 15 | 81 | 37 |
| Total Market Functions | | 83 | 463 | 226 |
| Percentage | | 18.1 | 17.5 | 11.9 |

Source: Market Questionnaire and
Market Inventory.

income by market trading on one or more days each week (Bromley, 1971, p. 129). This tends to be an important function of markets. This theory, again, can be tested by way of trader responses pertaining to their vocation. Table 6:5 indicates that the large majority of traders in the Jimeta market (Daily, Urban, Central Market) are employed as full-time traders as would be expected of a developed, vertical exchange system. Fully 88.5% are permanent traders. By contrast, the Rural, Periodic Markets show traders who, in fact, have other occupations and do not rely on trading as permanent. Mayo Ine has 55.9% and Yola 45.8% permanent traders, the majority of whom are the travelling, local traders dealing in the miscellaneous goods mentioned previously.

A third characteristic of these marketing systems concerns the use of intermediaries. These middlemen (or "dillalas") are evident in both exchange systems and mediate between buyers and sellers. They are, however, more important in the vertical exchange system and as the marketing and trading system becomes more sophisticated (as in the Jimeta case) in its continued change to a permanent retail establishment, the importance of direct producer to consumer transactions usually decreases, and the importance of intermediaries increases. A testing procedure for this proposition involves an analysis of the traders present at the market and the proportion of the goods of these traders for sale which are not their own. Table 6:6 shows the

Table 6:5

| FULL TIME VERSUS PART TIME TRADING | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|----------|------|--------|
| Markets | | | | |
| | | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
| Trading | | | | |
| | Permanent | 45 | 212 | 200 |
| | Part Time | 39 | 251 | 26 |
| Total Trading | | 84 | 463 | 226 |
| Percentages | | | | |
| | Permanent | 53.6 | 45.8 | 88.5 |
| | Part Time | 46.4 | 54.2 | 11.5 |
| Source: Market Questionnaire. | | | | |

degree to which traders in the three markets are selling their own goods as opposed to those who are selling goods of a regional, national or international nature, and which have been carried through a marketing system of middlemen. One would expect a greater number of "own" goods in the Rural, Weekly, Local Market of Mayo Ine. By contrast, the Daily, Central, Urban Market of Jimeta should have a significantly greater number of goods brought in by mediaries or middlemen. Table 6:6 records the collected data and shows Jimeta with a large proportion of goods brought in from other than the local area. By contrast, Yola market is clearly a "local goods" market. Mayo Ine, surprisingly, shows a tendency towards goods brought in from other areas. However, the total number of goods and articles brought in from other areas exactly coincides with the number of traders in that market who are full-time, local itinerant traders and this reinforces the credibility of that data. However, the question which must be asked here concerns the apparent non-local orientation of the goods sold at the Mayo Ine market. Certainly a commodity structure breakdown would assist in explaining this phenomena, but at this point it is suggested that the Yola area, being the major Rural, Weekly Market is a major drawing force for produce from the immediate region. Mayo Ine consequently occupies a position in the shadow of the major, central Yola market and is primarily a minor bulking source: but more importantly a point in the distributional

Table 6:6

| ORIGIN OF GOODS | | | | |
|--|--------|----------|------|--------|
| | Market | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
| Origin | | | | |
| Local | | 25 | 209 | 37 |
| Non - Local (Regional, National, International). | | 37 | 90 | 80 |
| Total * | | 62 | 299 | 117 |
| Percentage - Local | | 40.3 | 69.9 | 31.6 |
| Non Local | | 59.7 | 30.1 | 68.4 |

* This is not inclusive of the services offered at the market sites.

Source: Market Questionnaire.

chain where national and imported goods finally reach the more inaccessible consumer.

Bromley (1971, p. 129) states that individual traders in the less developed areas, such as the Yola area weekly markets, do not have the capital to buy directly from many producers, acquire large bulks of goods, transport produce to convenient places of sale and sell them quickly. Rather, the Yola trader, because of the small amounts of capital cannot afford to deal with such a long marketing process. It is more likely that each trader will merely form a link in a long chain of intermediaries making only a small profit, but using relatively little capital in his transaction. These long chains may not be as efficient as other systems but they do allow the substitution of plentiful labour for scarce capital and give employment to a large sector of the population otherwise gainfully employed.

It is apparent that each of the three representative markets exhibit either vertical or horizontal exchange with one usually dominating the other (Scott, 1972, p. 324). This domination need not be absolute and indeed is economically advantageous when successfully combined. Theoretically the bulking function of vertical exchange and local trade in the horizontal exchange should effectively concentrate buyers and sellers with adequate cash for all transactions in one market on one day. This bulk exchange in the Yola and Jimeta markets, and to a lesser extent in the Mayo Ine market, has long distance traders

purchasing entire consignments (of for instance, grain or groundnuts) in the one market and should inject relatively large sums of money into the system. The cumulative effect of these transactions is to transfer goods and money on one day sufficient to meet the survival conditions of the traders (Scott, 1972, p. 325). If this supposition were true, one could reasonably expect the traders in the two Weekly, Rural Markets not to trade on other days. However, Table 6:7 indicates that for both Mayo Ine and Yola markets a great number of traders (Mayo Ine, 65.1% and Yola, 52.7%) have to trade in other periodic markets on other days. This seems to indicate that the two exchange systems are not functioning as efficiently as they should. Further, complete research into the factors of crop production, disposable income, surplus crops, population density and transportation systems may reveal causes for this apparent failure of the exchange systems.

The origin of the trader himself should be of significance in any inquiry into the interactions and processes of Yola area markets. Figure 6:2 maps the source areas of traders who frequent the example markets. Understandably, the more developed Urban, Central, Daily Market of Jimeta draws the majority of its sellers from the immediate urban area. The Weekly, Rural, Central Market of Yola, however, is made up of traders from a large surrounding area. The Weekly, Rural, Local Market of Mayo Ine likewise draws from a surrounding

Table 6:7

| TRADERS WHO FREQUENT OTHER PERIODIC MARKETS | | | | |
|---|--------|----------|------|--------|
| | Market | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
| Trade in Other Markets | | | | |
| Yes | | 54 | 244 | 61 |
| No | | 29 | 219 | 165 |
| Total | | 83 | 463 | 226 |
| Percentage | | | | |
| Yes | | 65.1 | 52.7 | 27 |
| No | | 34.9 | 47.3 | 73 |

Source: Market Questionnaire.

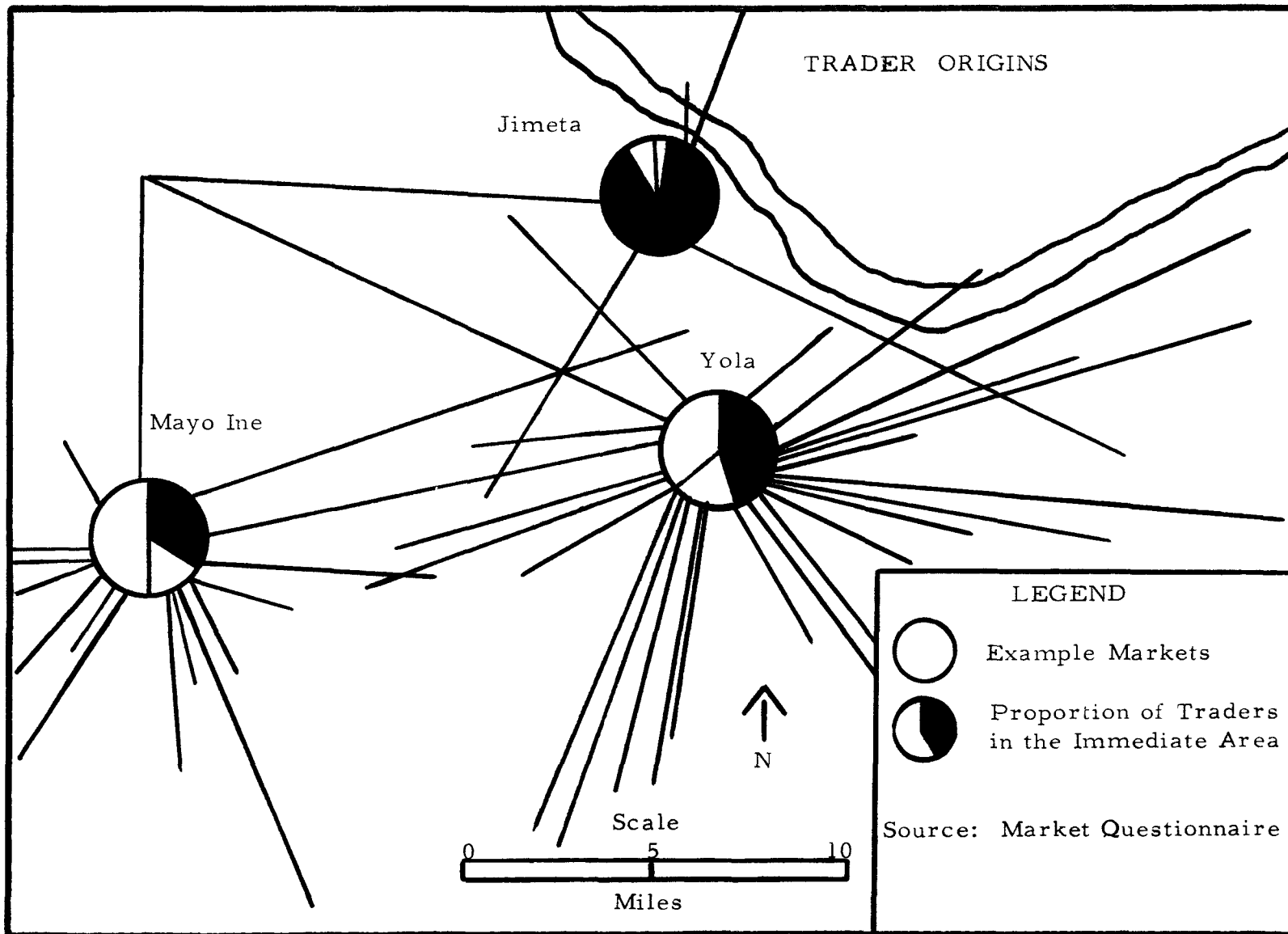


Figure 6.2

area but is not as extensive as that of the Yola market. The pattern of trader origins illustrates well a very real differentiation in market types.

The frequent repetition of activities by traders in these markets is the result of a number of factors, of which perhaps the two most important are the lack of storage facilities (studied earlier) and the elementary methods of transport. The repetition of movement to and from the market is especially necessary where the movements of transport are still dominated by headloading. Table 6:8 shows the modes of transportation used by traders frequenting the three case example markets. Headloading is the predominant mode of transportation for all three markets. The road transportation modes of taxi and lorry are significant in the weekly markets but are certainly underplayed by the non-motorized transportation forms indicating, again, the very local, undeveloped nature of Yola area markets.

A final, important examination and analysis of this section concerns the overall commodity structure of the goods and services sold by the traders. Table 6:9 establishes the "commodity profile". In effect, the market trade in the Yola area markets is dominated by sellers in Food Produce. Six major commodities dominate this trade. They are: 1) grain; 2) fish; 3) dairy products; 4) fresh produce, such as vegetables and fruit; 5) livestock and 6) miscellaneous goods, such as soup ingredients, spices, salt, sugar and oil. Miscellaneous

Table 6:8

MODES OF TRANSPORTATION

| | Market | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
|--|--------|----------|------|--------|
| Mode | | | | |
| Foot (Headloading). | | 36 | 227 | 143 |
| Animal (Donkey). | | 11 | 35 | 2 |
| Bicycle | | 4 | 27 | 40 |
| Lorry (Mammy Wagon, Truck, Bus). | | 31 | 90 | 25 |
| Taxi | | 1 | 84 | 16 |
| Total | | 83 | 463 | 226 |

Source: Market Questionnaire.

Table 6:9

| COMMODITY STRUCTURE | | | | |
|---|---------|----------|------|--------|
| | Markets | Mayo Ine | Yola | Jimeta |
| Commodities | | | | |
| Food | | 36 | 292 | 142 |
| Miscellaneous (Kolanut, Tobacco, Imported Goods, Household wares). | | 31 | 85 | 48 |
| Services | | 4 | 39 | 22 |
| Textiles | | 6 | 31 | 14 |
| Cottage Crafts | | 6 | 16 | 4 |
| Total | | 84 | 463 | 226 |

Source: Market Questionnaire and
Market Inventory.

regional and imported Goods such as kolanut, tobacco, bicycle parts, flashlights, grooming and skin aids rank second in importance⁴.

Service Trade follows in importance with tailors, shoe repair men and barbers comprising the majority of this trade. Close behind services in ranking is the Cloth and Textile Trade (including used clothes). Cottage Crafts rank of little significance in the total commodity breakdown.

This analysis of trader type, movement and characteristics, representative of the market exchange mechanism, has assisted in shedding light on the variable functions of the Yola area periodic markets and concludes the analysis phase of the study investigating the economic factors determining the markets and examining the form, pattern and processes of the study area markets and marketing system.

4. Table 6:10 lists the types of international goods on sale in the markets.

Table 6:10

TYPES OF INTERNATIONAL GOODS OFFERED
FOR SALE AT THE YOLA AREA MARKETS

| Item | Origin |
|---|----------------|
| Locks Razors Bicycle Parts Playing Cards Toys Thread Flashlights Batteries | China |
| Batteries Shoe Polish Brasso Razor Blades | England |
| Grease Vaseline | United States |
| Sewing Machine Parts Bicycle Parts | Germany |
| Sugar | France |
| Rubber Pumps | Czechoslovakia |
| Hack Saw Blades | Poland |
| Incense Bicycle Locks | India |
| Sardines | Morocco |

Source: Market Inventory.

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CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

There remain several tasks prior to concluding this investigation. It is necessary to review briefly the objectives of the study in order to show that these aims, have, in fact, been fulfilled. It is also useful using the findings of the study, to speculate on the future of markets and marketplace systems in the Yola study area.

7:1 A REVIEW OF OBJECTIVES, METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

The central objective of the study concentrates on investigating the variable factors determining and influencing the presence and nature of the markets in the Yola study area's trading and marketing system. It is evident that the process and phenomena of distribution and exchange are directly related to the physical, cultural, historical and economic features inherent in the particular region. Market periodicities, temporal and spatial elements, functions and patterns and the exchange mechanism are all determined by locally operated conditions.

At this point in the study, it is important to attempt to create **some** general conceptual framework within which to consider the highly varied, complex phenomena of market institutions. Without such a framework, the study of markets, as a geographical investigation,

can never develop beyond presentation of a series of separate descriptions. Yet to develop this construct (Adams, Abler and Gould, 1971, p. 13), is difficult at this stage of knowledge about market institutions in the developing countries. Hodder (1969) and Ukwu (1969) both suggest that the types and operations of markets may be seen as a series of intermediate steps or stages, on a single, albeit many stranded continuum, from the most elementary to the most complicated economies. As a result of this study's findings, a simple diagrammatic model is presented in Figure 7:1 illustrating this continuum. This whole concept of investigating the presence and characteristics (spatial, temporal and functional) of the most basic periodic market (the Rural, Weekly, Local Market of Mayo Ine), through to the more developed periodic market (the Rural, Weekly, Central Market of Yola) and the permanent daily market (Daily, Urban, Central Market of Jimeta) is substantiated by the findings of this study as well as the results from other comparable research on markets in Nigeria, in West Africa and in other developing regions. Admittedly, as shown in this and other studies, the processes of distribution and exchange differ from region to region dependent on the different modifying physical, historical, social and economic variables operating in those regions. However, the trends and problems remain fundamentally the same.

A MODEL OF THE INTERMEDIATE STAGES OF
COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

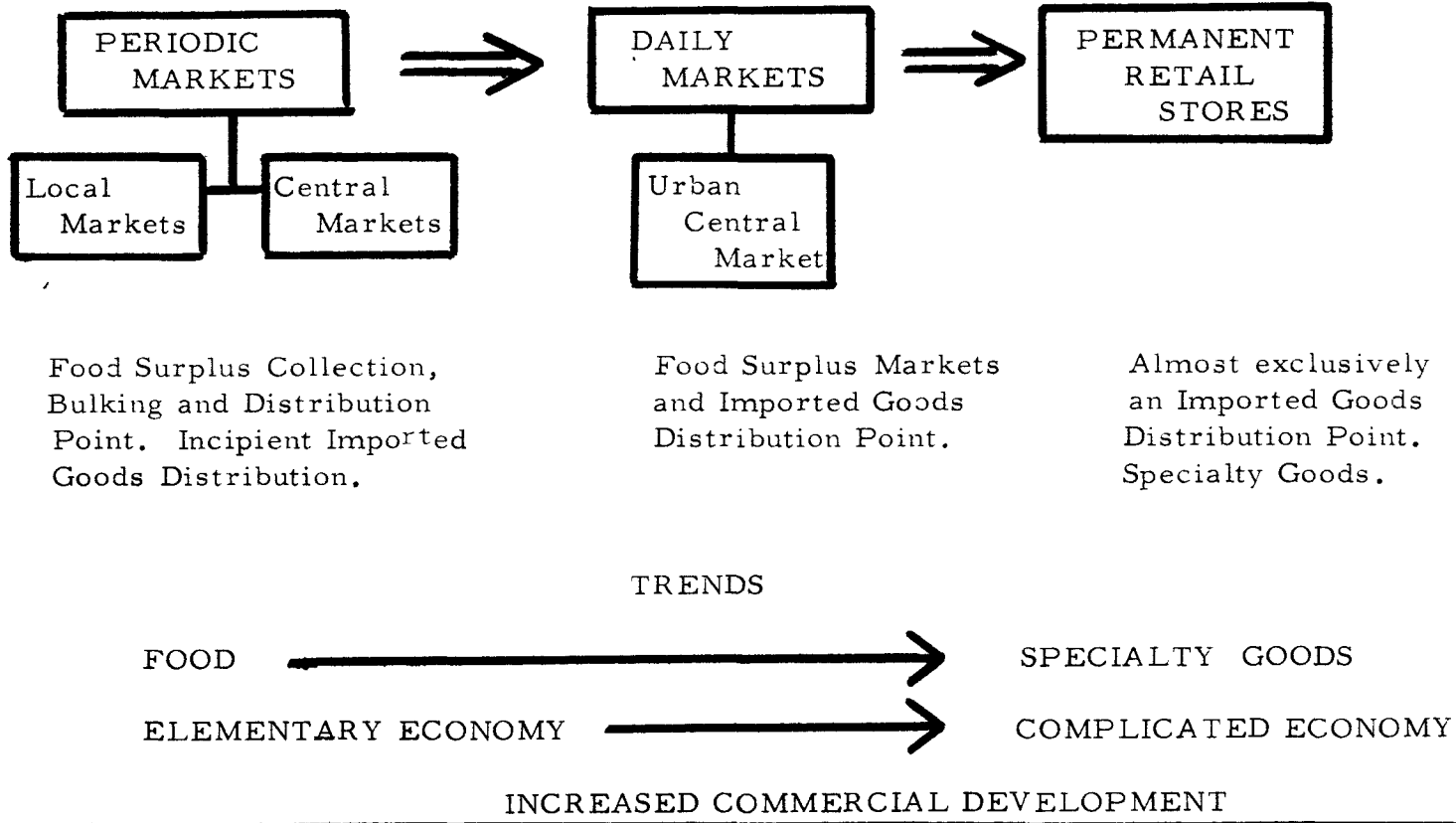


Figure 7:1

7:2 THE FUTURE OF MARKETING AND MARKETS IN THE STUDY AREA

In conclusion, several observations seem particularly important in the context of the future of markets and the marketing system in the study area.

Periodicity (or Periodism) is the most prominent feature of the marketing process in the Yola study area as it is in most peasant-based societies of limited commercialization. The temporal spacing between market meetings, as seen in Chapter Five, reflects, among other factors, population density, purchasing ability, production habits and consumption and demand norms of the more rural oriented areas - and is also an adjustment to the constraints of distance in the context of inadequate and costly transport facilities. In effect, it represents the traders attempt to gain his profit threshold. It is apparent that the functional and organizational patterns of the exchange system in the Yola study area (as seen in Chapters Five and Six), reflect, overall, an economy in the intermediate phase of commercialization.

As the marketing process becomes more developed and specialized, the growth of urban and rural based demand for imported goods (as illustrated in Table 6:2 of Chapter Six), is accompanied by a tendency for an increasing proportion of these goods to be distributed through permanent shops that are initially attracted to locations near the main

(Central) daily markets.

Hodder and Ukwu (1969) argue that the proliferation of permanent retail shops (some evolving as wholesale outlets) which assume many functions formerly associated with the unspecialized periodic market is the ultimate product of the conversion or development from periodic to continuous marketing. The issue at hand, then, to finalize this study, centres on speculating on the long range future of the Yola study area and the development issue of the markets.

There has been some controversy over the extent to which local trade and its associated institutional mechanism of the marketplace is increasing or decreasing relative to other forms of trade in the developing countries. For the Yola area, it is felt that as the population grows, as the area's transportation improves, as urbanization increases, as increased occupational specialization occurs and as the area's income and demand increases, there appears to be an increasing tendency for the larger and better located markets to shift from periodic to some form of daily regime. However, the growth of permanent day markets, and subsequently retail shops, should not lead to the atrophy of the traditional retail functions of periodic markets. Local periodic markets, because of various social and cultural traditions, because of the dispersed, rural nature of the population and because of the economic, political and physical factors alluded to earlier in the study, will retain

a very real presence in the area's economic landscape. Retail sales of local foodstuffs are likely to be increasingly concentrated in the numerous, smaller periodic markets spread over the area. One possibility concerning the area's commercial development involves the attraction of permanent retail sections to the present periodic market sites. These types of mixed markets could form the base for further expansion of urban functions into the countryside. If the changes required to facilitate this development do eventually enter and reshape the socio-economic framework in the Yola study area, it is reasonable to assume that the functional base of many of the existing markets (as seen in Chapter Six), will show significant change and expansion. It is possible, for instance, to expect that if urbanization increases and a more diversified commercial food farming program develops on the local and regional level, the periodic markets could become a specialized wholesale institution, supplying large quantities of such produce as guinea corn, ground-nuts, rice, millet, fish and meat, over an extensive interregional area. The Jimeta market illustrates well the pattern which could develop. A contemporary problem concerns the competition between the permanent retail stores which have grown up around the market site. However, the Jimeta Daily, Urban, Central Market is predominantly a food and service supply market, not only for the urban area of

Jimeta, but also for a large surrounding consumption area (or an extensive interregional area as mentioned above). The retail shop deals, for the most part, in specialized goods and miscellaneous imported (national and international) commodities. It would therefore appear that the trend for the area markets in the future will be to specialize in the food and service trade, and only to a limited degree with the specialty items.

In terms of development strategies (by planners), it appears the periodic markets of the Yola study area should be encouraged to retain and expand their present functions. Clearly, these markets enjoy wide, popular support of the local population and provide a considerable proportion of the goods and services consumed in the economy. Demand for these and additional goods and services will undoubtedly increase. These markets also provide an excellent training ground for emerging businessmen who eventually will become the entrepreneurs needed for the increased development of the commercial sector of the area's economy. Government policy should, therefore, concentrate on upgrading the market sites. Several programs could be undertaken:

- 1) The attractiveness and efficiency of markets could be improved through investment in more permanent structures such as concrete and roofed stalls, hygiene facilities and storage areas.

- 2) The marketing system would also be enhanced by a reduction in

the high cost of motor transportation for the trader and the consumer .

In the interest of creating a flexible, efficient marketing system that is responsive to changing consumer habits, it is essential that planners in the developing nations understand the specific locational, temporal characteristics, functions and interrelationships of the prevailing commercial system (Good, 1971, p. 34). Policy formation should follow complete and systematic studies of the marketing systems in local areas such as the Yola study area.

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| CHI SQUARE COMPUTATIONS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|--|-----|--|
| Day | f _o | f _e | f-f _e | (f-f _e) ² | X ² (f-f _e) ² /f _e | f _o | f _e | f-f _e | (f-f _e) ² | X ² (f-f _e) ² /f _e | f _o | f _e | f-f _e | (f-f _e) ² | X ² (f-f _e) ² /f _e | | |
| | Monday | 2 | 2.36 | .86 | .74 | .25 | 4 | 4.51 | .51 | .26 | .06 | 11 | 9.13 | 1.87 | 3.50 | .38 | |
| Tuesday | 3 | 2.08 | .92 | .35 | .41 | 1 | 3.28 | 2.28 | 5.20 | 1.60 | 8 | 6.64 | 1.36 | 1.85 | .28 | | |
| Wednesday | 2 | 4.42 | 2.42 | 5.86 | 1.33 | 8 | 6.97 | 1.03 | 1.06 | .15 | 16 | 14.11 | 1.89 | 3.57 | .25 | | |
| Thursday | 4 | 4.16 | .16 | .03 | .09 | 9 | 6.56 | 2.44 | 5.95 | .90 | 11 | 13.28 | 2.28 | 5.19 | .39 | | |
| Friday | 5 | 4.42 | .58 | .34 | .08 | 3 | 6.97 | 1.03 | 1.06 | .15 | 13 | 14.11 | 1.11 | 1.23 | .09 | | |
| Saturday | 2 | 2.60 | .60 | .36 | .14 | 2 | 4.10 | 2.10 | 4.41 | 1.08 | 11 | 3.30 | 2.70 | 7.29 | .88 | | |
| Sunday | 8 | 5.26 | 2.74 | 7.51 | 1.40 | 9 | 8.20 | .80 | .64 | .08 | 13 | 16.60 | 3.60 | 12.96 | .90 | | |
| | ARGUNGU | | | | 3.70 | GWANDU | | | | 4.02 | YOLA | | | | 3.17 | | |
| Chi Square | | | | | 10.86 | Symbols | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Degree of Freedom | | | | | 12 | X ² = Chi Square | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Significance Level | | | | | .05% | f _o = Observed Frequency | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chi Square is testing for an even distribution of market day meetings. | | | | | | f _e = Expected Frequency | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | e | | | | | | | | | | | |

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

| SPATIAL - TEMPORAL LOCATION DATA | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Same Day Markets | Mean Distances |
| | Monday - Monday 29.2 |
| | Tuesday - Tuesday 32.7 |
| | Wednesday - Wednesday 31.1 |
| | Thursday - Thursday 30.9 |
| | Friday - Friday 31.1 |
| | Saturday - Saturday 30.7 |
| | Sunday - Sunday <u>28.3</u> |
| | 214.0 Mean Sum |
| 30.5 Mean Average | |
| Adjacent Markets | Mean Distances |
| | Monday - Tuesday 16.3 |
| | Tuesday - Wednesday 19.0 |
| | Wednesday - Thursday 18.0 |
| | Thursday - Friday 17.9 |
| | Friday - Saturday 19.8 |
| | Saturday - Sunday 18.9 |
| | Sunday - Monday <u>15.6</u> |
| | 125.5 Mean Sum |
| 17.9 Mean Average | |
| Two Day Markets | Mean Distances |
| | Monday - Thursday 17.3 |
| | Tuesday - Friday 18.1 |
| | Wednesday - Saturday 15.5 |
| | Thursday - Sunday 20.2 |
| | Friday - Monday 18.5 |
| | Saturday - Tuesday 17.8 |
| | Sunday - Wednesday <u>19.5</u> |
| | 126.9 Mean Sum |
| 18.1 Mean Average | |

QUESTIONNAIRE (Sellers/Traders)

APPENDIX C

Grid Number _____

1. What do you sell?

2. Where do your products come from?

ie

Local (up to 10miles)

Regional (up to 100 miles)

National

International

Foodstuffs % _____
Non-Foodstuff % _____

3. How did you transport your products?

_____ On Foot _____ Animal _____ Bicycle _____ Taxi _____ Lorry

4. How long did it take you to come to market? _____ Minutes
_____ Hours
_____ Days

5. If the products are AGRICULTURAL - _____ Are they your own (home grown)
_____ Are they your friends/neighbour
_____ Both?
_____ Are they from another area?

6. Do you sell your products at any other markets?
_____ Yes Where _____ When _____ _____ No

7. Do you sell your products all year round?
_____ Yes _____ No

8. Do you do any other work? (Besides trading).
_____ Yes _____ No

9. What time do you start selling? _____ (Open)
What time do you stop selling? _____ (Close)

10. Why do you come to this market? _____ It is close.
_____ The size.
_____ Friends.
_____ Easy Transportation.

11. Do you come from: _____ Yola
_____ Jimeta
_____ Other _____

12. Tribe _____ Religion _____
_____ Adult _____ Male

REF.NO.AB.3383/NS/VOL:2/220

THE PROVINCIAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS,
THE NIGERIA POLICE,
ADAMAWA PROVINCE,
YOLA.

13th June, 1974.

The Divisional Police Officer,
The Nigeria Police,
Jimeta.

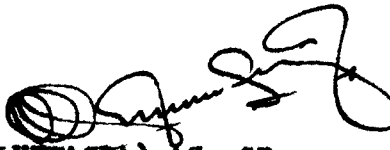
The Station Officer,
Nigeria Police,
Yola.

The NCO Incharge,
Nigeria Police,
Mayeine.

HISTORY ON SCHOOL PROJECT ETC

I am directed to inform you that permission has been granted to the bearer, Staff and Students of the Government Secondary School, Yola, to course an enquiry in the market on School Project, Marketing and other items in connection with questionnaires. This is for the purpose of Geography with the students. The team will visit Jimeta, Yola and Mayeine markets.

2. You should render full co-operation to the team, please.


(O. OLUFAGBA) AG. SP.,
2ND IN-COMMAND,
For: PROVINCIAL POLICE OFFICER,
ADAMAWA PROVINCE,
YOLA.

OO/U. TANKO

APPENDIX E

A final function of this study is to acquaint the reader with the very real limitations in carrying out research such as this in the developing countries.

Any research in a foreign territory naturally has built-in difficulties. Foreign languages prove a barrier, and this problem is amplified with such a multitude of native tongues as exist in Nigeria. This lack of communication has evident drawbacks not only in collecting data from the field, as was indicated in the Field Methods section of Chapter One, but also limits the attempts at eliciting information from the local administrators, who often lack full comprehension of English despite their posts¹.

Research in foreign areas, particularly in developing nations, is also complicated by cross-cultural perception or understanding. A lack of awareness by the researcher of various cultural/social norms not only restricts the progress of the study but may also have direct repercussions from the tribal members or the local authorities².

A very real lack of transportation and communication facilities also hampers the mobility of the researcher not only in the field

-
1. This is particularly significant since English is the official language of the country.
 2. On several occasions this author was reprimanded by administrative personnel relating to the direction in which this study, and its methods, was heading. For example, the taking of photographs in most markets in the region is disapproved of. Likewise questions involving religion and tribe grouping led to some encounters.

research, but also in all aspects of the study. The sample markets, as mentioned in Chapter One, were very much determined by accessibility.

In especially remote sections of Third World countries the lack of reference material drastically inhibits research enquiries - background information, research techniques and style format are particularly affected.

Two other, more minor factors, curtail research in the more tropical emerging countries. Physical conditions render field work difficult at best. Extremely high temperatures do not stimulate the non-native. Secondly, the degree to which disease influences the progress of the research is considerable³.

It is also crucial to carry out a logical, sequential, complete investigation, for it is virtually impossible to acquire data, or information after one's departure from the study area.

The questionnaire (Appendix C) is an example of a device which is directly influenced by the many limiting influences of the research. In general terms, the questionnaire, by necessity was quite unsophisticated in comparison to questionnaires used in research in the western societies. Several reasons dictated the need for this questionnaire to be extremely straightforward, basic and incorporate cross-checking

3. On several occasions, either the author or the assistants were affected by illness (e.g. malaria).

devices. (Many reasons have already been alluded to previously). In the first place, the questionnaire needed to be drafted several times prior to it being acceptable to the local authorities - police and military⁴. Logic in this respect was somewhat unclear. Original questions in the questionnaire of a moderate nature were vetoed, with "security" being used as the disqualifying reason. On the other hand, some information gathering questions not originally included on the questionnaire because of the "military consideration" were eventually allowed⁵.

With the use of pilot studies it was determined that questions pertaining to any form of trader financial matters received negligible replies. As mentioned in Chapter One the questionnaire dealt with simple questions designed to obtain information about cultural background, economic and spatial behaviour. Cross-checking devices were needed in order to verify certain questions due to the language and attitudinal differences and subsequent difficulties. Also, in as many cases as possible the questions were designed in order to affirm visually the response.

In conclusion, marketing processes vary from region to region

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4. Appendix D represents the permission allowed by the local police.
 5. These include Tribe and Religion responses.

and take place at different scales and it is only their great numbers and frequent repetition that give markets their significance. They are often difficult to describe in a general way and are not susceptible to analysis except after laborious field investigation which demand the application of very flexible and adaptable techniques and a knowledge of marketing geography. Current marketing principles and methods developed in the more advanced countries have only limited relevance to market studies in the developing countries. Though undoubtedly present in some form or another in many countries, markets differ widely in form and function according to the social, natural and economic environment in which they occur. The study of these markets, on local levels, despite their variation and despite limitations, will eventually assist in the gradual buildup of research knowledge about marketing systems in the developing countries.