

# Colonialism and Poverty in the Tiv Society of Nigeria

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## **Abstract**

*The paper critically examined colonialism in relation to poverty and economic development in the Tiv society of Nigeria. Accordingly, it argued that the colonial enterprise which was characterised by imperial wars and the colonial economy caused and exacerbated various forms of poverty including lack of food, housing accommodation, and water as well as denial of self esteem and human dignity among others. Although the colonial administration created infrastructure like railway, motor able roads, electricity, water and health facilities among others that would avail both products and services capable of tackling human sufferings, the efforts made proved less than desired. The paper links the current globalization phenomenon to colonialism and suggests that:- Nigeria and other less developed countries should identify their developmental challenges and look inwards and develop the most appropriate strategies in solving same in order to compete favourably in the new world economic order. The strategies should include good governance that would embrace a wide range of development issues; Nigerians should develop strength in unity, etc. The data and information for analysis in the paper were sourced from primary sources including archival materials, and secondary sources-textbooks and journal articles.*

**Key words:** Colonialism, Poverty, Development, and Tiv Society  
**JEL:** Z10, I88, O21, and N17

## Introduction

Historical epochs are segmented periods in the history of mankind that has their unique characteristics thereby defining their nature and character historically. Consequently, history has been marked by such epochs as hunting and gathering period, the medieval period, Byzantine, dark ages, renaissance, etc. which have their unique historical developments. Colonialism became an important historical epoch beginning from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It marked a period when European powers of the time, through the Berlin Conference of between 1885 and 1886, partitioned much of the World and shared it among them for economic gains. The partition enabled what is today known as Nigeria to become an appendage of the then British Empire which allowed the societies within the Nigerian region to become under British dominance. The first act of domination was the forceful subjugation of Oba Kosoko of Lagos; by British naval power in 1851 (Falola, Mahadi, Uhomoibhi, and Anyanwu, 189). From that singular act and subsequent similar ones experienced by different ethnic polities in different places at different intervals in the Nigerian region, the imperialists were able to consolidate the various hitherto separate ethno-political groups into a modern state called Nigeria in 1914 (Ibid). British colonial domination lasted in Nigeria up to 1<sup>st</sup> October 1960, when the country secured political independence from British rule.

Poverty has been with mankind generally as far back as antiquity and the Tiv are not an exception. For instance food, housing, and health poverty among others existed in Tiv society prior to colonialism. However, the emergence of colonialism in Tiv land in the nineteenth century created new forms of poverty and heightened the already existing poverty thereby exacerbated the poverty situation generally.

The crux of this essay is to examine some perspectives of socio-economic developments that took place in Tiv area, Nigeria, during the colonial era, specifically those that relates to poverty and development. Subsequently, the essay explores the linkages between colonialism and poverty, and as well examines the efforts of the colonial regime in causing development and the impacts in Tiv domains during the colonial period.

## Conceptual and Theoretical Analysis

Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon embracing social, political, economic, knowledge/intellectual, environmental etc aspects of human life. Traditionally, among the Tiv, poverty refers to lack or absence of material things that raises the standard of living of an individual or group of persons and the suffering that emerges due to such lack or absence. The Tiv refers to poverty as *ibanave* or *ichan* which prior to modernization was measured

essentially in terms of material possessions that ensured better living conditions of an individual or group of individuals. The modernization of poverty has however elevated poverty to embrace living conditions that are not in line with modern standards of living. This wise, poverty is measured in quantitative and qualitative terms-of quality and quantity of goods and services that are capable of improving the living conditions of an individual(s). It is also assessed by determining such factors as human dignity and condition of self esteem, and exclusion, etc. The colonial era marked a transition period between traditionalism and modernism; consequently, the interpretation of poverty shifted from the traditional to modern context based on western defined standards of living. For instance access to water became access to adequate safe water supply which must come from stipulated sources; housing became access to safe houses made of certain prescribed materials and design patterns. The modernization of poverty therefore sees poverty as aptly captured by the Copenhagen Declaration on Poverty as follows:

‘Lack of income and productive resources sufficient enough to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger; ill-health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services, increased mobility and

mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments, social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by lack of participation in decision making and in civil, social and cultural life’ (Alimeka, 12-13).

It therefore implies that poverty is absence of tangible and non-tangible items that are capable of improving man’s economic, political, socio-cultural, environmental conditions leading to his improved wellbeing.

Colonialism is the conquest, occupation and domination of one society by another. In the case of Tiv society, it was their conquest, occupation, and domination by British. The phenomenon came into the Nigerian area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and by 1908 Tiv society was effectively conquered, occupied and subjected to British rule. Colonialism is rooted in capitalism which originates from imperialism. Imperialism according to Michael Barrat Brown as cited by Adejoh is:

‘The outward drive of certain people...to build both formal colonies and privileged position in markets, protected sources of materials and extended opportunities from profitable employment and labour...an unequal

economic relationship between states, not simply the inequality of large and small, rich and poor trading partners, but the inequality of political and economic dependence of the latter on the former' (2).

The above definition dwells more on the economics of imperialism. Other definitions however explain imperialism in terms of power relations between societies or peoples in relation to economic interest. For instance, the Chambers Encyclopedia vol. 7 as cited by Busari defines imperialism to mean:

'The political organization which we can call empire. An empire always implies the role of one nation, race or community over another. It is a social organism or state in which the political status of the peoples inhabiting the geographical area within the state is not equal; one community is dominant and the other subject. Political inequality is the essence of empire' (36-37)

There are three contending views as to why Britain and other European Nations colonized other societies. First, theorists of colonialism argued that European colonizing

missions of other societies were meant to cause development in the colonized societies. To such apostles, colonized societies were not developing as they lacked modernization, as such, it was the function of the colonizing societies to take over non-modernized societies and ensure their development. That colonized societies were barbaric, uncivilized and archaic and so colonisations were done in order to salvage the ruining socio-political and cultural lives of the colonized peoples<sup>1</sup>.

Second, is the school of thought which views colonialism as a reciprocal or symbiotic relationship between two groups of societies-the colonized and the colonizer. While the colonizers saw the colonized as been grossly underdeveloped but had what it takes to develop offered to take over the underdeveloped societies and cause development for them for the benefit of both. This was expressed by Lord Lugard in his *Dual Mandate* when he stated that:

'Let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital, and energy have not been and never will be expanded in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy ...Europeans are in African for the mutual benefit of her industrial classes, the natives races in their progress to a higher plane that the

benefits can be made reciprocal, and that it is of the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfil a dual mandate' (Konszacki, 16).

To this school of thought colonialism was aimed to positively benefit the colonized societies and the colonizers. The colonizing missions saw in the colonized society's resources which could be exchanged with their capital and technology leading to a symbiotic relationship. (Hopkins, 120-135). The third argument with regards to colonialism is that expressed by the dependency theorists who argue that colonialism was not intended to benefit colonized societies as expressed by the colonial apologists. They contend that colonialism was initiated with the sole intent of exploiting the colonized societies for the benefit of the colonizers and that if Africans ever benefited from the colonial enterprise such benefits were unintended. Mazrui cited in Boahen expressed this when he explained that the positive benefits of the imperial system in Africa were by the iron laws of unintended consequences (784). Similarly, Kaniki cited in Boahen argued that "were there was development in colonies it was by and large a by-product of activities intended to promote the interest of the colonizers" (386). This essay therefore adopts the dependency school as the theoretical tool in analysing colonialism and the spate of poverty and underdevelopment in Tiv

society during the colonial period due to the nature and character of colonialism.

The colonial regime upon establishing its hold in Tiv society developed infrastructure and embarked on activities which can be termed development measures. For instance, the rail line that passed through Tiv land including settlements like Makurdi, Udei, Yogbo etc, and the bridge across River Benue was created in the 1930s. The first colonial road infrastructure in Tiv domain-the Abinsi to Katsina-Ala road, was developed in 1912 and by the 1920s other such roads were also created (Agba, "A History of Poverty Reduction" 113). However, what appeared to be planned development by the colonial government for the Tiv area came on board after the Second World War when the then British government initiated the Colonial Development Welfare Act (CDWA). The Act was an enabling law to cause the colonial government provide funds for the development of overseas' territories including Nigeria. The CWDA then manifested in the colonial development programme for Nigeria in 1946-1956 which initiated a development plan, christened "A Ten Year Programme of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1946-1956". The programme was meant to create roads, electricity, water supply, schools, hospitals, etc in the Nigerian region including Tiv area. However, many analysts including Walter Rodney argued that such development plan

was meant to enhance the political and economic exploitation and continued domination by the colonial powers as well as enhance the social lives of Europeans in African. He buttressed the fact that the pattern of development and distribution of colonial infrastructure and facilities were confined to a few designated areas to serve the needs of the working class and was therefore intended to meet the exigencies of the colonial state (97). This argument is true with Tiv society as colonial water, electricity, and health infrastructures were created only within the colonial official's residents and offices in Makurdi and Katsina-Ala.

The debate as to whether colonial infrastructure was meant to benefit the Tiv or not is not the concern at this point, what is of paramount importance is the fact that the colonial administration developed a development plan for Nigeria and through the plan executed projects that upon utilization would impact positively on the lives of those who accessed the infrastructure.

#### **A brief Explanation on Geographical and Historical Issues**

Tiv refers to both an ethnic group and a language. Tiv are in the present found in the lower Benue valley, in central Nigeria. They are indigenous groups in, Benue, Cross-River, Taraba, and Nasarawa states, Nigeria, as well as in the Republic of Cameroon. Extensive research on the origin and migration of Tiv has led to the

consensus that they dispersed into the Lower Benue Valley from the Nigerian-Cameroon border (Makar, and Igirgi). Accordingly, Tiv land is situated in the undulating plains of the Benue Valley in Central Nigeria roughly between 6<sup>0</sup>30'N to 8<sup>0</sup> N, and 8<sup>0</sup>N to 10<sup>0</sup>E (Bohannans' 3). Similarly, Nyagba explained that Tiv land is expansive and situated almost wholly within the Savannah region belt of Nigeria, (89). Prior to the establishment of colonialism in the Nigerian region the Tiv had as far back as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, settled in the Lower Benue Valley (Iyo) and had their traditional economic, social, and political systems which guarded and guaranteed their existence (Makar). The introduction of colonialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Tiv society however saw the emergence of policies and actions which eroded their traditional practices and paved way for modernization-including the modernization of poverty both in its forms and measurement indices.

#### **Colonialism and Poverty among the Tiv in the Colonial Period**

The first spark of colonial incursion in the Tiv area was in 1900 when a conflict ensued between the Tiv and colonial officials in Mbagwen clan, North of River Benue. The colonial authorities were laying a telegraph line from Lokoja (North-West) to connect Ibi (North-East), meanwhile Tiv territory lies in between these two points and to cut cost the telegraph line necessary had to pass through Tiv

area. The colonial agents without notifying any *Orya*-family head, been the grass root political unit of the Tiv, embarked on clearing a path in order to lay the communication line. The team comprised of white men and Africans who acted as guides, clerks, and soldiers etc. These been strangers and propelled by fear and the thought that people had come to invade their land, the Tiv attacked the team. Ikime rightly captured this when he stated that:

‘...To have suddenly observed strangers surveying their land, to have seen these backed by soldiers armed with rifles or often more deadly weapons must have filled them with great anger and fear’.

He argued further that:

‘For the Tiv, the construction of Lugard’s telegraph lines by a party under military escort was tantamount to a declaration of war to which they responded by launching an attack party’ (“The fall of Nigeria”95).

The British imperial agents on the other had interpreted the Tiv’s action as a hostile move. Consequently, the British colonial government organized a counter attack against the Tiv but was never quickly overcome as was thought by the imperial powers (Makar, 95).The

imperial army reinforced their military strength and logistics using Akwanaja, a town east of Loko in the then Doma country and launched series of attacks on the Tiv people of Raav in Mbagwen clan. The attacks lead to the deaths of many, just as several homes were burnt and looted and properties including livestock were destroyed in the process. The Tiv therefore had to retreat only to launch a counter offensive at the British imperial army who then suffered a humiliating defeat and withdrew to Akwanaja (Ibid).They however organized a counter offensive against the Tiv and this time around the Tiv were defeated ruthlessly. Lugard reported on that assault on the Tiv as follows:

‘I cannot but express my sense of regret at the great loss of life among these ignorant savages and the burning of scores of villages with their food. The Mushi (Tiv) are intractable people, and nothing except extremely severe chastisement of this sort will prevent them from lawless murders and looting...or induce them to allow the telegraph to be constructed through their country’ (Ikime, “The Pacification of the Tiv” 173).

Another similar attack on the Tiv followed in 1901 when thereafter William Wallace the then acting high commissioner reported that “it is

important that severe punishment be meted to this savage tribe when we first came in contact with them” (Ibid). It can be clearly seen from Wallace’s report that there was no evidence of savagery on the Tiv. The only fault of the Tiv was that they refused to yield up their independence. The 1900 and 1901 attacks marked the beginnings of British invasion of Tiv territory which continued up to 1908 before ‘peaceful’ penetration process was adopted by the imperial powers in subjugating Tiv territory.

By 1908 the entire Tiv domains were subjugated and upon the establishment of colonial rule, the colonial regime introduced the colonial economy which was anchored on capitalism-a monetized, commercialized, and commoditized economy, to replace the traditional communal mode of production practiced by the Tiv. The colonial economy introduced a widely accepted means of measure-cash money, taxation, forced and waged labour, cash crops, and colonial infrastructure among others. which provided fertile grounds for exacerbation of poverty in Tiv society.

The processes (the imperial wars of conquest) which led to the occupation hence colonialism of Tiv domains in their very nature ensured poverty. The imperialist wars of occupation against the Tiv were aptly captured by Ikime when he stated that:

‘The British fought one section of Tiv to the

other. Unlike in centralized societies like Sokoto Caliphate where when the British won in pitched battle, the whole group submitted to the British. The Tiv were a hindrance to the British objective of occupying up its territory. The British continuously attacked the Tiv and gradually took over portions of Tiv territories. By 1900 the Tiv became part of the British Empire with Lugard’s proclamation of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria’ (Ikime, “The Pacification of the Tiv” 104).

The military assaults by the colonial forces on the Tiv caused forced migration/population displacement and the attendant consequences for many people. The implications of forced migration include lack of access to basic life sustaining requirements like food, housing, water, and insecurity etc. (Agba, “Population Displacement”). In addition even those who persevered and did not move out of their homes faced the above mentioned problems as their homes and the valuables in them including food items were burnt and destroyed in the course of the attacks. According to Agba:

‘The destruction of Tiv villages and Tiv agricultural produce by



the colonial army during the process of conquest...threw people into one form of poverty or the other. The destruction of the crops not only facilitated food poverty but also poverty of other life sustaining goods and services. This was because the crops served as items of trade and as such their destruction led to ceased benefits of such trade which guaranteed the condition of lack or insufficiency' ('A History of Poverty Reduction"106).

Deprivations of food, shelter and water supply are indicators of poverty. Similarly, the condition of powerlessness which the colonial forces exposed and placed the Tiv masses as they were at various times subdued in the wars meant poverty. The killing of the Tiv from the wars caused poverty among them as many families' bread winners, especially the males of productive age were killed thus depleting human resource base which was vital for development. Wives were left as widows just as children were left as orphans. The inhuman treatment and the emergent pains from population displacements experienced by the Tiv through the colonial wars of conquest can better be imagined; they were treated as inferior species or sub-human beings.

Monetization, commercialization and commoditization of Tiv economy during colonialism also caused poverty. The colonial economic policies were intricately intertwined and ensured the exit of the communal mode of production among the Tiv which paved way for the introduction of cash money and its compulsory usage in accessing goods and services beneficial to human existence. Similarly, the change in the economic system entrenched capital accumulation, and individualism which are antithetical to communalism. Based on the principles of egalitarianism, equality, fairness and being one's brothers' keeper, communalism ensures that resources of a community or family are pooled together for the benefit of all irrespective of the individuals' capabilities and inabilities. In that manner poverty was checked as the most vulnerable owing to intellectual, physical or whatever form of incapability in a community/family were carried along in the scheme of things. It therefore implied that the stoppage of the communal mode of life threw those that lacked certain capabilities into poverty.

Taxation was never a part of Tiv economy before the emergence of colonialism. The introduction of taxation by the colonial regime required all adults to pay tax in cash money which was the British Pound Sterling, for use in running the colonial administration and even

remittance to the British government in the metro pole. Consequent upon this the revenues which accrued from taxation were £1, 949, in 1912; £8,864, in 1916; £9,026, in 1917 and £11, 783 in 1918 from a standard capitation tax of two Shillings per adult males and females (Agber, 128). The policy of taxation caused poverty in two folds: those taxed were deprived of their capabilities for instance they were forced to engage in other ventures such as wage labour in other to acquire money and pay tax. Again, where they could as well use such money to secure other goods and services for their wellbeing; they expended it on paying tax which brought them no immediate direct benefits. Secondly, the process of tax collection was accompanied with cruelty and brute that afflicted physical and psychological pains for tax payers especially those who defaulted. Those unwilling to or incapable of paying tax were physically manhandled or their valuables including animals and foods stuff were confiscated or both. Venda Igbangi cited by Ihwua explained that when a taxable person failed to pay tax, he was either beaten or jailed by the colonial authorities (Ihwua, 44). Brute force, cruelty and locking up of tax evaders as were exhibited by the colonial regime in tax administration on the masses are forms of poverty.

Forced and waged labour. The colonial regime needed sufficient labour to execute colonial administration, roads, mining, and imperial army and police services etc.

The Tiv were not used to wage labour so it was difficult for the imperial administration to acquire the labour needs, failure of which the colonial enterprise would not function. They therefore resorted to the forceful conscription of Tiv people into their various administrative and infrastructural concerns which included the construction of a railway line that ran across North-Western Tivland, a combined rail and motor vehicle bridge in Makurdi, Jos mines among others. Records has it that between February, 1942 and August 1943 a total of 13,000 Tiv 'conscripts' were forcibly taken to Jos, Plateau to work at the tin Mines (NAK, Supply of Labour). The forced conscription implied 'slavery' where those conscripted were paid incommensurate wages, and were subjected to poor living conditions characterized by poor food intake, sanitary conditions, housing, etc. The Jos tin mines exhibited these conditions as it is on record that between September, 1942 to August, 1943, two hundred and forty three and one hundred and thirty six deaths of Tiv conscripts were recorded at Jos mines and Tenti Dam construction site respectively (NAK, J. J. Emberton Report).

The deaths were as a result of asthenia, bronchitis, pneumonia, cerebra-spinal meningitis, chicken pox, small pox, and tuberculosis among others whose major causes included exposure to cold, overcrowding and poor feeding (Ibid). Forced conscription also meant human

displacement. The conscripts left their original homes (Tiv land) and were subjected to all forms of poverty as discussed above. In most cases they left behind people who depended on them and such people in return experienced one form of poverty or the other owing to the absence of their breadwinners. Equally of importance to note is the fact that some of the conscripts upon exhausting their energies in the mines were disengaged and returned home with diseases and other ailments which they contracted in the mines, such as typhoid, yellow fever, small pox, jiggers, tuberculosis etc many of which were contagious (Mker,123). It therefore implies that some of their family members, friends, and close associates and by extension the communities where they returned to at large, were at potential risks of contracting such illnesses which meant health poverty with its associated forms like income and food poverty etc.

Colonial infrastructure such as roads, railway, motor cars and Lorries aided in carting away resources useful for productive ventures away from Tiv domains to the metropolis. For example soya bean was a cash crop that was produced in large quantities in Tiv society through inducements and sheer force from the colonial administration. However, until during the post-colonial era almost every grain of the crop was exported to Europe. The British colonial agents made no efforts at creating a processing plant for soya bean in the

Tiv area. Rather they shipped all of it. The Lorries and canoes/speed boats moved the produce from the interiors to the nearest buying centres called canteens. From the canteens the produce were transported on roads by Lorries to the rail stations from where it was railed to the ports for final shipment (Agba, "The Origin and Development" 103). Again, Tiv personnel that were forcefully conscripted into the various colonial labour litany either in the Jos mines or colonial army outside Tiv land were moved out of Tiv domain through colonial transport infrastructure.

Equally worth discussing is the issue of urbanization. Urbanization was also a colonial feature that emerged in Tiv society. Although urban development was not new in Tiv history, its modernization and the attendant characteristics during the colonial period has made it to be discussed as a colonial phenomenon especially with regards to the issue of poverty. The growth of urban centres such as Gboko, Makurdi, Wannune etc in such magnitude as propelled by colonialism as a result of capitalism, created changes that influenced poverty. The urban areas transformed into business and colonial administrative hubs and became pull centres for human population to the point that the facilities in them could not serve the inhabitants adequately. Resources such as housing and water became grossly inadequate to serve the teeming population that trooped into the towns. This led to the emergence

of shanties or slum dwellings characterized by poor living conditions including poor housing, unclean environments, lack of safe toilet and waste disposal facilities etc. Those conditions were potential sources of diseases and epidemic outbreaks. The shanties/slum dwellings were in their rights manifestations of poverty, just as the potential diseases which they would breed. Due to the zeal to accumulate wealth as informed by capitalism-colonialism, the towns became points of social vices such as armed-robbery and house breaking, prostitution, drug abuse etc, all of which impacted on the living conditions of people negatively.

The colonial economy provided one outlet or the other for poverty to thrive. Even though the colonial administration sought to cause development and welfare for the Tiv through creating some infrastructure, such gesture did not help matters sufficiently as only a few had access to the facilities. The failure of the gesture in causing sustainable development hence greater reduction of human misery was due to the theory of dependency. British imperial mission in Nigeria and Tiv society was not intended to cause development hence poverty reduction. The major concern was the exploitation of the colonized territory of its natural and human resources to aid capital accumulation by the colonizers both as individuals and as a State. Consequently, British colonialists had no political will to do anything in Tiv land that would cause

genuine development. That explains for instance why they could not develop local processing plants in Tiv land for the major food and cash crops produced in the area, but rather preferred to ship such to Europe for processing. Once processed the crop found itself back into Tiv society in other forms which were sold at cut throat prices to the Tiv.

Colonialism has bequeathed Nigeria and Tiv society with capitalism as the new economic model. In theory colonialism exited the shores of Tivland on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1960, when the British imperialist granted Nigeria independence. However, the truth remains that imperialism and colonialism are not dead but have been transformed into 'globalization' which according to Adejoh is essentially the geographical dimension of the phenomenon of imperialism, a transition to geo-finance system(4). Globalization is the latest phase of five centuries of development of capitalism and imperialism (Ibid, 6-7). According to Toyo it is "a phase in the anti-stagflation, counter-revolutionary, tripartite competition, and neo-monopolist propaganda offensive of imperialism" (15). Globalization is essentially the 'integration' of all economies to the business operations of expansionary multinational corporations. It is a capitalist system that thrives on many of the structures of the colonial economy. Adejoh succinctly captured this when he stated that:

'Its fundamental pillars, like the 19<sup>th</sup> century capitalist imperialist structure, rest on the fact that, it is not just about the 'integration of' but 'opening up' of all economies and all productions, services, natural resources to business operations of expansionary global corporations'(4).

Globalization is therefore imperialism/colonialism guised in another form. The very essence of imperialism hence colonialism was exploitation of less developed states for the purpose of capital accumulation by the imperial powers. Exploitation and capital accumulation also defines the global relationships among States in the context of globalization.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Colonial incursion of Tiv Society was premised on capitalism which in recent times has been clothed with globalisation. Globalisation may seem to have benefits to Africa at large and Nigeria in particular including Tiv society; however, such benefits are compelled by the iron law of unintended consequences. This essay therefore argue that less developed countries including Nigeria (where Tiv society is located) should look inward and develop the most appropriate strategies that would place them at equal footing with the imperial countries in the competitive global

agenda. One of the strategies is good governance which should give room for the promotion of development in all spheres of human endeavour including industrialization, educational research and development, integration of all irrespective of whatever divides. This will ensure the pooling of natural and human resources and their optimal harnessing and application that would warrant development. There is also the need for a robust and articulate regional integration of less developed countries with coherent and formidable development agendas and actions. There is also the need for Nigerians individually and groups to embrace unity in order to explore and exploit the strengths of unity optimally.

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**Endnote**

<sup>1</sup> Arguments by many Eurocentric scholars indicate that European imperialism and colonialism of Africa was to ensure civilization of African societies to remove them from the pangs of primitiveness, read for instance Lord Lugard's *Dual Mandate*.