

TRANSPORT MARKET STUDY – THE BODIJA CATTLE MARKET IN IBADAN

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** This paper was developed under a networked research programme funded by the UK Department for International Development. The paper provides the views of the authors only and not necessarily those of the other contributors to the programme or the funder. The Department for International Development can accept no responsibility for any information provided or views expressed.*

March, 2005

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1. INTRODUCTION: LOCATION AND CHAIN CONTEXT

i) Location:

Bodija market is located in the Ibadan North Local Government area of Oyo State, Nigeria. It is about one kilometer from the University of Ibadan along the road to the State Government's Secretariat which is also about one kilometer away. It is the main recipient and distributor of cattle moved from different parts of northern states to Ibadan metropolis and some parts of the Yoruba south west. Although Bodija remains the main cattle market in Ibadan, the main Kraal for initially receiving cattle from the northern states was moved to Akinyele about 19 kilometers north on the Ibadan – Oyo road after the 1999 Bodija ethnic conflict.

The Bodija inter-ethnic conflict between the Hausa cattle traders and the Yoruba marketers started from a dispute between a goat trader and some market women. A trailer, which off-loaded cattle at the then Bodija Kraal, also brought 10 goats. As the Hausa owner of the goats was moving them to the section of the market for goat sellers, the goats left some faeces along the route. This caused an argument between the marketers along the route and the Hausa man who, in the process, stabbed one of the marketers with his knife. A fracas then ensued and the Hausa trader was taken to the Police Station at Sango, about three kilometers from the market. The arrest of the Hausa trader and the subsequent rumour about the beating of some Yoruba marketers who went to the police station the following day to inquire about the case, sparked off further trouble in the Bodija market between Hausa cattle traders and Yoruba non-cattle traders. It is worth noting that there was no disturbance/fighting among the Hausa and Yoruba cattle traders. The main reason for this can only be attributed to the mutual understanding and friendship which trading in same commodity has created over the years. Also many of the traders interact socially. They attend one another's ceremonies such as children's weddings, burials and religious festivities. It is common for Yoruba traders who are Christians to attend muslim festivals (il-de filtri and iley) and for Hausa muslim traders to visit their Yoruba counter parts, at Christmas and Easter festivals.

However, upon further inquiry, one old Yoruba cattle trader opined that, although the mutual understanding might have had some influence in preventing the fight between Hausa and Yoruba traders, the quick

intervention of the police and the State Governor contributed in preventing the escalation of the disturbance. To him, had the disturbance continued for more days, the influence of the mutual understanding might have disappeared.

The Governor of Oyo State at that time, Alhaji Lam Adesina, then decided to move the Kraal to its present site at Akinyele about 19 kilometers north of Ibadan along Ibadan-Oyo-Ilorin road. It is more spacious than Bodija market and far from the Bodija non-cattle traders. The Kraal at Akinyele is called Lam Adesina Cattle Kraal, named after the Governor. Although there was initial resistance by the cattle dealers, they have now settled and they seem to be enjoying the new location which is more spacious except for the poor condition of the Ibadan – Ilorin road, now under repairs.

Today, Akinyele is the main Kraal for initially receiving cattle from the northern states while Bodija remains the main market for the slaughtering and marketing of cattle in the Ibadan metropolis and some parts of Yoruba south west.

ii) Transport Chain

In studying the Cattle Transport Market at Bodija Market the key actors are considered at 4 levels of movement, namely;

- i) Transportation from sources in the northern States to the Akinyele Kraal;
- ii) Transportation from Akinyele to Bodija Market
- iii) Transportation within Bodija Market
- iv) Transportation from Bodija market after sale of whole/slaughtered cows.

table 1 shows the various key actors and their general characteristics

Table 1: Characteristics of Actors

	Key Actor	Local Term	Role	Gender	Ethnic Group	Relative Wealth/Poverty
1.	a) Cattle Trader b) Cattle Trader/Landlords	Eleran Eleran	a) Moving cattle from northern markets to Akinyele kraal. b) Selling cattle at Akinyele and allocating spaces	Males Males	Mainly Hausas Hausas and Yorubas	Wealthy Wealthy
2.	a) Wholesaler b) Retailers c) Middlemen	Eleran Eleran Jawos/barandas	a) Moving of cattle from Akinyele to Bodija; selling cattle at Bodija market b) Selling slaughtered cows c) Arranging sales & credit sales for buyers	Mainly males, few females Males	Yoruba Yoruba Yoruba	Averagely wealthy Averagely wealthy Averagely wealthy
3.	<u>Transporters</u> a) Trailers b) Truckers c) Canters d) Taxis e) Drivers f) Cart Pushers f) Loaders g) Porters	Onimoto Awako Olomolanke Alaarus	Moving cattle at all stages. a) Moving cattle from northern markets to Akinyele b) Moving cattle from northern markets to Akinyele kraal. c) Moving cattle from Akinyele to Bodija market. d) Moving slaughtered cows from Bodija to other sub-markets in Ibadan e) Driving of vehicles at all levels f) Moving tired/ailing cows from Akinyele kraal to vehicles. Moving cattle from Bodija after offloading to the abattoir g) Loading and unloading of vehicles at source, Akinyele and Bodija h) Moving slaughtered cows from abattoir to vehicles at Bodija	Males Males Males Males Males Male Mainly females, some males	Hausa/Yoruba Hausa/Yoruba Yoruba Yoruba Yoruba Hausa/Yoruba Mainly Yoruba; few Hausa men.	Averagely wealthy Averagely wealthy Averagely wealthy Relatively poor Poor Poor Poor
4.	<u>Associations</u> a) Akinyele Cattle Traders b) Daraja Kanta Hore (Hqtrs at Abuja; branch at Akinyele) c) Owolowo Cattle Dealers (Umbrella Association for Executives of all Association in cattle trade). d) National Union of Road Transporters (NURT) e) National Association of Butchers f) Association of Cart Pushers g) Association of Loaders	Egbe Eleran Egbe Eleran Egbe Eleran Owolowo Egbe Onimoto Egbe Alapata Egbe Olomolanke Egbe Alaarus	Regulating and controlling cattle dealers' activities at Akinyele kraal Regulating and controlling cattle dealers' activities at Akinyele. Regulating and controlling cattle dealers' activities at Akinyele; liason role with Local Government on matters relating to the kraal. Regulating and controlling activities of porters at Akinyele and Bodija market Regulating and controlling activities of cattle traders in Bodija market Regulating and controlling activities of cart pushers. Informal meetings to settle petty quarrels among members	Mainly males Male Mainly males; some females Males; few females Males Males males	Mainly Hausa; few Yoruba Yoruba; few Hausas Yoruba Yoruba Yoruba Yoruba/few Hausas	Relatively wealthy Wealthy Members – a combination of averagely wealthy and poor people Members – a combination of relatively wealthy and poor people A combination of relatively wealth and poor people. Poor

2. STUDY FOCUS

Over the years a pattern of transportation has emerged by which cattle is moved from various market sources in the northern states to the consumers in the southwest through the cattle markets such as the Bodija market in Ibadan. Many key actors are involved in the process of transporting the cattle from these northern sources to the final consumers. As shown in table 1, these key actors can be categorized into 4 groups, namely the main cattle dealers (**dillalai**) who are the primary traders who transport cattle from the north to Akinyele Kraal. We also have the wholesalers and retailers who move cattle either live (**wholesalers**) or slaughtered (**retailers**). The wholesalers are involved in movement from Akinyele to Bodija market while the retailers move mainly within the Bodija market and to other sub-markets in Ibadan metropolis. There are the **middlemen** who perform the important task of ensuring that contractual obligations between the sellers and the buyers are fulfilled. A cow may change hands up to between five and seven times between the source in the northern markets to the slaughter slab at Bodija market. Good relationships develop over time among the various actors based on mutual trust.

A major category of actors are the **transporters** – the owners of vehicles and the drivers that actually convey the cattle in **trailers, trucks, canters, pick-up vans** and **taxi cabs**. Also important are the **cart pushers (olomolankes)** and the **head porters (alaarus)** whose services are equally important in the transportation process.

The various cattle dealers' **Associations**, the National Union of Road Transporters (**NURT**), the Association of Cart Pushers and the loaders perform the regulatory role by ensuring good behaviour among their members, controlling their activities and settling petty quarrels which might ensue in the process of transacting business.

Many of these Associations have no formal constitution but they rely on norms which they have developed after long years of existence and which they enforce with relative ease.

The activities of these various actors, their ways of operation, their rules and method of enforcement are spelt out in details in section 4 of this report.

3. METHODOLOGY

i. Data Collection

Three major methods were adopted in data collection, namely;

- a) Group Interviews of various actors (see below) followed by informal conversations with some members of each group.
- b) Direct observation of the various actors in the process of undertaking their roles in cattle movement within the Bodija Market.

There was a note-taker for the interviews, which were also tape-recorded

- c) Extraction of relevant information from publications – journal articles, theses written by students in the Faculties of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine, University of Ibadan and the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) in Ibadan.

Group interviews were conducted on January 4 & 5, 2005 at Akinyele Kraal and January 13 & 14, at the Bodija market. The timing of the interviews was made to avoid the hectic festive periods, particularly at Christmas and New Year.

Arrangements for the different groups were made through Mr. Wasiu who is a main meat seller at Sango market in Ibadan. He was introduced by my wife, his major customer. Mr. Wasiu a Yoruba man is an experienced cattle trader who has been in the cattle market trade for over 20 years. He made the contacts and arranged the groups as requested by me.

A check-list of questions was prepared for the interviews with the various groups. The questions deal with various issues including the following:

- how the existing transport system for cattle movement is organized;
- the main actors and their various roles;
- the type of formal and informal associations that exist;
- how the actors/associations are organized and what roles they perform in the movement of cattle (life and/or slaughtered);
- who determines the transport modal choices for cattle movement at different levels;
- the actors' modes of operation; the laws and regulations guiding their operations;
- ethnic composition;
- sources of capital;
- types of vehicles and other equipment used in cattle movement;

- positioning of live cattle in vehicles during transportation at various levels;
- cost of movement and the various charges/levies (authorized and unauthorized);
- trust issues in cattle movement;
- storage of cattle and space allocation at both Akinyele Kraal and Bodija market. etc.

The analysis in section 4 is based mainly on data gathered through the first two sources and supported by some information from the third source.

4. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

A) Introduction: Cattle Transportation in Nigeria

Over the years a pattern of transportation has emerged by which cattle is moved from various sources in the northern states to the southern cattle markets. Three major methods of movement which have been and are still being used are movement on the hoofs, by rail and by road transport.

Movement on hoofs is the oldest means of cattle movement and it now accounts for a very small proportion of the total cattle transport market. There are two major cattle routes to the southern markets. The first begins from Sokoto in the northwest and ends in Lagos in the southwest through Jebba. The second route starts from Maiduguri in the northeast and ends in Calabar in the southeast passing through Kano and Zaria (Iro, 1994). The Fulani herdsmen follow these fixed routes. While the northwest to southwest route takes an average of twenty four to twenty seven days, that of the northeast to southeast takes between fifty to fifty four days. This overland drovage is extraneous, time consuming and quite often risky.

The dwindling use of the movement on hoofs can be ascribed to the harsh environment enroute and the transit animal mortalities. The animals are subjected to whipping and traumatizing by the drovers and they are made to walk up to twenty five kilometers a day with little time to graze or drink water. Iro (1994) noted that a crude estimate showed that the animals loose up to 40% of their original weight during the more than 1000 kilometers' journey from the northern to the southern markets. However, movement on the hoof is still common in the northern markets. In Acida market in Sokoto, for example, cattle is moved to the market on the hoof from the villages.

Railway carriage was first experimented when in 1912 the Shehu of Borno, with the help of the then British Resident, exported cattle and sheep to Lagos by the then newly completed rail line (Iro, 1994). It was reported that the Shehu made a 90% profit on the trip. Thus, the railway became the main mode of cattle movement until the 1960s when road transport overtook the railways as a major mode of movement in Nigeria. However, poor rail connection has adversely affected the use of railways for cattle movement. For example, the rail lines do not reach the remote cattle producing areas. The railways services also do not provide sufficient stock feeds, water sources, resting places and veterinary facilities for the cows in transit and also housing for livestock freighters at rail termini. To compound the problems, cattle trains and wagons are grossly inadequate resulting in delays, overloading and the spread of diseases among animals waiting to be evacuated at the railway stations.

Railway officials and veterinary inspectors were said to have engaged in unscrupulous deals, demanding bribes from herd-owners before allocating wagon spaces. Their malpractices have undermined the effectiveness of rail services and caused needless suffering of herds on the waiting lists at rail stations. Today, the operation of railways in Nigeria has been quite epileptic, erratic and frustrating.

Although more costly than rail, the road has dominated the movement of cattle in Nigeria. Road truckage is dominated by the private sector and, therefore, it is more efficiently run than the publicly owned and operated railways. The cattle traders who do not own vehicles rely on road transporters to haul their herds from northern sources to the southern markets.

Cattle movement by road is not without its own problems. For example, the cattle are kept standing and in some cases laying in the vehicles throughout the long journey without food or water (**Ademosu, 1976**). Most rural roads are seasonal and inoperable during the rainy season. Vehicles are prone to accidents and cattle and freight insurance is absent in Nigeria.

B) Analysis of Findings

Presentation and analysis of findings in this study are done at the four different levels of cattle movement as enumerated in 1.2 above, namely;

- i) Movement of Cattle from the Northern States to the Akinyele Kraal in Ibadan;**
- ii) Movement of cattle from Akinyele to Bodija Market;**
- iii) Movement of cattle (life and slaughtered) within Bodija Market; and**
- iv) Movement of cattle (life and slaughtered) from Bodija market to various locations in Ibadan metropolis and the Yoruba south west.**

The various actors and their roles are discussed at each level.

i) Movement from the Northern States to Akinyele Kraal.

- a) Sources:** The cattle at Akinyele came from the northern states. Table 2 shows the 10 states, their main cattle markets and their days of occurrences. For example, in Bauchi State, Alkaleri is the main market and it operates on Sundays. In Kaduna both Birni-Gwari and Kawo, which are the main markets, operate on Thursdays and Tuesdays respectively. For Yobe, Gari-Alkali and Guru are the markets, which operate on Sundays and Tuesdays respectively; etc.

It is worth noting that of the 19 market days mentioned, only 2 operate on Fridays, while 4 operate on Sundays and the

remaining 13 operate on weekdays. This pattern may have been due to religious bias. Most of the northern cattle marketers are muslims whose Fridays are devoted mainly to attending mosques and engaging in other religious activities and some of the southern cattle traders are Christians who would not market on Sundays.

The choice of the market by cattle dealers depends on information they receive about prices at various markets before embarking on their journeys, easy availability of transport and the varieties of cattle species in demand at any point in time. Information on prices and markets is got from dealers on fresh arrival. The advent of mobile phones has facilitated such information exchange in recent times. Some of the drivers now have phones which they use enroute to inform others about happenings on the route (e.g. where police check points are encountered). The cattle traders at Akinyele have phones and those without have access to public mobile phones through which they contact their counterparts in the northern markets. Through such contacts they exchange information on prevailing prices and the cattle market situation both in the south and the north. They also get information on the dates of departure of drivers bringing cattle to the south.

Table 2: Main Sources of cattle to Akinyele and Bodija Markets.

Source (State)	Main Markets	Main Market Days
1. Bauchi	Alkaleri	Sundays
2. Bornu	Gombe	Thursdays
3. Jigawa	Maigatiri	Thursdays
	Wudul	Fridays
4. Kaduna	Birni-Gwari	Thursdays
	Kawo	Tuesdays
5. Kebbi	Kamba	Mondays
	Gonki	Tuesdays
	Amagoro	Wednesdays
6. Katsina	Zabuwa	Tuesdays
	Sherri	Wednesdays
7. Sokoto	Atida	Wednesdays
	Ilela	Sundays
8. Yobe	Gari-Alkali	Sundays
	Guru	Tuesdays
9. Niger	Mariga	Saturdays
	Kao	Sundays
10. Zamfara	Talata-Mafara	Tuesdays
	Gunu	Fridays

Source: Group Interviews at Akinyele Kraal Jan 4 & 5, 2005.

b) Cattle Transportation to Akinyele

The main mode of transport used in transporting cattle from the north to Akinyele is by road. Vehicles used include the bng articulated trailers, lorry trucks and mitshubishi (Canter) with respective capacities of 33, 15 and 10 cattle per load.

Although Ibadan is connected by rail, none of the cattle dealers use this mode. This may be due to the factors enumerated above and in addition include the absence of rail link to most of the originating markets and from the rail station in Ibadan to the Akinyele Kraal about 25 kilometers from the station. The necessity for intermodal transfer of cattle from the road to the train and vice-versa together with all that this will entail in terms of loading and unloading and time, could be too cumbersome for the cattle dealers.

The vehicles are hired by the cattle dealers who determine their choices. Usually, traders' choice of vehicle types depends on the number of cattle purchased and how many of the traders could provide enough load for either the trailer, the truck or the canter. In certain situations, 5 or 6 dealers join together to hire a vehicle and the cost of hire is shared according to the number of cattle owned.

In certain situations also a cattle dealer need not accompany the vehicle since others are always willing to take care of his cattle in transit on his behalf. There is an element of mutual trust among the dealers in the transportation of cattle.

Transportation costs vary in proportion to distance covered. The costs range from as high as N3,000.00 per head of cattle from Gombe, Bauchi State (above 1000 kms), to N1,300.00 in Birni-Gwari, Kaduna State (600 kms) and N700.00 in Mariga, Niger State (400 kms) from Ibadan (**Illiassou, 2000**). Thus, a trailer load of 33 cows would then cost a total of N99,000.00 from Gombe, ~~N~~42,900.00 from Birni-Gwari, and ~~N~~23,100.00 from Mariga. For lorry-load of 15, the costs are ~~N~~45,000.00, ~~N~~19,500.00 and ~~N~~10,500.00 from Gombe, Birni-Gwari and Mariga respectively. This is much higher than the ~~N~~15,000.00 per lorry load given by Iro for movement from Kano to Lagos in 1993. Other factors which can influence the transport costs include the size of cattle, the number carried by each vehicle and the season of movement. Usually transport costs are slightly higher during the high-demand periods of festivities by Christians (Christmas and Easter periods) and Muslims (**il-de filtri and lleya**). When there is petrol scarcity prices also rise or frequency of movement is reduced. In the last six months there has not been any petrol scarcity because of the effect of deregulation in the petroleum industry. The cattle traders show a sign of relief.

Usually it takes an average of between 1½ days and 3 days to move cattle from the various northern sources to Ibadan. Other costs are incurred in the transportation of cattle. For instance, loaders charge between ₦100 and ₦200 per cow, depending on the size of the cows. Also cost of loading varies with the positioning of the cows in the vehicles. Positioning could be by standing (₦100.00) or by laying which attracts ₦250 per cow. This difference is said to be due to the fact that it is more difficult to load cattle by laying them in the vehicles. The unloading at Ibadan attracts only ₦50 per head of cattle whether the positioning is standing or laying.

Certain charges are also paid on each head of cattle during transit. This, on the average, is ₦50.00 but it could vary from one state to another. While in Sokoto, Niger, Kebbi and Kwara States the amount is ₦50.00, the Oyo State Government collects ₦100.00 per cattle in transit within the state before reaching the Akinyele Kraal. Payment made in transit is borne by the cattle owners and not the vehicle owner/driver. However, the owner/driver pays the police who collect illegal fees at various check points enroute. The drivers encounter an average of fifteen to twenty check points on a single journey. The legal check points are the 5 interstate junctions where the charges referred to above are collected. Others manned mainly by the police are illegal. Payment on each occasion also varies between N100 and N200. In other words a driver can pay up to between N1000 to N2,000 on a journey. Such charges are passed on to the cattle dealers in the charges originally paid to the vehicle owner.

Cattle in transit are not insured. Cattle and freight insurance is generally absent in Nigeria. When asked about who is responsible for any loss if vehicles break down or are involved in accidents during transit, we were told that the cattle dealers take responsibility for their cattle. A few cases of banditry had occurred to some cattle traders in the past. Since the traders carry a lot of cash on return journeys, they risk the problem of attacks by armed robbers. One cattle trader was said to have lost more than N200,000.00 on one trip a few months ago when the vehicle was attacked between Jebba and Kontaagora.

When such losses are incurred, the other cattle traders rally round the affected one by contributing and lending him money to continue his business. Such an assistance reduces the terrible effect of such banditry.

The Akinyele Kraal can accommodate more than 1000 heads of cattle at a time. Each cow has a mark for identification of ownership. The space in the Kraal is allocated by the Akinyele Local Government to the various Associations present in Akinyele Kraal (table 1). There are about 20 landlords who control the space allocations in the various associations.

These landlords are the main recipients and custodians of the cattle from the north. Each landlord is allocated space and he, in turn, allocates the spaces to individual members of the various associations. Sometimes such allocations to individuals are made on the basis of group affinity. This group affinity could derive from people who come from the same towns or those who serve as apprentices under the landlords. Consequently new entrants could easily locate their cattle in spaces belonging to individuals on friendship and affinity basis. Some of the landlords also provide free accommodation for those traders who bring cattle to them.

The sale of cattle at Akinyele Kraal is done by the Hausa dealers (**dillalai**). The **dillalai** are under the control of the landlords to whom they report on transactions with buyers. Each buyer pays ₦1,000.00 on every cow purchased to the Hausa, dealers at Akinyele. This is called “**la’ada**” which is comparable to payment for space at the food market in Oritamerin in Ibadan. The **dillalai** can sell on credit through mutual trust which has developed between them and the regular buyers over a fairly long period of business interaction. Default in payment of cattle purchased on credit is rare but when it occurs, the different Associations are involved in ensuring payment. There are some middlemen called ‘**barandas**’ locally. These are people who stay around the Kraal waiting to work on new buyers who are not accustomed to the cattle business practice. They link the new buyer with the **dillalai** and often does the bargaining on behalf of the buyer. After any successful bargain, the buyer then pays the middlemen fees ranging from ₦500.00 to ₦1,000.00. This is in addition to the ₦1,000.00 paid as ‘**la’ada**’ to the **dillalai**. In other words, it is more costly to buy through a middleman. This is why they concentrate on new buyers.

(ii) **Movement from Akinyele Kraal to Bodija Market**

Three types of vehicles are involved in the movement of cattle from Akinyele Kraal to the Bodija market, namely, the Mitshibushi (Canter), trucks and pick-up vans. The canter has a capacity for 8 or 10 cows while the pick-up vans take only 4 cows. It costs N500.00 per cow from Akinyele to Bodija in any of the vehicles.

Unlike at the source in the North, the cattle dealers at Akinyele are not free to choose their vehicles because the vehicles are arranged to move in turns depending on their time of arrival at the Kraal. As stated earlier, the cattle traders in the northern markets arrange their own vehicles after purchase. They then have the freedom of choice which is lacking in Akinyele market. The National Union of Road Transporters (**NURT**) is responsible for maintaining discipline and ensuring that the drivers obey their turns.

Before leaving Akinyele the cattle dealers pay a tax of N100 to the Akinyele Local Government and another N100.00 to the Oyo State Government. The cows are moved to the vehicles at Akinyele Kraal park in either of two ways. These are by ropes used to drag the cows to the vehicles at N100 per cow and by cart pushers (**omolankes**) at N150.00 per cow. Loaders take N100 per cow. All cows are laid in the vehicles during the movement from Akinyele to Bodija market.

The Association of cart pushers and loaders organize movement to and loading of vehicles. Each member of the Association has his own regular dealers and they stick to them in movement and loading on daily basis.

Cattle dealers at Bodija market (mainly Yorubas) leave Ibadan for Akinyele as early as 6am everyday and the journey now takes between 30 and 35 minutes from what it used to be (1hr to 1½hrs) before the repairs on the Ibadan-Oyo-Ilorin road started. Usually the dealers return to Bodija between 8.30am and 9am everyday. About 50 vehicles move cattle from Akinyele to Bodija daily.

iii Movement Within Bodija Market

At the Bodija market, the old pre-1999 Kraal is still used to accommodate the cows on arrival. A section of this is now fenced where cows that are not sold in a day are kept overnight for a payment of ₦50.00 per cow. Off-loaders take only ₦50.00 per cattle in Bodija and they are responsible for moving the cattle by rope to the abattoir in the market. The rope used costs ₦50.00 per piece.

There is an Association of Cart pushers (**omolankes**) made up of 40 members. All of them are males and of the same Yoruba ethnic group. Although there is no restriction to entry on ethnic basis, only Yorubas engage in cart pushing at Bodija market. Cart pushing is also not a woman's job. Only a few of them own one cart each and some own two. It costs about ₦15,000.00 to build a cart. The owners rent out the carts at ₦20 per trip from the Kraal to the abattoir. The cart pushers carry only ailing or tired cows (due to exhaustion during transit) to the slaughter house at ₦150.00 per cow. In essence, the pusher makes an average profit of ₦130.00 per trip. Average daily proceed for cart pushers is put at between ₦750-N1,000.00. The owners of the carts themselves have to work in addition to renting their carts to others in order to make ends meet.

Although the association of cart pushers has no written constitution, there are certain known norms which the members must not violate. For example, each regular cart pusher has his own customer among the cattle dealers and no one can move cows belonging to others' customers. They hold their weekly meetings on Mondays starting at 1.00pm. Weekly payment of

₦100 is made by each member for maintenance and development of the association. Additional ₦20.00 is paid and put in a separate account for purposes of assisting members who may be engaged in any type of ceremonies ranging from naming of a new baby to burying parents or relations.

Another set of transporters within the Bodija market are the head porters (**Alaarus**). These are all women who carry parts of slaughtered cows for themselves (if they are meat sellers) or for others at a cost of ₦30.00 from the abattoir to the vehicles on the Bodija – University of Ibadan main road. Each porter could make an average of ₦450- ₦600 per day, depending on the market situation.

While at Akinyele only life cattle is sold, at the Bodija market cows are sold either life or as slaughtered. Those who buy life cows at Bodija are mainly individuals who want to use them for one ceremony or the other. Majority of the dealers are retailers who buy different parts of the slaughtered cows from the cattle traders for transportation to other markets in Ibadan metropolis. Such markets include **Sango, Gege, Bode, Oranyan, Alesinloye, Ode-Oolo, Oja’ba, Apete** and **Gbaremu (Sango)** all of which are sub-markets for cattle marketing in Ibadan.

Cattle can be sold on credit by the middlemen to the butchers and local cattle retailers at the Bodija market. The buyer takes away the cattle without payment which is to be made at a later agreed date. In some cases credit sale may attract additional payment of between N5,000 and N10,000 on a cow depending on the length of the duration for payments. For parts of a cow, no additional cost is paid when credit is granted. These middlemen stand as surety for the buyer. Such a credit process is based on mutual trust between the dealers and the middlemen on the one hand and between the middlemen and the buyers on the other hand. After a fairly long period of business association, the dealers develop some confidence/trust for the middlemen who are their regular customers. The same occurs between middlemen and the buyers.

The main reasons for selling on credit, however, include the buyers’ lack of capital, and the possibility of encouraging and retaining more customers for a dealer. Selling on credit also makes for faster sales.

The National Butcher’s Association regulates the activities of cattle dealers at the Bodija market. It sets and enforces rules for the dealers and performs a mediating role in the settlement of petty quarrels among dealers. For example, it determines how many cows can be slaughtered by a dealer in a day and any dealer that violates this allocation pays a fine of ₦5,000.00. The allocation to dealers is based on the number of cows they bring each day

and the total number to be slaughtered in the abattoir on each day. In other words, there is pro-rating of allocation for the dealers. If any dealer violates the rule regularly or is generally recalcitrant, he could be suspended for a period of 6 months. Also, entry into the cattle business in Bodija can only be through the Associations. A new member is usually introduced by an old member and a registration fee is paid. However, those who just buy parts of slaughtered cows to sell do not need any entry permit.

Almost all the cattle dealers in Bodija market are Yorubas. The few Hausa who buy parts of slaughtered cows are those who use these to make smoked meat (**Suya**) mainly at Sabongari in Mokola or at some other “**suya joints**” in Ibadan

Certain charges are paid in the movement of cattle from the open space (former kraal) at Bodija to the abattoir. On every cow that is moved either by rope or by carts, the owner pays ₦100 to the Local Government and for every cow slaughtered the payment is ₦50.00 to the Local Government. In other words, for every cow moved to and slaughtered in the abattoir, the Local Government collects a revenue of ₦150.00. Although part of this revenue is expected to be used for environmental sanitation, there is no discerning evidence of such in and around the abattoir. The sanitation situation inside the abattoir is deplorable. We had discussions with the president and some members of the National Butchers’ Association. They related stories of the past glorious situation in the 1970s when the abattoir was built and was well lit and piped borne water used to flow regularly compared with now that there is no electricity supply in the abattoir and no piped-borne water. Water used for washing the cows after slaughtering is now brought by women sellers who sell each bowl for ₦70.00. To worsen the situation, there is no functioning toilet in the market and a dung hill at the centre of the former kraal close to the abattoir now serves as the toilet for all. This situation is not only unhygienic but also dangerous and can easily cause epidemic of disease.

The road leading from the Bodija main market to the abattoir is in a very bad state of disrepair. Consequently, the vehicles that move slaughtered cows to the abattoir to other parts of the metropolis charge fees which are generally higher than the normal.

iv Movement from Bodija to Other Markets in Ibadan

Movement of slaughtered cows (whole or parts) is done mainly by taxi cabs and to some extent by ‘danfos’ and some pick-up vans. The taxi cabs are parked near the abattoir inside the market while the pick-up and ‘danfo’ buses are parked along the University of Ibadan and the secretariat road. Cost of transportation varies proportionately with increasing distance from the Bodija market to the various sub-markets mentioned above. For example, while it costs ₦250 to transport cow parts from Bodija to Sango market about

3 kilometres away, between ₦400 and ₦500 is paid for same to Dugbe market about 8 kilometres away. The highest transportation cost of the most distant market from Bodija is ₦600.00.

Women head porters (**Alaarus**) carry the slaughtered parts to the vehicles either at the park near the abattoir or on the main road at a cost of ₦30.00 per trip load. There are a few male Hausa head porters also but they operate more in the non-cattle trading section of Bodija market. The '**Alaarus**' are not organized in any way and entry is free and uncontrolled. Their ages vary from about 18 years to forty five especially for the women.

v) **General Comments**

Transportation inputs are efforts and activities engaged in to overcome the barrier of distance between producers and consumers of commodities. In the case of cattle trade, transportation constitutes an important function and a significant cost item in the marketing of cattle in Bodija market and, in fact, in the marketing of foodstuffs in Nigeria. According to **Olayide (1968)** the percentage of physical transportation costs of total marketing in foodstuff trade varied between 30% and 65% of the delivery cost. Such high costs of transportation in the 1960's could be explained by an inefficient and uncoordinated transport system coupled with poor roads and poor connectivity between the producing and consuming regions of different foodstuffs. Since 1960s, a significant improvement has occurred in the country's transportation system. Although cost of transport is still high, it does not constitute more than 15% of the delivery cost of a head of cattle at Bodija market.

It must be noted that the task of estimating transportation cost in the cattle trade has become more complicated than before particularly with respect to various legal and illegal fees now paid in transit when cattle is moved from the northern markets to Ibadan. Also some of such actors in the transport chain as the cart pushers and head loaders have not been reflected in previous studies on cattle marketing in Bodija market. Generally, transport cost of moving cattle from the source to Bodija market is now made up of fees charged by the vehicle owners/drivers and the loaders at the originating sources in the northern markets, the fees paid to states and the illegal collections by the police enroute during transit. Also the fees charged by transporters at Akinyele market by the loaders and off loaders at both Akinyele and Bodija markets and the charges by the head porters. **Total transport rates for moving cattle from the northern states to Bodija market, therefore, include the vehicle hiring costs (at the northern market and Akinyele Kraal) plus the loading and off-loading costs, costs of attendants that accompany the vehicles, taxes paid to states enroute from the north, illegal fees collected by the police at check points, costs for cart pushers and porters at different levels before the cow reaches**

the abattoir at Bodija market. For the final consumer, the transport costs also include the cost of moving from the sub-markets to the consumer's home.

In general, transportation costs play a significant role in the determination of the price of a cow sold either life or slaughtered. Other factors include cost of animal production, size and the breed of the animal. In addition, taxes paid by the dealer to local and state governments are also important.

5. POLICY IMPLICATION OF FINDINGS

a) Policy Implications

In Nigeria, the demand for transport is high and still growing. The recently completed **National Transport Policy** recognizes this fact and the need to support the country's social and economic growth through the provision of adequate, safe, efficient and environmentally sound transport system. In the cattle market, the improved transportation system has widened the scope of operations.

Since the 1960s transport has consistently ranked highest in the magnitude of public investment in infrastructures. In road transport which is currently most relevant to cattle marketing, the kilometrage progressed in quality and quantity and today Nigeria has a total of 193,200 kilometres of roads, made up of 34,125 kilometers of Federal roads, 30,500 kilometers of state roads and 129,577 kilometers of local government roads (**Bureau Public Enterprises, 2003**). Government policy objective in the road sub-sector is to maintain the existing asset through efficient road maintenance and rehabilitation and the introduction of measures, to protect the roads from premature deterioration.

The current rehabilitation of the road from Kano to Ibadan through Kaduna, Kontangora, Jebba and Ilorin will shorten the number of days spent in moving cows from the northern markets to the Bodija market.

Apart from roads, there is the need to improve and expand the railways in such a way as to enhance the movement of cattle through this cheaper mode compared with the road. It is, however, encouraging that the Federal Government has set in motion the process of **concessioning** the railway operations to the private sector operators. This may lead to more efficient running of the railways and expansion of its network in such a way that would benefit the transportation of cattle from the northern sources to the southern markets in general and Bodija market in particular.

We have noted in the report the lack of good road network in the Bodija market and the consequent hardship encountered by cattle markets most especially during rainy season. Although some rehabilitation of roads has been done in the market in recent times, this has been concentrated in the none cattle trading sections. With the enormous revenue being generated by the Ibadan North Local Government from various taxes collected from cattle dealers and butchers, there is need to improve the infrastructural facilities in the market.

Apart from the roads, there is need to improve the sanitation by removing the huge refuse dump now used as toilet for all comers, provision of modern toilets and good pipe borne water for washing slaughtered cows. The general condition of the slaughter slabs in the abattoir has to be improved particularly through the provision of a water system for regular cleaning. This will encourage healthy living and prevent possible epidemic disease.

The poverty alleviation programme of the various levels of government is not yet very evident among the poor particularly the cart pushers, the loaders, and the head porters that operate in the Bodija market.

b) Recommendations

The improved transportation system has helped Nigeria to increase the scope of marketing operations in general and the cattle marketing in particular. Numerous feeder roads were constructed by the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (**DFRRI**) between 1986 and 1990. More than 60,000 kilometers of roads were constructed mostly in the rural areas by DFRRI (**Filani, 1993**). These roads link some of the cattle producing areas to their primary markets in the northern states, facilitating the cattle dealers' movement of cattle to weekly markets. Unfortunately due to the poor maintenance culture in Nigeria, most of these roads have deteriorated. This poor maintenance culture also affects the Federal inter-city roads whose conditions became so much an embarrassment to the present administration that it decided to set up the Federal Road Maintenance Agency (**FERMA**). This Agency's road rehabilitation activities have become well known in different parts of the country. This should continue on a sustainable basis.

In addition, the building of abattoirs, slaughter slabs and cattle markets has boosted cattle trading in the past. However, lack of maintenance has also had a decisive negative effect on cattle marketing especially at the Bodija market. Both the Oyo State Government and the Ibadan North Local Government must take full responsibility for the supply and maintenance of such infrastructures as electricity, water, toilets and the general environmental sanitation of the market. Here, the work of the Nigeria Network for Awareness and Action for Environmental Health (**NINAAFEH**) an NGO has been commendable. They have held workshops on sanitation for market women and build toilets in some markets in Ibadan.

To assist the movement of cattle, the illegal police check points and their illegal fee collections should stop and the Federal Government must ensure that there is uninhibited flow of cattle freighters from the northern states to the southern markets.

The cattle freighters should be encouraged to take insurance. Freight insurance is available from a few companies for freight transporters especially of export produce (cocoa, palm oil and formerly groundnut traders), and imported goods moving from the coastal parts to factories and individuals in the hinterland but Nigerians especially cattle traders are however, usually suspicious of insurance companies. In Nigeria, insurance companies are quick at collecting premiums but always reluctant to pay claims. The cattle traders, as other Nigerians, may be unwilling to go through the usually long and difficult process of making claims in case of losses.

The cart pushers can use small loans to build more carts while the loaders and porters can use such loans to engage in other profitable activities that could fetch additional money for subsistence. The cattlemen and women retailers also should have access to loans that can ensure adequate capital for their trade. The different Associations can be motivated to assist in monitoring their members' activities and repayment schedule to avoid defaulters.

To improve the efficiency of cattle marketing in the Bodija market the provision and maintenance of infrastructural facilities is of paramount importance so also is the accessibility of the various poor actors to the small scale credit schemes. These actors can also be encouraged through proper enlightenment to form cooperative societies.

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