

**USMANU DAN FODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO  
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**BORDER MARKETS AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN  
NIGERIA AND BENIN REPUBLIC: A CASE STUDY OF  
TSAMIYA AND LOLO**

**BY**

**DAUDA SAIDU TSAMIYA  
(ADM. NO. 11220104761)**

**BEING A  
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## **DEDICATION**

This research project is dedicated to our noble, humble Prophet S.A.W.. members of his family, his Companion and also my parents, Alhaji Muhammad Saidu, Habiba Usman including my family. May Allah (SWT) bless them with his choicest blessing. Ameen.

## APPROVAL PAGE

This research study was carried out by Dauda Tsamiya (Adm. No. 11220104761) and has been supervised by Dr. M.T. Usman and found acceptable as having satisfied one of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master in Arts in International Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto.

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Dr. M.T. Usman  
(Project Supervisor)

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Date

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Prof. Ahmed Bako  
(Head of Department)

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Date

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External Supervisor

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Date

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All errors, views expressed herein are entirely my own.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

Tsamiya and Lolo Markets existed since the pre-colonial period. They are located at the extreme end of Nigeria's international border with Benin Republic in the north-west. The attainment of independence of the two countries by their former colonial masters has contributed significantly in the economic development of those two border markets. The geographical proximity of these border markets facilitates cross-border trade in the area.

It would be recalled that the European partition and eventual colonization of Africa created a lot of tariff walls within West African sub-region, particularly between the Francophone and English speaking countries. With the attainment of independence, the pattern of trade relations developed across the border areas of Nigeria and Benin. Citizens of these areas eagerly entered in to the cross border trade as an easy means of living. Consequently, there developed large markets with full of goods traded and people who come daily from across areas of the two countries to buy and sell. Tsamiya and Lolo are typical of these border markets which developed out of this economic necessity. The large-scale economic activities taking place in Tsamiya and Lolo towns attracted a large number of people to settle in the towns. Eventually, the same ethnic groups are virtually found along the border areas of the two countries namely Nigeria and Benin.

Geographical proximity and historical relations are two most important factors that led to the growth of the two border markets. The River Niger also has been another important factor in the development of cross-border trade in both Tsamiya and Lolo. The fertility of the land consequently attracted the earliest inhabitants in the area and serve as a basis for large-scale commercial activities.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Tsamiya and Lolo are among the oldest towns along the Middle Niger Valley and today falls under Bagudo Local Government area of Kebbi State. The people of the area contributed a lot to the economic development of not only Kebbi State but the entire country general. They have also been playing a significant role as an important cross - border markets of the area where the exchange of goods and service is taking place. There is acute paucity of documented historical of these societies especially the history covering not only the political aspect but the socio-economic sphere. The little that had been written on the area is more or less on the development of the political institutions. This study is therefore hoped to fill this vacuum.



### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The major aim of this research is to examine the role of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets in facilitating economic cooperation in the area. It intends to:

- (i) discuss historical origin of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets;
- (ii) examine the factors responsible for the development of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets;
- (iii) identify the role of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets in promoting economic relations between the two countries (Nigeria and Benin);
- (iv) analyse the socio- economic impact of the two border markets on the border communities of the areas.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

This research is significant in the sense that there is no any academic research on the historical origin, growth and development of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets. The research shall equally throw some light on the significance of border markets and its role towards economic integration in West Africa. The research will also critically examine the role of border population to the development of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets. The work will serve as a vital reservoir for information which will otherwise be lost with the death of elderly and resourceful people in the society.

## **1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The research is limited to Tsamiya and Lolo border markets. It examines the growth and development of the two border markets from 1960 to date; and their role towards socio - economic development of the area. The choice of the 1960 is significant to the study, since Nigeria got its independence in the same year. It has also served as an important period when cross-border trade in the area became intensified. Since 1960, there had been important transformations in cross-border trade between Nigeria and her neighbours.

## **1.6 Research Methodology**

In the course of writing this project, both primary and secondary sources were fairly consulted and used. Oral interviews were conducted and first hand account from some active people who contributed in shaping the history of the area are obtained and analyzed. Secret and deliberate observations of the activities at the markets have equally made a lot of contributions in compiling this research.

In addition however, archival documents particularly district note books were equally been used. Moreover, the secondary sources complement the primary sources. They include both published and unpublished materials such as textbooks, newspaper, gazettes documents, journals, articles, etc.

## 1.7 Literature Review

It is quite imperative to admit that a lot has been written about the history of Hausaland including the Gwandu Emirate and Kasar Kebbi particularly their histories, socio-economic and political activities from the pre-colonial period to the present. However, most of this literature concerned mainly with the emirate levels, with little concern on micro issues like the district and village levels. This study is therefore aimed at filling these gaps with particular reference to the Tsamiya and Lolo border towns.

One of the earliest works on international boundaries of Nigeria is that of Anene<sup>1</sup> and later followed by Asiwaju who enumerated five asymmetry factors in the social-economic and political relations of two adjacent states of Nigeria and Benin Republic. Koko<sup>2</sup> testified the work of Asiwaju with some slight modification to fit Nigeria -Niger Republic relation and therefore outline the factors as the existence of common local language which is Hausa for communication and homogeneity of population between the neighbouring states. Imbalance in human and material resources as well as unequal level of development of Nigeria in comparison to Benin Republic and other ECOWAS countries in general.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J.I. Anene, *The International Boundaries of Nigeria, 1885-1960: The framework of an emergent African states*, London, Longman 1970.

<sup>2</sup>, Nuhu-Koko, A., *A Geographical analysis of Trans-border spatial interaction: A study of transborder trade between Nigeria and Niger border settlements*, Asiwaju, A.I. and B. M. Barkindo (eds), **The Nigerian-Niger Trans-Border Co-operation**, Longman, Lagos, 1993.

<sup>3</sup>E. Nwokedi, 'Nigeria and Niger: The mechanism of compatibility and consensus: in B.A. Akinterinwa, (eds), *Nigeria and its immediate neighbours: constraints and prospect of sub-regional security in the 1990s*, NIIA Lagos, 1992.

The work of Abdulkadir is very relevant to this project. He discusses on the economic importance of River Niger to agricultural activities of Lolo as well as the trading activities in the town since 19<sup>th</sup> century. Abdulkadir also explain how the Lolo market became border market. But fail to explain how these commercial activities helped to integrate the people in the area. Also, the work of Paul E. Lovejoy is another important work that highlighted on the general aspect of the economy of West Africa. The work specifically commented on the origin and development of market trade in West Africa.<sup>4</sup>

Another look by Asiwaju titled Local Government in the border Regions is very relevant to this discussion, because it highlighted special functional requirements of Nigeria's gateway states.<sup>5</sup> This, so many things were discussed concerning the border issues. The importance of the work by Okoro K'ojwang can not be over emphasized. The work has talk about the response of Africa to British penetration of South-West Nigeria. Although the work is unpublished one, it is also very important to this work.<sup>6</sup>

One among the recorded literatures on the histories of Lolo and Tsamiya towns was that of P. G Harris<sup>7</sup> the Sokoto provincial gazettee, which documented some of the available information of the local histories of various peoples and

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<sup>4</sup> P.E. Lovejoy: The general aspect of the economy of West Africa.

<sup>5</sup> Asiwaju, A.I. Local Government.....op.cit.

<sup>6</sup> Okoro K'ojwang "Society, trade and politics in Badagry 1841-1891.

<sup>7</sup> Harris, P.G. (compiled) Sokoto provincial gazetteer, Sokoto 1932 p.333.

communities in the then Sokoto province which included the present day Sokoto, Kebbi and Zamfara state.<sup>8</sup>

Harris outlines and discusses the historical origin of Illo area, which comprises our area of study. The work also traces the various socio-economic activities carried out by the people of the area. Another work of Asiwaju problem solving borders: the African region with particular references to the Nigeria-Benin case since 1987 was found very crucial in the cause of this study.

Another article in the journal of Nigeria-Niger trans-border cooperation, which defined international boundary as "line of demarcation that exclude one nation state from another".<sup>9</sup> The exclusion of one nation from the other is said to be practice both in terms of legal demarcation and actual demarcation. What is important to not in this definition is the legal and physical aspect of boundary separating nation state. Ajwewe O. Godwin enumerated conditions for integration and considered commonality of history; economic symmetry, political stability and cultural homogeneity.<sup>10</sup> The work of Frank Akinola is one of relevant works on the area. Akinola highlighted on the diplomacy between Nigeria and Benin Republic. He further discusses steps taken by the two independent countries with the regard to their western border.<sup>11</sup>

Hill "Geographical effects of Dahomey- Niger Boundary: is the work that lay emphasis on the geographical location of Benin and Nigeria boundary, how

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "Nigeria-Niger trans-border cooperation. Daily Times, Lagos, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1987 p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Ajwewe O. Godwin "Economic symmetry, political stability and cultural homogeneity. 1987

<sup>11</sup> Frank Akinola: when diplomacy was taken a step further. The Benin Nigeria western border, Daily Times Lagos February 18, 1968. P.161.

the geographical location affected one another and the discussion on the boundary issues. Dahomey which is now under Benin Republic and Togo share the same boundary likewise Yoruba speaking are found in both independent countries including Nigeria. According to Igwe, this makes it very simple to have the cooperation between the countries.

Yakasai's<sup>12</sup> "Language across-border, A Social linguistic study of Hausa in N'Konni and Illela border town" (1999) is another work relevant to the area. Yakasai pointed out the similarity of language and culture affected by Illele of Nigeria and that of Konni which is Niger Republic.

Asiwaju (1984) provides a working definition of artificial boundaries by emphasizing the exclusiveness or divisive functions assigned by man. According to him, "all boundaries are artificial as long as the purpose and ultimate function is to divide separate lands and people within definable eco-systemic entities."<sup>13</sup>

Accordingly, all nation-state boundaries are artificial by these abstractions such as mathematically defined lines, circle of areas or natural relief features such as rivers, lakes or mountains. As to the definition of borderlands, Hansen (1981) has made a useful offer. According to him, border regions (his own label for borderlands) are sub-national areas whose economic and social life directly and significantly affected by proximity to an international boundary'.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, these special regions of Africa created as a result of inter-colonial boundary

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<sup>12</sup> Yakasai, S.A. "Language across borders. A Social linguistic study of Hausa in M'Konni and Illela border towns" PhD BUK, Kano 1999.

<sup>13</sup> A.I. Asiwaju and J. Igwe: Nigeria-Benin Transborder Cooperation, University of Lagos (1984).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

negotiations of the era of the Scramble and Partition form the subject-matter of this analysis. However, despite the arbitrariness and the artificiality of the colonial boundaries, this boundary has been accepted as legal definitions of the territorial frameworks of the post-colonial national-state. Moreover, the boundaries are "largely unpatrolled and unpatrollable and have little consensual or physical reality at the local level" (Collins, 1984).

Consequently, they serve not as barriers "but as an inter-state pathway, and an incentive for the movement of goods and people, especially where there is economic disparity between the neighbouring state. One important economic consequence of the existence of artificial boundaries is the cross-boundary movements and activities which are extra-legal, including especially the smuggling of goods. The identical, cultural environment prevailing on either side of the prescribed boundaries provides a general cover under which cross-border trades takes place.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TSAMIYA AND LOLO BORDER TOWNS**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

Tsamiya and Lolo border towns are presently under Bagudo Local Government in Kebbi State. Initially the area is part of the Gwandu Native Authority. The area lies between latitude 10 and 12<sup>0</sup>N and longitude 4 and 6<sup>0</sup>E. It shares border in the west with Benin Republic. There had been long period of contact between different people that make up the border area of the two countries. The people in this area are the Bargawa, Zabarmawa, Kyangawa, Fulani and Dandawa. The aim of this chapter is to provide historical overview of the origin of the two border towns. In doing this, tradition of origin, social and economic aspects of the people are examined.

#### **2.1 Historical Origin and Development of Tsamiya and Lolo Towns**

Tsamiya is situated some eighty four kilometer (84km) away from Bagudo and is one of the oldest and most populated town under the Bagudo local government area of Kebbi state. It is bordered on the north by Illo districts, on the south-east by Maje town in Kaoje district, on the west by Republic of Benin and on the west by North Sanji and Lugu. The climatic condition of the area is similar to what obtained in other towns and villages in Bagudo local government area.



This area is marked by seasonal rainfalls which usually commences between May/June and finally stops by October.<sup>15</sup>

The dry season last for about 8 months i.e. from November to May. The area is generally endowed with fertile land suitable for farming and rearing of animals. It is perhaps this availability of fertile land that encourages farmers to capitalize on agricultural activities.<sup>16</sup>

Tsamiya town fall in the North West Sudan savannah zone, there are trees surrounding the town and bush area. There are also grassland for animal rearing. The trees includes boobas (kuka) tamarindus (tsamiya) parialivorth (dorawa) che (kade) acacia (bagaruwa) blane (aduwa) and many others are the trees found in Tsamiya area used either for food or traditional medicine purposes. The availability of trees led to the emergence of wood carving industry in Tsamiya.<sup>17</sup>

The Tsamiya soil could be classified into four types, sandy, loamy, clay and mix soil. The mix soil i.e. sandy and clay soil is suitable for the planting of yam, maizae, cotton, suya beans and many other farm produce. The sandy soil is suitable for planting millet, corn and beans, while the loamy soil which is found mostly in the fadama is suitable for production of varieties of crops and vegetables during the rainy and dry season. Beside the agricultural production the loamy and clay soil of Tsamiya is suitable for association crafts like pot moulding and other purposes.

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<sup>15</sup> A. Sa'idu, History teacher (38 years) Government Secondary School Tsamiya 11/10/2013

<sup>16</sup> Malam Usman Ladan (Babaden-Sarki) (65 years) King Palace, 12/10/2013.

<sup>17</sup> M. Illo (Sarkin Tsamiya) (75 years) at Palace 11/10/2013.

Tsamiya is part of the former Borgu kingdom whose language is Boko/Busa (Bissan). The Boko Busa were the earliest rulers of Borgu, even before the time of the Kisra migration. The Kisra ruler met with the Boko/Busa people and inter-marriage with them. The Busa/Boko people are related to the other mande groups who live to the west of Borgu, they were said to have live in Borgu for at least one thousand years. The Busa appeared to have consisted of a fusion of people who speak the same language as Bussanchi by Hausa.<sup>18</sup>

The Busa of Dahomey call themselves Busano but in reality the main people of Dahomey are Boko and never refer to themselves as anything else but Boo but the term Busa (Bussanchi) was conceived by the Hausa to named the group after the name of the main Bussa town. The Borgu speaks four different dialects i.e the Boko is spoken at Nikki presently in Benin Republic down to Tsamiya in Nigeria. The Boko Bissa is mostly spoken at new Bussa around Kanji dam in Niger State of Nigeria.<sup>19</sup> Boko Baru is used by the Kaiama people of Kwara state of Nigeria, while the Barute are found both part of Nigeria and Benin Republic.

According to P.G. Harris<sup>20</sup> "a Bussawa of Tsamiya was given permission by Abdullahi the first Emir of Gwandu (1808 - 1828) to found a town and the town of Tsamiya came into being. The town of Tsamiya (Swamia) got its origin from a town presently based at Republic of Benin know as Nikki, whose king was

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<sup>18</sup> B. Kinji Waziri in Benin Republic (70 years) at Shegbana Local Government in Benin, 13/10/2013.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

the second in command in Borgu kingdom after the king of New-Bussa. The Bussawa migrated from Nikki and settle at place called Do'o, although Tsamiya is a different settlement, the town shares the same ruling class until 1885 Berlin conference which separated the area. Do'o is now part of Benin Republic while Tsamiya is part of Nigeria with its title *Kitaku* of Tsamiya.<sup>21</sup>

Kitaku was also the overall head of some parts of Illo chiefdom in the south.; he was responsible to the *Ki* as his customs officer in charge of the dependent towns of *Segbana*, *Duku* and *Lugu* which lay on the trade routes from salaga through *Djougou*, *Konade*, *Kandi* and *Illo* to Hausaland. The title of Kitaku alternates between Tsamiya and Doko, the traditional title for the office is known as kankana this emblem of office was at one time a symbol of war between Doko and Tsamiya.<sup>22</sup>

Right from time immemorial when Tsamiya was under the administration of Kitaku up to the present, the relationship between Tsamiya and her neighbours such as Kangiwa, Sanji, Illo, Maje in Nigeria and Segbana in the Republic of Benin is very cordial. The relationship between Tsamiya and her neighbouring towns and villages was that of "brother and sister". There was no any record of war between Tsamiya and her neighbours on the bases that they originated from single source ancestor of Kisra. Their relation is mainly economic political and social. By virtue of this humbleness of the rulers and their people they welcome

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<sup>21</sup> M. gaa, Member of King Palace (65 hears) at King Palace 15/10/2013.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

whoever comes to settle in the area as long as he will stay and remain peaceful without any security threat or causing trouble in the area.<sup>23</sup>

## **2.2 Tradition of Origin**

The origin of Tsamiya had become a serious subject of debate among the oral traditions. There are two camps of opposing views. There are those who connected the origin of Tsamiya to a hunting land and those who attributed the origin of Tsamiya to Bussawa immigration in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, this is not to say that people in Tsamiya have no sense of their past.<sup>24</sup> But this has been the problem associated with all-pre colonial Africa state. Africa history particularly that which concerns itself with the tradition of origin of pre-colonial state, kingdoms or empire is surrounded by myth and mystery; apart from that, the tradition tend to be numerous, there was no uniform legend of tradition.

According to some version of oral tradition, Tsamiya was inhabited by a hunting band and led by a people called Kengawa whose possible places of origin remain unknown. But there is the life view that the original inhabitants came to Tsamiya even before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in a comp in the side of the camp there was a stream called (Swa) from which the site got a derivative to be called "Tsamiya" with the passage of time this group of people multiplied enough to form a reasonable settlement.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> S. Yunusa, Hea Master Tsamiya Model Primary School (37 years) at Model Primary School 16/10/2013.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

Another tradition of origin related Tsamiya with Nikki of Benin Republic. Seem to have been in favour of support of this version (Bussawa legend). And that is why the work of P.G Harris was supported that Bussawa were permitted by the Emir of Gwandu to found a town. Although the word (Swa) was in Bussa language which means a stream. The Tsamiya (Swamia) got its origin from a town presently based at Republic of Benin known as Nikki. According to this tradition the Busawa migrated from Nikki and settled first at village called Do'o presently a province of Segbana of Republic of Benin. As a result of political conflict among the Busawa ruling class of *Da'o*, two members of the ruling class known as Nama'u and Kitaku Birnin Kebbide felled in conflict of each other. This led the pledged of kitaku and his followers to migrate from Da'u and settled in the present Tsamiya (Swamia) town. This kitaku was said to be the founder of the town Tsamiya and his descendants are still the rulers of the town.<sup>26</sup>

### **2.3 Socio-economic Activities of the people of Tsamiya and Lolo**

Majority of the people of Tsamiya are Bussawa by virtue of their origin. As I have mentioned earlier, they were the people who established the town. These people said to be the most dominant tribe in the town. This could be recognise through their marks in which they have two marks on their faces followed by some people from Kebbi. These people came from parts of Kebbi to Tsamiya and

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

established themselves after the town was founded by the Bussawa they also have their own traditional marks on their faces.<sup>27</sup>

Marriage in Tsamiya in the ancient time before the 1804 jihad was not base on Islamic law; it was base on the peoples culture. But after the jihad of 1804 the system of marriage has change from tradition to Islamic law.<sup>28</sup> The marriage is now being conducted in accordance with the Islamic law. The marriage can be set when there is mutual understanding between couples. After that there is the issue of dowry which is to be paid by the parents of the person proposing the girl or her parents. It is after the dowry was paid that date time will be announced by the parents of the girl.

However, on the marriage day both of the couples will send his or her representatives and witnesses to appear before the marriage which can lead to the wedding of the marriage after they reach some agreement among themselves. Lastly, after reaching consensus the imam of the two will be allow to pray for the formation of the marriage by reciting some verses from the glorious Qur'an and quotation from Hadith which serve as the conclusion of the wedding which legalised the couples to become husband and wife.<sup>29</sup>

On the religions aspect of life, before the emergence if the jihad of Usman Danfodiyo the religion of Islam was mixed with traditional religion. With the jihad of Us man Danfodiyo the religion of Islamic was purified in this area.

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<sup>27</sup> M. Amadu (Secretary to the King) 68 years at Palace 17/10/2014.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

Tsamiya has witnessed a lot of development over the years, from mixed religion to pure Islam even before the 1840 jihad under Usman Danfodiyo. It was after the jihad period Islam began to penetrate in to the area which now becomes a predominant religion of the people in the area. This happened in 1805 in his visit he established a mosque at a place called Kibegaye a place in Tsamiya the mosque still exist in a ward called "Baliyanbe" or Bejiya" it was this mosque that grew and developed into the first juma'at mosque in Tsamiya.<sup>30</sup>

However, about eleven imams were recorded that lead this historical mosque know in very village or ward there is one or more Qur'anic school for both adults and children to acquire Islamic knowledge in which some product of the Quranic school became Islamic scholars. The people of Tsamiya have no any language to speak than Busanchi. The Busanchi is the language of the people living in the area. The people that established the town are camps the Busawa/Changawa, Buawa who were from Nikki presently republic of Benin. Therefore, the people of Tsamiya have to speak Busanchi which serve as their mother tongue. Hausa is second language.<sup>31</sup>

The occupation of the people of Tsamiya is farming. It is considered so because almost all people of Tsamiya were engaged in farming. It is the oldest occupation of Tsamiya the Hausa use to say Noma na duke tsohon chinikin kowayazo duniya kai ya tarar. The farming activity is carried out in both the rainy and dry season. In term of animal, people of Tsamiya specialize on goat, chicken,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> U. Ladan (bataden Sarki) 65 years old at his house 18/10/2013.

sheep and cows are kept in large quantity both male and female. It is also called "Noma Tushen arziki, that is farming is the foundation of wealth."<sup>32</sup>

The culture which is the total way of the people; the most popular culture of Tsamiya in the ancient time was 'kokuwa' Wrestling is a famous and interesting game in Hausa society, mostly practiced in rural areas. There is annually organized competition after the millet harvest, the other villages such as Kangiwa, Kali and other attach themselves and dress with Layu or Karfu to contest with Tsamiya and other towns.<sup>33</sup>

Boxing (Dambe) is another game among the people of Tsamiya, it is organized after the harvest of all agricultural products in the area. Sharo; is a game which is very common among the Borgu Fulani (Fulanin Borgu), this is organized in Tsamiya annually especially during Sallah celebration, it is a dangerous game but is still organized in Tsamiya particularly during sallah by Fulani.

Lolo border town is conspicuously on the way proximate to Tsamiya border town. The two border town has many things in common raising from social, cultural and economic set up of the society.<sup>34</sup> Lolo people were mostly Dandawa from Songhay, the Changawa were also found in Lolo whose ancestor was yet to be know. The traditional title of Lolo is Lonzon. Lolo township lies within the guinea savannah zone of Nigeria. It is one of the major towns in the

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.



Illo area of Bagudo local government council area of the present day Kebbi-state of Nigeria. The area is also endowed with fertile land. It falls within the bank of river-Niger. It has very good clay, loamy and sandy soil. Besides the bank of the river Niger there are a lot of Fadama land that many farmers capitalize on a bid to practice irrigation farming. As a result, this farming is carried out throughout the year. The crops grown include millet, guinea corn, maize, rice and onion.<sup>35</sup>

Geographically, Lolo is located on the border between Republic of Benin to the south and Republic of Niger to the north. According to the 1991 national population census, Lolo Township is estimated at 7,000 people. Many factors have contributed to the population of the town such as commercial activities due to the presence of the market. The economic activities in the town facilitate the movement of people to the area for permanent settlement. Today many ethnic groups could be found in Lolo town and these include Fulani, Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo apart from Dandawa and Changawa who are the native people in the area.<sup>36</sup>

The climate condition of Lolo area is almost the same with that of Tsamiya. The area as also determined by its location, there are two types of seasons experienced and these are the dry and wet season (rani da damana) between these seasons - there is harmattan (hunturu) period and the hot period (bazaar) as well. The dry season or rain refers to the period which there is no rainfall no crops in the farm except the Fadama area. The farmers in this period

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> M. Sanilolo (History teacher) 42 years at Govern,emt Secondary School Lolo 14/10/2013.

concentrated on clearing their farmlands (sassabe) waiting for wet seasons (damana) which is the period of May/June.<sup>37</sup>

Most people of Lolo today are Dandawa and Zabarmawa, although Hausa people are also found in Lolo who migrated from different places to settle at Lolo because of one reason or the other. The changawa whose ancestors was yet to be found are among the founders of Lolo town. Although their language is being dominated by Zabarma and Dandawa of Lolo. But the changawa still maintain their traditional marks on there faces.

The major occupation of the people is fishing and farming. As a matter of fact people of Zabarmawa depend on fishing as their major occupation. Almost all the temporary basis. The fishermen use both traditional and modern ways of fishing and shubs that looks like basket such as '*unduruttu*' '*birgi*' and '*homa*' are made locally in the area.<sup>38</sup>

Farming is also one of the major occupations of the people of Lolo town. It is believed that about 80% of the populations are farmers. There are two types of farming system adopted in Lolo town. These are wet farming and irrigation. Farming system which is done during dry season, most of the people in the area are subsistence farmers. Lolo has a very wide and large fadama area, situated along the river bank. This is used for crop production. The presence of river Niger and makes it possible for the people to engage in farming activities all the year round. Some of the crops grown in this area include rice, maize, guinea corn,

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> A. Abdulkadir Lolo, Inspector of LGEA Bagudo, Kebbi State (37 years) at Lolo town 19/10/2013.

tomatoes, pepper and onion. Guinea corn, millet and rice are grown in large scale than any other crops.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF TSAMIYA AND LOLO BORDER MARKETS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Tsamiya and Lolo border towns are two border markets that boomed consequent upon colonial partition of Nigeria-Benin border in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Trade between the different communities who occupy the area had existed long before the colonial partition. However, after the partition the pattern of trade had changed. The setting up of colonial frontiers and tariffs in the area resulted into complex pattern of cross-border trade. Citizens of the two countries proximate to border areas eagerly enter into cross-border trade as an easy means of providing themselves with the necessities of life. This chapter discusses the nature, commodities and pattern of cross-border trade in Tsamiya and Lolo border towns. It argued that the growth and development of these two border towns is due to the nature of cross-border trade that developed after the colonial partition of the area.

#### **3.2 The Growth of Tsamiya and Lolo Border Markets**

These border markets are also among the producers of agricultural products which attract the interest of people from far and near who come directly or send their agents to purchase different commodities for them. The people in the area have long been producing different commodities since pre-colonial period. The

following are some of the commodities locally produced in Tsamiya and Lolo area.<sup>1</sup>

- Shea-butter oil (mai kade in Hausa) (in Borgu language kuu-nisi).
- Daudawa (by using pari alivorth trees) is called kpoo in Borgu language.
- Kwata (as part of ingredient in preparing soup) called Kpaati in Borgu local language.
- Weaving
- Wood Plank
- Carpentry
- Blacksmithing

Since the pre-colonial period trading and commercial relations exists between Tsamiya and Lolo. Although the nature of the trading pattern was not monetized, but it took the form of batter trade in the pre-colonial period. Tsamiya being famous for yam production used to exchange her products with items like salt, beans, maize, with other towns such as Kaoje, Bagudo and other towns in the Republic of Benin.<sup>2</sup>

During the colonial period, the trade pattern was change by the introduction of currency and cash crops. Here the interest of the people of Tsamiya and her neighbours was diverted to the production of cash crops instead of food crops, for domestic consumption. The Europeans introduced this policy

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<sup>1</sup> M. Abdullahi Dealer of beans, 45 years at Tsamiya market 11/10/2013.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

because they needed raw materials to feed the growing industries at home. Tsamiya as an important area in the production of yam and maize attracts the attention of labourers from the neighbouring areas of Dakin Gari, Bunza, Kamba, Kangiwa, Koko, Besse, Illo and many different towns come to work in the farms with view of getting their share.<sup>3</sup>

There was a saying "zani Tsamiya kai gishiri". The fertile soil of the area make as it suitable for producing of almost all farm products. The Tsamiya market is attended by people of the neighbouring areas on Thursday while Lolo on Wednesdays. The favourable geographical position at the two markets has contributed scientifically in their transformation to an international position. It also boasts the market which was gradually transformed. The markets continue to attract many people from all walks of life, most notable from Benin and Niger Republic. With the independence of the two countries activities, the trade in the area continued to follow old tradition of commerce in the region. The agricultural production on the other hand has led to the increase in commercial activities. Most farm products are produced which also draw the attention of people far and near to buy, the major economic activity presently as fishing. The flow of river during the wet season increase fishing activities in the area particularly in Lolo town. In the olden days fishing was done only with hooks clapnet and transnets. With improvement in technology, fishing is now done by bait gill cast nets, improve spears etc. the people from Benin Republic and Niger Republic who are

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<sup>3</sup>A. Nahadi Jega merchant 650 years Tsamiya market 15/10/2013..

always in need of fish normally brought the types of their products and in turn buy the fish.<sup>4</sup>

Another major commodity that is being traded in the area is onion. Lolo is also centre of onion production and attracted people from far and near to buy the onion. It should be noted that both Tsamiya and Lolo could be termed as agric products markets. Majority of the product being brought to the two markets are agricultural products. All of these economic activities involved in these markets lay the foundation of the development of the two markets. It has been estimated that at least 4.400 bag is being dropped at Tsamiya alone, making (403,000 MTS) every week.<sup>5</sup> He further stated that the markets are developing rapidly because of the high volume and quantity of goods from Benin Republic most of the goods are cheaper when compare to Nigerian goods. People from different angles such as Kano, Lagos, Sokoto, Zamfara, Kaduna, Ibadan and many different part of Nigeria came to attend the markets on Wednesdays and Thursdays, respectively.

Tsamiya and Lolo markets have been in existence since the early 19th century. But not until 1991 the two markets were transformed to the position of international cross border markets. Most of the economic activities taking place in this markets are at informal level. People from most part of Nigeria, Benin Niger, Ghana and Togo<sup>6</sup> comes to attend with the types of products they possessed.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> M. Abdullahi Funtua dealier of suya beans 45 years at Tsamiya markets 11/10/2013.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Infact, there is economic inter-dependence in these kind of border markets. traders from Republic of Benin for instance brought the products such as, Suya beans, yams, maize, cotton, local soap, tafiyoka and many other things from their side. Most of company in Nigeria i.e. Olam<sup>7</sup> company oil mill Zaria, oil mill Gusau, Kano and Kaduna all used the suyabeans and maize likewise company's use cotton. The companies obtained the products through their agents from Tsamiya market which is held on every Thursday weekly. It is estimated that about twenty-two trailers brought the Suyabeans to Tsamiya market alone each market day and more than twenty trailers again for maize, during the markets days alone. People from the Republic of Benin also brought yams in large quantity. Cross border traders from Argungu, Bunza, Koko, Bagudo and other parts of the country went to the market to buy yams. The trade involve both subsistence and commercial levels. Some of the articles of the trade include Tafiyoka (for pap making), different types of maggi and their local soap are all brought to Tsamiya and Lolo market. Traders from Benin in turn buy products from Nigerians such as onion, fish, asia (cooking ingredient) and some modem technological products.<sup>8</sup>

Another major commodity involve in the area is palm oil. Substantial part of palm oil, coming from Ghana<sup>9</sup> and passes through Tsamiya every day down to

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<sup>7</sup> Abdulkadir Saidu the origin and development of Tsamiya town 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



the interior in Nigeria. Expand on this aspect, Nigeria, Benin traditional medicine also constitute another important products for exchange in the area.<sup>10</sup>

The shea-butter oil (man kade) is used for cooking; it also serves as medicine for curing some illnesses. Daudawa which is mostly prepared by the seed of pari alivorths tree is one of the most important local magi of the olden days and still be use by the people of today. It is no doubt that, people from the neighbouring area normally come to buy, because it is product in large scale that no neighbouring area is producing alike.

Kwata is mostly used in preparing soup in the sense that its use as part of ingredient, so as to turn the colour of the soup to red. Unlike palm oil, the shea-butter oil which is mostly use by the people of Tsamiya and Lolo area does not change the colour of the soap. And that is why kwata is use to affect the colour of soup.<sup>11</sup>

Weaving is an important sector in the economic activities in Tsamiya and Lolo areas. All set of trees is being prepared for the normal cloths in the areas. It also attracts the interest of people from far and near using set of clothes being produced in the area. The forest nature, due to the availability of trees led to the emergence of wood caving industry in the areas the wood planks are produce in a very large quantity. It is use for roofing or other purposes. The availability of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Malam Usman Ladan (bafaden sarki) 60 years at tsamiya towon 11/10/2013

wood plank led to the development of carpentry in the area today most the chairs, bed, karaga (local bed, bench) and many others.<sup>12</sup>

Blacksmithing is another important production sector in Tsamiya - Lolo towns. As a result of farming which can not be done without implements such as hoes, cutlass, knife and so on. Some years back iron was used to produce rough iron which they used for farming implement (kankara tama) in which they use smiting pump to (zuga-Zugi) for producing farming implements.<sup>13</sup> They also produce spon (kugata) and women air ring and so on.

The above local economic activities of Tsamiya and Lolo increased the volume and development of market in the area. It also led to the increase in population of people who settled permanently in the areas. Today many tribes are found in the area, such as Boko<sup>14</sup>, Changawa, Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Zuru, Idoma, Dukkawa, Fulani and so on.

### **3.3 Nature of Cross-border Trade in Tsamiya and Lolo Markets**

The setting up of colonial frontiers and tariffs did not result in the real decline in the trade between the people of Benin and Nigeria. Consequently, there developed a complex and thriving pattern of cross-border trade operating across Nigeria and Benin borderland. Citizen of the area entered eagerly into the cross -

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid .

<sup>13</sup> B. Abdulkadir: The economic importance of River Niger to agricultural activities of Lolo 2009.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

border in a wide variety of good which were in wide demand and were easily transportable due to modern advances in transport technology<sup>15</sup>

There developed large markets with full of good traded upon and people who came daily from across the area to buy and sell. The people of these communities had made trade an essential part of their way of life. At the first, the cross- border trade was a simple business of exchanging good carried by different means of transport for few centuries. Presently, however, it had become much more widespread and complex. In addition to using porters, canoes and beast of burden to carry goods across the border, trucks and motorized boats are used on daily basis to transport goods.<sup>16</sup> The growth and development of cross-border trade could be seen in terms of extent of operation which are very broad and range of products which are very vast. This also gave rise to forwarding clearing and booking agencies as well as tradition banking institutions.

Cross-border shipments among the tripartite border of Nigeria and Benin Republic continue to be common. Tsamiya and Lolo markets are know for both formal and informal cross -border trade. Foodstuff, consumer goods and clothing are major commodities traded among the people of the three countries in the border region some of these goods are discharged for market for traded formally while others, especially the manufactured pass through illegal numerous bush footpath the citizens involved in the informal traded across border a common areas usually bypass law enforcement agents before reaching entry or destination.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

It is therefore a common knowledge that trade across the border areas take two dimensions that is illegal and legal, but important to note is that both continue to provide goods and services to communities along border areas. Our data revealed that trade transaction in the borderland involved exchange of variety of goods. Each of the border communities has something to sell to the other and each need to buy from the other. Moreover as a result of colonialism which led to the integration of the economy of the border communities into the expanding cash-based economics of Europe, these communities not only enjoy European imports but also buy them for re-export to other side of the border. Goods that are exchanged include agricultural produce, products of local industries and modern manufactured goods.<sup>17</sup>

Cross- border trade in the Tsamiya and Lolo border region is organized with the participation of all forces representing the border communities, craftsmen, traditional institution and of course state officials. The participants in the trade often organized themselves in to occupation guilds, rings and sometimes pools. The operations of the trade can be divided into a number of segments. At first the question of difference in currency between Nigeria on one hand and Benin, had to be resolved. Generally, there were two ways of resolving the issue. First is employing the service of people who engage in foreign currency exchange

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<sup>17</sup> Salisu Yunus, headmaster, 37 years old at Tsamiya 15/10/2013

or 'Yancanji in Hausa. Yancanji are of two categories: manyan 'Yancanji (Major)<sup>18</sup> Kananan 'Yancanji.

### **3.4 Smuggling in Tsamiya and Lolo Border Areas**

The type of economy prevailing within the border regions disobeys the national laws of the countries concerned. The special characteristics of the border regions and the economic policies pursued by the government of the two neighbouring states, provide the necessary conditions for the existence of illegal transactions in goods and currency and other negative externalities. The existence of cross-border movements of goods have been explained in terms of relative price differential. Price advantage, it is argued, determines the direction of cross-border flows while the size of the price differential between competing border trade determines the magnitude of cross-border trade flows.<sup>19</sup> It has also been that a relatively large price difference, even in the presence of intimidating police patrols will usually bring relatively large movements of goods across-the-border.

Similarly, the existence of close kinship ties and government policies have also been adduced for the existence of cross-border movements. While these explanations have merits, they are in themselves inadequate for explaining the supply of illegal trade across the border, yet an adequate understanding is

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Barkindo, B.M. (1993), 'Border Region Development as impetus for Trans-border cooperation and wider regional integration in Africa: the Nigerian experience, *Journal of Border land Studies*.

necessary to enable the society identify the variables which can be manipulated in an effort to control illegal trade across the border.<sup>20</sup>

To fully appreciate the supply of illegal activities across the border, one must look beyond the existence of profit and close kinship ties. The unpatrollable nature of the border regions affects the probability of being apprehended. Besides, the potential offender can be expected to respond to the expected utility of a two-state choice: the expected utility if caught and the expected utility if not apprehended. Added to this the active involvement (though indirect) of government of at least one of the two neighbouring states in encouraging the incentive to engage in cross-border illegitimate activities. This factors the probability of detection with important policy implications.<sup>21</sup>

The second important factor, often overlooked, is the nature of the economy of the Border areas. There are two forces at play here. One is that most Border areas are characterized by a situation where there is relative disparity in the state of economic development-a direct consequence of the artificiality of boundaries (for example, the existence of customs barriers, failure to take advantage of the complementarity of their natural resources). The existence of such factors always creates an incentive for the supply of cross-border clandestine movements.<sup>22</sup> The second force has to do with the fact that the economies of most border regions are market-oriented economics where government restrictions

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Egg, J. and Igue, J. (1993) market driven integration in the eastern sub-region: Nigeria's impact on its immediate Neighbours, Lares, Cotonou, Benin Republic. Also Ekundare, R.O. (1973), An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960, London, Longman.

upon economic activity are pervasive. The all-embracing nature of the regulation of economic activities by government almost always gives rise to a variety of forms of illegal income-generating activities such as bribery, corruption, smuggling and black markets. There is always competition for this illegal income. An example is import restriction and the allocation of import licenses for controlled consumer commodities. In fact, government officials themselves receive part of this illegal income.

Of immediate relevance to the problem of illegal trade flows across artificial boundaries is the people's perception of the economic system. If income distribution is viewed as the outcome of a lottery where wealthy individuals are successful (or lucky) illegal income generation, the market mechanism is bound to be suspect. Where it is difficult to associate rewards with social product, and where the market mechanism is suspect because it is perceived as a mechanism for rewarding the rich and well-connected, the inevitable temptation is to resort to greater illegal income-generating activity hence the amount of resources devoted to this form of economic activity is thereby increased.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE ROLE OF TSAMIYA AND LOLO BORDER MARKETS TO THE SOCIO - ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION OF NIGERIA AND BENIN REPUBLIC**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

Tsamiya and Lolo markets served as an exchange place located near Benin and Nigeria border or located within walking distance of it (less than 7 km). These border markets served as storage and relay sites that provide the distribution of goods to neighbouring countries. They served not only as an avenue of exchange of goods but also as a place of interaction and cultural exchange.

This chapter discusses the structure and organisation of cross-border trade between the communities proximate to Nigeria-Benin borders. It looks at the role of the Tsamiya and Lolo border markets in promoting cooperation among the two countries even when the national policies of the respective countries failed to achieved so.

#### **4.1 Organisation of the Trade**

There is large scale informal cross - border trading activities between the people of Nigeria and Benin through their border markets. That trust is largely in the centre of the agreements by the informal cross-border market players. Trust depends on the incentives of the contracting parties "to trust some one rationally,



of the parson has sufficient incentives to behave in a dignified manner; these incentives include the following; guilt and shame, fear of lawsuit or resort to force, the refusal to waste a valuable business relationship and the fear of losing his reputation. The result of my investigations on the border markets of Tsamiya and Lolo can confirm this trust mostly observed at the level of credit sales in the short term is built in several variable; the geographical proximity of residence place of Benin merchants or foreigners, family relationship, friendships or even simple affinity that encourages market actors to trust each other, references common change ethno-linguistic group; the way in making agreements change buy surveyed areas. The fact each other facilitate a contracting for selling products on credit on the basis of trust.

Regarding coordination, there is the vertical coordination between the different function in downstream production and horizontal coordination that is to say, the organization of traders in Economic Interest Groups [EIG]. On the contractual area the activities taking place in the informal, actors are bound by ties of trust and did not need a legal paper to guard against risk. The trust is established by the frequency of transactions and the ability of the buyer to pay cash. The results shows that the risk of contractual disagreements are overall low and show once more the importance of trust that characterizes the border trade. Between Benin producers and collectors/exporters of agricultural and horticultural products to neighbouring countries, the percentage of traders who complain of non-payment is only 3% respectively.

Settlement of disputes in the transaction is generally made outside legal framework governed by the legal justice system. This result is characteristic of its real or spontaneous market. The use of legal action is costly in the informal sector and for transaction of small size.

#### **4.2 Profile of some cross-border Traders in Tsamiya and Lolo Border Markets**

The exchange of goods and services between the two communities is very extensive. One may argue that along the Nigeria-Benin border there is practically no household that does not depend on basic necessities that are imported from Nigeria and Benin. It is the extent of these economic relations that made the individual members who partake in the same trade to relate to each other not only on economic ground but as brothers.

During this research, a merchant woman was interviewed. Her name is Hajara was born in 1979 at Shegbana local government in Benin republic, she started her primary and secondary school at Shegbana in Benin Republic. After finishing her secondary school she started business before marriage.<sup>1</sup> The main business she engages was carrying maize from Benin down to Nigeria. She revealed to me that at least two hundred (200) bags of maize was brought by her to Tsamiya market every week. Presently she is married with three children.

Hajara further explain that, the importance of cross-border market cannot be over emphasise and the reason is that whatever types of products in the market

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<sup>1</sup> Hajara Usman, Dealer of maize and beans, 35 years old, at Tsamiya and Lolo market 12/10/2013.

use to be buy by the customers or dealers. The Hajara in turn use to buy goods such as robbers, salt and onion carrying down to Benin for sell. On the other hand Usman a suya beans importer who is born in 1977 at Jega local government Kebbi state of Nigeria.<sup>2</sup> He attended both primary and secondary school at Jega, and later proceeded to Adamu Augie College of Education Argungu of Kebbi state after attending his NCE he later join the business as a small scale which gradually become a great producer of suya beans. Usman further expressed that at least fifteen to twenty (15-20) trucks is being dropped to Tsamiya and Lolo markets between Wednesday and Thursday every week respectively. He is also having at least six (6) agents who use to enter into Benin to buy the suya beans for him. He said that the volume of the markets is too high, when compare to the other years. He said this two markets attended by two to three countries serve so many purposes, politically, socially, economically and religiously.

Politically, due to the growth and development of the two markets each section of the market is headed by sarki. For example, sarkin Kasuwa is the overall chief in charge of the markets and all the complaints concerning markets are brought to him for necessary action. Many at time there is a complaint of stealing such as “*ayan yankan arjuhu*” “*yan satar buhu*” “*yan danfara*” etc. In the other hand there is the complaint of market law brokers.

Socially, the two markets serve as a place of interaction between the people of Nigeria and that of Benin Republic. There are social activities such as

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<sup>2</sup> Usman Jega, Impoter of suya beans, 37 years old at Tsamiya market 14/10/2013.

intermarriage between the two countries. This automatically encourages and makes the two countries to be come friendly. Presently the government officials from Benin usually pay visit to government official of Tsamiya and Lolo of Nigeria. They in turn pay visit to Shegbana local government of Benin Republic. Infact, there is border meeting between Benin and Nigeria which use to take place from time to time. In this meeting the government officials come to attend the meeting. Many things are discussed in the meeting concerning what is affecting the two member countries.

Economically there is economic interdependent between the two countries many products which are found necessary from Benin Republic are brought to tsamiya and Lolo border markets. Products such as yam, maize, millet, suya beans and many other products are brought from Benin. Likewise many things which needed from Nigeria side include onion, salt, fish and many other things.

Religiously, as a result of interaction between the two countries many people who are non Muslim are now embracing Islam. In both Benin and Nigeria some people are found in the bush that are non Muslim and normally practice traditional religions. The example of these people is Kambari and Dukkawa. But there are great farmers who normally bring their farm products to tsamiya and Lolo market for sell. As a result they have contact with Hausa people who preached to them to become muslim.

Bani Sare<sup>3</sup> is also a cattle seller and at the same time a great farmer from Benin Republic. Bani was born in Nikki local government of Benin Republic in 1977, he started his primary at Nikki and latter proceeded to Kandi for his secondary education. After secondary education he decided to join business where he started with 3 sheep. The Bani use to attend tsamiya market on Thursday and Lolo on Wednesday, now Bani is reported to have gathered about fifty (50) cows and twenty (20) sheep as well as nineteen (19) goats. He advocated that in his farm alone he use to gather three hundred (300) bags of maize and one hundred and fifty (150) bags of groundnut. Another cross border marketer who was contacted is Sule Aminu<sup>4</sup> who is born at Kalare local government of Benin Republic in the year 1970. Sule is a great dealer of suya bean and maize. Sule is said to have attending tsamiya and Lolo markets for about twenty (20) years ago many Nigerians used to give his order of suyabeans or maize in a big quantity. According to Sule, with the growth and development of tsamiya and Lolo markets he is able to possess about two trucks which use to carry goods for him down to market.

The researcher also had interview with a woman called Salamatu<sup>5</sup> who is born in 1971 at Malanvil local government of Benin Republic. Salamatu is a local soap seller at Lolo and Tsamiya markets. She was asked on how important is selling local soap in the two markets, she replied that whatever the amount she

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<sup>3</sup> Bani Sare Cattle seller 37 years old at Tsamiya and Lolo market 14/10/2013.

<sup>4</sup> Sule Aminu, Agent of suyabeans, 50o years old at Tsamiya and Lolo market 17/10/2013.

<sup>5</sup> Salamatu, Local soap seller at Tsamiya and Lolo markets 18/10/2013.

brought to the markets people use to buy it all. Salamatu is married with 5 children. The other two children who are girls use to follow her to the market in order to assist her in term of selling the soap.

Discussions with various government officers and traders during the field survey in the areas as have confirmed the existence of informal or unrecorded trade both for the exchange of agricultural and industrial commodities.<sup>6</sup> Many traders engaged in formal trade because official producers are too rigid. Lengthily and bureaucratic that increase transaction costs. Cross border trade is general similar across the border market studied. However, there are some differences in business practice and type of products traded. Over 90% of retailers surveyed were adult, about 23% women and 70 men.

Children [under 18] play a less important role in the informal cross border trade as representing only 70% in the number of traders. In border markets, we often see children carry small quantities of goods on behalf of their parents or guardians traders. Cross-border trader activities support a relatively large number of young men and women who would be unemployed.

The operation of cross-border trade involves actors, marketing channels and export routes. They players are: Retailers [31.8] whose function is to retail on border markets for local consumption. These are usually women who reside in border areas with a level of education that rarely exceed the primary level; the wholesalers (10.6%) function is to purchase the big quantities of goods and make

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<sup>6</sup> Umar Sule, Local government officer, 37 years old at Tsamiya market 14/10/2013.

them available to exporters. Their activities are confirmed to border market. With substantial financial resources often available to them by the exporters, they buy goods from producers, small collectors on the market but also in other non exporters wholesalers.<sup>7</sup> The retailer wholesalers (13.6%) have the function to purchase goods in large quantities from some traders and retailers for exporters. They purchase goods on production large markets located within the country. The intermediary transporters (22%) have function of transporting goods for local or overseas markets. They can also play the role of intermediaries such as broker. In frontier markets, means of transport are rickshaws, wheelbarrows. Only big carriers with transportation vehicles (trucks, kantars, pickups etc) generally carry products in trucks up to 20 to 30 tons in neighbouring countries of Benin and Niger. When playing an intermediary role, they help exporters to find better quality of products Exporters (8.3%) are major traders with various nationalities and with substantial resources. They have direct contents with wholesalers from whom they collect the goods for export to neighbouring countries.<sup>8</sup>

Warehousemen [13.6%] have function of keeping the good already purchased by wholesalers when they go to buy other goods elsewhere. Generally, retailer and intermediary traders play his role. Marketing channels involve different actors described above. These channel range from production market where we can meet almost all the different categories of actors above to the foreign market by passing through border markets where export, with the help of

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<sup>7</sup> Isah Musa, Revenue officer 50 years old at Tsamiya and Lolo market 17/10/2013.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

transport, cross-border with goods for crossing the border, there are two ways; the sea way (20% offflows) from Lolo side and land way (81% of flows) from Tsamiya sisi.<sup>9</sup>

Beside private players above, it is worth mentioning the authorities from public institutions that are in charge of official statistics. The difficulties they face in fulfilling their duties may be reasons for not registering commercial flows. These reasons are explained in several ways (eg. 1998 and 2000); the multiplicity of possible crossing points at the border given the failures of basic infrastructure, bridges, roads, etc., difficulties to control flows due to the lack of human resources involved in border monitoring, problems of information transmission etc.

### **4.3 Structure of Cross-border Trade**

In the informal border trade between Nigeria and its neighbours, traders perform various marketing functions which can be divided into three main categories namely:

Firstly, functions of exchange or purchase/sale that include following transactions. The search of supply sources generally carried by wholesalers on behalf of exporters (and retailers). They move in different production markets for this purpose and are helped by intermediaries or brokers in assembling goods,

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



payment of transaction is done in 90% in cash using naira and CFA franc that the common currency of Nigeria and Benin member state.<sup>10</sup>

Secondly, physical functions that include transport, sorting and storage. The preparation of exports often requires the storage of foods in fixed costs and ensuring profitability for the exporter. About 74% of traders surveyed used the storage facilities of these, 14% were stored in their own store while 60% were rented. Others (26%) do not need storage facilities, either because of their prices, either because of their availability. This last category includes mainly retailers and traders living in border areas. In the vegetable sector, the sorting and grading operations are necessary before shipping. These are important activities in the process of sub-regional marketing of agricultural and horticultural, because they can pack various products depending on the quality or the "norm" requested by the destination market. The high "standard" product (first category) is generally designed for the hotel demands while other are sold on the food markets in destination countries.

Thirdly, the function of market information, funding and standards. Business information allows trades to measure the benefits and drawbacks of this business and to decide whether to be an actor. On the question from whom the trades has obtained the first information on border trade of agricultural and horticultural product? 70% of retail traders, intermediaries and warehouse traders

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<sup>10</sup> Umar Salihu Revenue officer at Tsamiya market 45 yearx old 18/10/2013.

said they had information from a person, while exporters were informed by the media (55% by a person (24%) and other sources (21%).<sup>11</sup>

Regarding the function sources of information cross-border traders in general, although the credit was cited as a major constraint in the acquisition and storage of products sold, 980/0 of retailer surveyed were unable to obtain a finance support from formal institutions and had to rely on their own savings (27%), informal lenders (27%), friends and relatives (240/0). A lower proportion of traders (in the category of exporters) said they were able to obtain funds from microfinance institutions (2%). Furthermore, almost half of retailers do not have bank accounts because of the high cost of operation, ignorance and inaccessibility of bank; it is unlikely that formal financial institutions are a viable source of funding for informal traders. The lack of initial capital (particularly among retailers, intermediaries) and the shortage of operating finds therefore act as barriers to entry in this category of exporter traders. Specifically, sources of funding vary class actors. Retail traders retailers/wholesalers, intermediaries/transporters get their funding from friends or use their own saving only 2% of exporter traders have reported obtaining credit form microfinance institutions.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Summary

In the first chapter, attempts have been made to outline the direction of the research. The aims and objectives of the study, its scope and limitation, the justification, methodology as well as the literature review have been discussed.

The second chapter contains the historical origin and development of Tsamiya and Lolo town. It should be noted that the cross-border market of the two areas cannot be discussed without tracing the historical origin of the areas. Likewise the tradition of origin as well as the social economic aspects of the people of Tsamiya and Lolo border areas. The religious aspect I also not exempted.

In the third chapter, attempts have been made to show the growth and development of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets. The chapter have thrown more light on the local commodities and the general roles it played toward development and growth of the Tsamiya and Lolo cross-border markets. Local commodities such as shea-butter, weaving, “daudawa” local soap, and many other commodities. Not only have that, the chapter also explained in details on the nature of cross-border market in Tsamiya and Lolo border markets.

In the forth chapter, attempts have equally been made to discuss on the role of Tsamiya and Lolo border markets to the socio-economic cooperation of Nigeria and Benin. Under this chapter, the organisation of trading activities in the two

border areas have been discussed. Likewise the profile of some prominent cross-border traders in the area have been highlighted. As well as the structure of cross-border trade. In the final chapter, the summary and conclusion have been outlined.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The study of cross-border markets between Nigeria and Benin Republic has shown that, participation of the two neighbouring countries to their border markets has encouraged or gave way to free movement along the border lines. In fact, the market relation of the two countries is cordial and it has not been faced with any serious diplomatic problems such as aggression, undue rivalry or any other dark clouds inspite of the possible sources of conflict such as the French influence on the Republic of Benin. In spite of arbitrary nature of the Nigeria-Benin boundary, illegal immigration and cross-border crimes such as smuggling and armed banditry, the two countries need each other.

Trading activities existed in the areas since before and during colonial period. But after the partition among the Europeans which led to the Berlin conference, the lands were divided. In fact the economic interdependence in terms of cross-border movement of goods among the border area of Nigeria and Benin Republic continue to be common.

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<b>S/No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Place of interview</b>	<b>Date of interview</b>
1	Usman Ladan	Farmer	60	Tsamiya Palace	11/0/2013
2	Ibrahim Bafaden	Sarki	62	Tsamiya Palace	9/10/2013
3	Ahmed Malamin	PA to sarki	65	Tsamiya Palace	9/10/2013
4	Sarkin Tsamiya	King of tsamiya	75	King Palace	11/10/2013
5	Mansur Adailer	Trader	45	Tsamiya Market	10/10/2013
6	Hussain A.B.	Civil servant	37	Shegbana Benin Rep.	9/10/2013
7	Abdullahi H.	Dealer	60	Tsamiya Market	13/10/2013
8	Bawa A. Lolo	Civil servant	37	Lolo Market	12/10/2013

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