

**A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC MILITIA IN
WUKARI AREA, 1945 - 2005**

BY

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Dissertation titled: “**A Study of the Origin and Development of Ethnic Militia in Wukari Area 1945–2005**” is the product of my research and has been written by me. It has not been presented for a higher degree in any other university. All quotations have been acknowledged and distinguished by quotation marks in the text and endnotes at the end of each chapter.

ATTAH, Jonathan

Sign-----

Date-----

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled: **A Study of the Origin and Development of Ethnic Militia in Wukari Area 1945–2005**, by ATTAH Jonathan, has been certified to have met part of the requirements governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts (M.A) Degree in Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to all the souls lost in the course of the Jukun-Tiv Crises over the years and everyone who has lost one thing or the other as a result of the crises.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my profound gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. M. S. Umar and Dr J.O. Agi. I am short of words to express my deepest appreciation for their constructive criticism and advice without which this research would not have been successful. I pray that the Lord God will reward them richly. I want to also extend my gratitude to my numerous Jukun, Tiv and Hausa informants whose names cannot be mentioned. Your contribution towards knowledge made this research a reality.

I also appreciate the support and encouragement received from my dear wife, Christie, for standing by me both financially and spiritually. I say thank you. Our children, Melchizedek, Mahalaleel and Mettable, are equally appreciated for their patience and endurance with my frequent absence from home. The support and encouragement I received throughout the years from my parents, brothers and relatives were instrumental in the realization of this work. To my parents, Mr and Mrs. Attah Samuel; my brothers and sisters, Raymond, Daniel, Rejoice, Comfort, Abigail, Monday, Victor, Jahaleel and the family of Mr and Mrs. Attah Christopher Judith, I remain ever grateful.

My profound gratitude goes to all my lecturers in the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, who were very kind to me and intellectually accommodating. This work would not have been completed without the encouragement of my friends in Federal College of Education, Zaria, and colleagues whose presence around me gave me an entirely new experience on ABU campus. Above all, I am most grateful to the Lord God Almighty for granting me this ample opportunity and endowing me with good health, wisdom, knowledge and understanding

needed for a study of this kind. To Him alone be ascribed all the glory, honor, power and adoration forever.

ABBREVIATIONS

A B U	-----Ahmadu Bello University
AG	-----Action Group
BVPP	-----Benue Valley Project Papers
D O	-----District Officer
J A H	-----Journal of African History
JHSN	-----Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
L G A	-----Local Government Area
M A	-----Master of Arts
MAKPROF	-----Makurdi Province File
NPC	-----Northern Peoples' Congress
UMBC	-----United Middle Belt Congress
NEPU	-----Northern Elements Progressive Union
NCNC	-----National Council of Nigerian Citizens
N A	-----Native Authority
N C	-----Native Court
N P	-----Native Police
N T	-----Native Treasury
NAK	-----National Archives, Kaduna
PhD	-----Doctor of Philosophy
SNP	-----Secretariat, Northern Provinces
U A C	-----United African Company
VOL	-----Volume

Glossary

Jukun, Tiv and Hausa	English
Aku	A traditional name for king among the Jukun
Ama	Jukun word for salt
Gari	Hausa word for town
Gishiri	Hausa word for salt
Nyam or Inyam	Tiv word for animal
Isav	Tiv word for power
Malamai	The intelligentsia among the Hausa
Jembe or Ijembe	Tiv word for Axe
Akumag	Jukun word for Masquerade
Tor	Tiv word for King or Chief
Akunye	Principal officer among the Jukun traditional aristocracy.
Rafin	Hausa word for stream

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NOTES ON SOURCES

The study examines the Development of Ethnic Militia in the Wukari Area from 1945-2005. Thus, a considerable number of sources related to militia development in the area of study were used as well as archival materials, oral interviews and internet sources.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival Sources: There are different collections of colonial records deposited at the National Archives in Kaduna. Thus, materials derived from the archive related to this work include colonial reports and anthropological notes on the Jukun of Wukari by H.O. Keates.¹ Colonial assessment reports and intelligence records were the categories of records used intensively in the work. These records attempt a discussion on major the origin, migrations and settlement pattern of the people in the study area; The records also discussed the nature of pre-colonial socio-economic and political organization of the Jukun people of Wukari area, as well as their relationship with their neighbors in the Middle Benue Valley prior to the advent of colonial domination of Nigeria at large.

These records also document re-organization, appointment of Chiefs and District Heads, taxation, native courts and general colonial activities in Wukari Division. Thus, the quarterly, half of the year, and annual reports by the Assistant District Officers, District Officers and Residents were the major pieces of information used. The main relevance of these reports lies in the fact that they contained firsthand information and as well provided statistics of events as they unfold in the study area.

¹ SNP17/K.2441 VOL.1, History and Anthropological Notes on the Jukun of Wukari: By H.O Keates, A.D.O, Ibi Division, Wukari, October 1921. Also see Meek C.K. *A Sudanese Kingdom, An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, New York, Negro University Press, 1931.

However, these colonial reports are not devoid of weakness as primary sources of history. One of their major defects in the study area is their neglect of certain internal dynamics of socio-economic integration among the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups in the study area. This development led to the introduction of the Ring Fence policy, where the Tiv were forcibly evicted from Ibi Division. This policy created division among the two ethnic groups in the area.

Another defect is the colonial administrators' preconceived wrong notion of Africans. They wrote subjectively about African culture to glorify European civilization and undermine the history of African societies. This attitude denied the imperialists the right frame of mind to appreciate the beauty of African civilization. Also, language barrier constituted a problem in the aspect of accurate translation of information gathered by colonial administrators and anthropologists. In this case, the colonial reports are diametrically opposed to the reality of the events and people's culture.

However, the information gathered from the colonial reports are not completely useless. The reports contained a reflection of the various stages of colonial domination in Nigeria and particularly in the Wukari Division. Thus, the researcher admits here that, these records provide information used in this study especially historical facts and relevant statistics.

Oral Sources

Oral sources are pieces of information stored in human memory and are transmitted verbally to individuals from one generation to another. It includes poems, songs, legends and proverbs. This is one of the useful sources of information used in this work. Oral interviews were conducted and information gathered from my informants were carefully corroborated with the facts from the existing sources, which were also carefully studied. This oral information helped in assessing the

information from the colonial reports in the archives. Some of the informants refused to comment on issues relating to deities and shrines, while in some villages they provided information about certain traditional practices that are either extinct, or current.

One of the defects of oral accounts from people or residents in the study area is contradictory information on the establishment and settlement in the Wukari area. Some informants argued that, the Jukun were established in Wukari area before the Tiv came and settled, while others particularly the Tiv informants maintained that they were the first. However, many colonial reports including the declaration by Hausa informants provided evidence that the Jukun people founded and established the town of Wukari. Also the oral sources lack dating precision. It is worth noting that the actual figure of people or things involved in an event, and the precise dates of when the events actually took place could not be accurately provided by most of the informants. As a result, those who gave dates or figures of participants in an event were either not sure or gave contradicting figures which contrast with available written documents from the archive and libraries. Given these inherent defects in oral sources, the researcher suggests that caution should be taken when using oral information especially regarding issues and events in the history of Wukari area.

Secondary Sources

Published Books, Journals and Articles

These are other vital sources of records that the researcher used in the course of this work. Published and unpublished materials were used in this research. Thus, information from these sources may not necessarily be related to the location of study, but have provided very important hints to the researcher in the development of this work. First, the work by Sa'ad Abubakar

stresses the importance attached to the Jukun ethnic group and their socio–political influence on their neighbors. It is believed that the Jukun spread their influence over non- Jukun groups and rebuilt their institutions.² In addition, the work states that, the structure of the Northern Chamba Chieftaincies differed from that of Donga, because the latter were greatly influenced by the Jukun. In Donga, the ruler was titled *Gara* and the structure of the government reflected that of their dominant western neighbors, the Jukun.³

The relevance of this article to the study is that, it explains the early migration of the Jukun ethnic group in the upper Benue Basin and their subsequent contact with the Chamba ethnic groups which resulted in the establishment of a settlement called Donga. However, the work failed to explain in depth the Jukun military expansion on her neighbors but rather maintained that the Jukun influence seems to have spread over non-Jukun within the area of study not by military conquest, but through mutual contact and the consequent adoption of Jukun institutions.⁴

Another work that carries some information about the study area is that of AgbuO, *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post Transition Nigeria*. The author discusses some vital aspects in relation to the evolution of ethnic militia in Nigeria. He argues that, the phenomenon that gave rise to ethnic militia in Nigeria did not just start overnight, but rather began as a result of contradictions embedded in our body politic, stemming from the colonial domination. Furthermore, he claimed that the over concentration of power in the Nigeria's Federal practice and the failure of post–transition politics to urgently address the distortions in the polity are

²AbubakarS,” Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau Before 1800” in Ikime O (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann,1980, Ibadan

³ Ibid p175

⁴ Ibid p172

responsible for the emergence of ethnic militia, as a specific response to state incapacity and a means for achieving the decentralization of the state power.⁵

The importance of this work to the study can be from the geographical point. The author aptly demarcates the area that could be called middle belt in Nigerian territory. He further claims that the roots of the incessant armed conflicts between the Tiv and the Jukun can be traced to the colonial period, more precisely the 1920s.⁶ The work further dwells extensively on the emergence and the impact of ethnic militia in Nigeria. Though, very little is discussed about the study area, the work is a good reference material in the study of managing ethnic militia in Nigeria.

The work of Yahaya A.D⁷ is also important to this study. The author provides relevant information on the nature and scope of the Native Authority (NA) System in Northern Nigeria. According to Yahaya,

*The NA as a political institution under colonial rule was expected to maintain law and order, to balance interests among the political and social force, and to supervise the allocation of resources in the society. It is in this sense that, the colonial regime expected it to function.*⁸

The author claims that the objectives for the establishment of NA System in Northern Nigeria during colonial domination was to serve as machinery in which administration of the area is carried out and reflected the Lugardian system of 'Indirect Rule' in Nigeria where the hitherto pre-colonial polities were maintained and utilized.

⁵ Agbu O, *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post- Transition Nigeria*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2004, Sweden.

⁶ Ibid p24

⁷ Yahaya A D, *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, Kaduna State, Nigeria 1980 p3

⁸ Ibid p5

The article by Agbe J. P. T “*Inter-Ethnic Interaction Between the Tiv–Udam and Tiv – Jukun*” is another insightful work. He observes that, the early contact between the Tiv and their neighbors, that is, the Jukun and the Udam, was relatively peaceful and cordial. Thus, the mutual relationship between the Jukun and Tiv led to a Tiv man being appointed by the AkuZakanyu Tsokwa in 1820 to the office of Agaiya in Wukari.⁹ The relevance of this work to this study can be seen from the point that the colonial policies of boundary demarcation in the southern Tivland and the subsequent creation of “Munshi Wall” between Tivland and Udam together with the “Ring Fence” policy introduced in the Wukari division to check the Tiv migration into Wukari area destroyed the existing mutual relationship among the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups.

Also worthy of note is the work of Alubo, O. *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*. The author identifies the major causes of ethnic conflict in North Central region of Nigeria. Thus, he argues that, the ethnic conflicts and the civil disturbances in the present day Taraba state predate the birth of modern Nigeria; for him, the disturbance here involved two ethnic groups, the Tiv and the Jukun.¹⁰ Alubo claimed that, the problem of citizenship and ethnic contestations in the region together with colonial practices of ‘Divide and Rule’ helped in souring the relationship among the two ethnic groups. This uneasy relationship deteriorated with the advent of party politics in the run-up to Nigeria’s independence.¹¹

Alubo identified the issue of citizenship, and party politics in relation to the symbolic meaning of land as a factor in production as central to all conflicts between the Tiv and Jukun ethnic groups. This work has enriched our knowledge on the level of interaction between the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups in the central regions of Nigeria, but failed to assess the role of

⁹ Agbe J.P.T, *Inter Ethnic Interaction Between the Tiv-Udam and Tiv- Jukun* in Akinwunmi.O, et al (ed), *Inter-Group Relation in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Century*. Aboki pub, Makurdi, 2006.p287

¹⁰ Alubo.O, *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*. PEFS Pub,2006, Ibadan.

¹¹ Ibid p100

colonial policies in thwarting relationship between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the region.

The article by Best, G. S, *et al* “Communal Conflict and the Possibility of Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Tiv–Jukun Conflict in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State” seeks to identify the main issues and underlying causes of the conflict between the Jukun and Tiv communities. The authors argues that, the significant political factor in the studied area in the 17th century was the ancient Kwararafa polity established by the Jukun, and their capital sited at Kwararafa in the present day Gassol Local Government Area of Taraba State.

The article notes that, the Tiv migrated into the Benue Valley from Cameroon in the 18th century, by that time the Kwararafa polity had been dominant in the region for centuries, albeit with diminished political significance¹². It point out that there is no record of any war between the two predominant ethnic groups during the pre–colonial era. Rather, both groups fought against their enemy, the slave raider, Dankaro who raided both the Tiv and the Jukun.¹³

The relevance of the work to this study lies first on the fact that, it unravels the ancient socio-political structure of the Kwararafa polity in the Benue Valley. It addresses the issue of contact and cordial relationship between the Jukun and the Tiv which resulted in establishing of an alliance against their enemy. However, the work remains silent on how the Jukun linguistically

¹² Best.G. S, Alamiyeabee E I and Bayero S Z, article “Communal Conflict and the Possibility of Conflict Resolution in Nigeria. A Case Study of the Tiv – Jukun Conflict in Wukari Local Government area Taraba state” in Onigu. O et al (ed), *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management, Resolution, and Transformation*. Spectrum book,1999, Ibadan

¹³ Ibid p90

and culturally influenced their Tiv neighbor. The article sheds more light on managing ethnic conflicts among the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups in the study area.

Unpublished Works

A number of works were used which gave vital information on the subject matter; Masters Dissertations and Doctorate theses. One of these is Toyin Cotties Adetiba's PhD Thesis titled "Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria: A Challenge to Inclusive Social and Political Development"¹⁴. This contributes significantly to the work, especially in relation to the understanding of ethnic conflict an important variable in this work. The thesis exposes the researcher to different theoretical views dealing with national development. It also provides valuable notes on the impact of ethnic conflict and its effects on the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria.

The PhD thesis by Elijah Ityavkase Akombo, titled "Jukun-Tiv Relation Since 1850. A Case Study of Inter-Group Relations in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State"¹⁵ is another work that contributes to this study. The thesis deals with the origin and the migration of the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups into the Middle Benue Valley. The researcher also discusses extensively the level of socio-economic inter-course between these ethnic groups in the area. Duruji, Moses Metumara's PhD thesis titled "Ethnic Militia and Sub-nationalism in Nigeria; A Comparative Study of MASSOB and OPC" also provides detailed information on some aspects

¹⁴Adetiba.T. O, Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria: A Challenge to Inclusive Social and Political Development. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, School of Public Management and Development, University of Fort Hare, South Africa 2013

¹⁵Akombo, E.I, "Jukun-Tiv relations since 1850: A Case Study of Inter-group relations in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State", Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of History, University of Jos, 2005

of ethnic militia in Nigeria. The researcher extensive assessment of the impact of these groups provides a useful guide to this study.

Another unpublished work examined in this study was among others, Akpar T. Michael's PhD thesis titled "The Politics of Settler/Indigene Conflicts in Benue and Taraba States"¹⁶. The study is very informative on the nature of politics in relation to indigeneship in Benue and Taraba States. The study discusses the problems associated with indigenes in the course of politics in the area mentioned. The researcher explores the roles of indigene and politics and how its influences conflict in the study area.

Another important work is that of Y B Usman titled "Integration and Community Relation: A Historical Study of the Changing Nature of Communities and Community Relationship in the Central Zone of Nigeria in the Twentieth Century."¹⁷ This work also gives detailed information on the nature of incessant conflicts in Nigeria and particularly in the central zone, and issues that challenge the question of national unity in Nigeria. The research sheds light on the general state of Socio-political affairs of the area in question. The paper is thought-provoking and reveals the basis of conflicts in the central zone of Nigeria. This work is of great significance to this research.

¹⁶ Michiel.A. T, The Politics of Settler/Indigene Conflicts in Benue and Taraba states. Unpublished, MA Thesis, Department of political science, ABU Zaria 2012

¹⁷Usman.Y. B, National Integration and Community Relationship: A Historical study of the Changing Nature of Communities and Community Relationship in the Central Zone of Nigeria in the Twentieth Century. Abdullahi Smith Center for Historical Research, 1992, Zaria, Research project.

Internet Sources

The researcher made use of internet materials while writing this work. Thus, several websites and blogs provided helpful facts. I surfed through Jstor site and Google search engine in attempt to gather relevant information relating to the topic of the research. These websites are documented under the classification of sources in the bibliography.

PREFACE

This study focuses on the Origin and Development of Ethnic Militia in the Wukari Area 1945-2005. The main objective of the study is to analyze and discuss the major factors that encouraged the emergence of ethnic militia in the area of study. The study shows that manipulation of group's diversity by the imperialists and the post-colonial leaders as a result of their economic and political gains created fertile ground for ethnic conflicts, thus concomitantly the emergence of ethnic militia in the Wukari area in particular. There is no doubt that, the activities of the Jukun-Tiv ethnic militia pose a threat to the development and political stability of Wukari area and the country as a whole. There is need to improve on the conscious effort towards ethnic integration as a pre-requisite for socio-economic and political development not only in Wukari area but in Nigeria at large.

The first chapter of the study features the statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study, methodology employed in the course of the research and, scope and delimitation of the study. It also presents the theoretical framework as well as reviews related literature. The second chapter exposes the historical background of the study area on the eve of colonial domination. Thus, the geographical location and the relief features of the area are examined. Also, the peopling and the settlement pattern together with the economic activities are equally discussed.

The third chapter relates and examines the British colonial conquest, domination and policies in the study area. Moreover, it attempts to link the British colonial policies in the study area with the gradual ethnic division and suspicion among the ethnic groups. This resulted into an overt conflict between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups. The fourth chapter examines the evolution and growth of the ethnic militia in Nigeria and Wukari area in particular. It also

analyses the structure of the militia and their roles in the Jukun-Tiv crises of 1990-92 and 2001-2002.

The fifth chapter contains the implications of Jukun- Tiv crises on the socio-economic stability of the study area. The assessment of losses of lives and properties were examined. Also, the reaction of government during and aftermath in each phase of the crises are examined. The last chapter (Chapter Six) presents the general conclusion and recommendations which are put forward with the aim of enhancing ethnic integration in Nigeria and in the Wukari area in particular.

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the Origin and Development of Ethnic Militia in the Wukari Area of the present Taraba State during the period 1945-2005 using the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups as a case study. The proliferation of ethnic oriented violence in Nigeria and in the Wukari Area in particular is a product of ethnic militia, and has become a national trend, hence constituting a threat to the survival of the state, and raises the questions of factors responsible for this development. Thus, the main objectives of the study are to analyze the major factors that encouraged the emergence of ethnic militia in the area of study. The study reveals that the evolution of ethnic militia in the study area was a by-product of colonial policies in the former Wukari Division which, among others, included direct taxation and forcible subordination of the Tiv communities in the area under the centralized pre-colonial polity of the Jukun without any regard to their peculiarities and interests. The study also reveals that the inherent contradictions in the body politics of Nigeria and Wukari area in particular in the post-colonial era characterized by winner-take-all syndrome played a vital role in the recurrent activities of ethnic militia in the study area. Thus, the continuation of this negative act among the ethnic groups in the area influenced the nature and forms of socio-political inter-course between the Jukun and the Tiv peoples in the post-colonial era. In addition, the quest for agrarian land and ownership of the Wukari Area were parts of the issues in the Jukun-Tiv conflicts perpetrated by the ethnic militia from both groups in the 1990s and 2000s. It is against this background that the study examines the evolution of these ethnic militia and the consequences of their activities in the Wukari area. In terms of methodology, the researcher collected oral data in the field through oral interviews conducted in the former Wukari Division and its environs. These oral interviews were carefully scrutinized and cross-checked with available archival materials collected from the National Archives in Kaduna, including other related secondary sources as well. The study recommends that both ethnic groups (the Jukun and the Tiv) should be encouraged to understand and respect each other's cultural heritage. This practice, if sincerely carried out will help in preventing those cultural shocks that served as obstacles to the co-existence of the Jukun and the Tiv in the post-colonial era.

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

There seems to be a growing body of literature on the relationship between ethnic militia and violent conflict. Ethnic militia in Nigeria evolved from imperial domination and its administrative policies characterized by direct taxation and forcible subordination of one ethnic group to another. Prior to the intrusion of the imperialists into what is known as Nigeria today, every ethnic group had its unique identity and loose geographical region, but each enjoyed requisite contact and relationship between members of its group and outsiders. These entities had their own political systems and religious values distinct from one another.¹⁸ This view was further stressed by Mahmoud Hamman, who posited that, the establishment of various types of relationships between neighboring people is only natural, for no community can live in isolation. But the nature and type of the relations established varied and were determined by the peculiarities of the neighboring places and people.¹⁹

However, British imperial policies in Nigeria were not aimed at fostering unity among the various ethnic groups that made up Nigeria; rather they were intended to exploit the varied differences and suspicious cleavages among them.²⁰ Hence, the imperial legacy bequeathed by

¹⁸Metumara D.M, Ethnic Militia and sub-nationalism in Nigeria; A comparative study of Massob and OPC, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Political Science ,Covenant University, Otta, Ogun State, 2010.

¹⁹Hamman M, *Peoples of the Mambila Plateau and their Relations with Bamuyo Region, C-1840-1901*, ABU Press Zaria, 2008 p53

²⁰Op cit p 1

the British was one that clearly encouraged the consolidation of the ethnic differences existing among the various people in the geographical space now called Nigeria.²¹

Agbu argued that this was done mainly for economic gains and administrative convenience through what has been tagged the 'Divide and Rule' policy.²² It is important to note that Nigerians, during the colonial era, spoke with one voice, perhaps to fight the common enemy 'colonialism,'²³ with each ethnic group having common interest. The post-colonial regimes in Nigeria failed to introduce effective policies that would help in reducing the ethnic differences created by the imperial policies. It is in view of this that, Metumara posited that most of the policies formulated by the post-independence regimes in Nigeria were aimed at suppressing ethnic consciousness and minimizing the challenge it posed to the legitimacy of the state or the authority of the incumbent regime. Hence, the result is the heightened hegemonic contest for power at the center by the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria.

This study examines the origin and development of ethnic militia in Wukari area of the present Taraba State of Nigeria. The work also examines specific major crises that took place in the area between 1990-92 and 2001-2002. These crises stand out as the two most protracted single outbreaks in the festering conflicts between the Jukun and the Tiv. However, both in magnitude and intensity, the 2001-2002 crisis exceeded the former crisis.²⁴ The work also analyses the factors that led to the evolution of ethnic militia, and their organizational structure in the study area. The researcher also attempts to examine the modus operandi employed by the

²¹ Agbu, O., *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post-Transition Nigeria*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2004, Sweden.

²² Ibid p 7

²³ Adetiba, T.O. *Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria : A Challenge to Inclusive Social and Political Development*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, school of Public Management and Development, University of Fort Hare, 2013, South Africa.

²⁴ Alubo, O. *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*. PEFS, 2006, University of Ibadan.

militia and their objectives in the area of study. The study proffers recommendations which are aimed not only at managing ethnic conflicts, but also at finding a lasting solution to the activities of ethnic militia in Wukari area and Nigeria at large.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

To examine the origin and development of ethnic militia in Wukari Area, the researcher unraveled the major factors that encouraged the emergence of ethnic militia in the area. This is intended to corroborate the causes with the theory of pluralism which posits that majority of ethnic conflicts are politically motivated. Ethnic pluralism, no doubt, is and will remain a fundamental characteristic of modern Nigeria that must be recognized and incorporated within any project of nation-building.²⁵ Questions such as the following were set to be answered: What is the nature and dimensions of the ethnic militia in the study area? What are the factors that encouraged the evolution of ethnic militia in the study area? How did the colonial policies in the area encourage the development and activities of ethnic militia?

In a similar vein, the quest for agricultural land and ownership of Wukari area are part of the issues in the Jukun-Tiv conflicts perpetrated by militia from both groups in the 1990s and 2000s is examined. In addition, the inherent contradiction in the body politics of Nigeria and Wukari area in particular in the post-colonial era characterized by the winner-takes-all syndrome and its continuation among the domiciled ethnic groups in the area influenced the nature and forms of socio-political inter-course between the Jukun and the Tiv people in the post-colonial era.

²⁵ Op cit p-14

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The general aim of the study is to unravel the colonial policies in the Wukari area, and how they encouraged the evolution and activities of ethnic militia. The specific aim and objectives of the study are however, to:

- 1 Examine the major factors that encouraged the emergence of ethnic militia in the area of study.
- 2 Study ethnic militia in Wukari Area of Taraba State and its implication on socio-economic stability.
- 3 Assess the nature and dynamic of ethnic militia among the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups.
- 4 Contribute to the general knowledge on the activities of ethnic militia in Wukari area and the Nigeria at large.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study of ethnic militia as part of a general trend in contemporary Nigeria is a serious and heavy task. This is as a result of the impact it has on the nation in the area of group conflict, and rivalry. This view was further stressed by Hamman, who argued that, one of the endemic problems facing Nigeria today is inter-ethnic conflicts.²⁶ The activities of ethnic militia in the area of study have received little attention from historians despite the magnitude and intensity of their impacts on the live of the various ethnic groups that live in the area. Thus, the study is significant because it adds to the body of literature on ethnic militia and their activities. The work also complements the existing literature that deal with similar topics in order to promote

²⁶Hamman, M. "Inter Ethnic Relations and Inter Ethnic Conflict" in Yakubu A.M et al(ed) *Northern Nigeria A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*. Arewa House ABU, 2005, Kaduna.

harmonious inter-group relationships and the need for tolerance among diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The research explores the Origin and Development of ethnic militia in Wukari Area. Wukari Area was part of the former Wukari Federation which comprised three Districts, namely: Wukari, Takum, and Donga in the present Taraba State. In terms of geographical coverage, it is important to note that, Wukari Area has been reorganized into two local government areas, Wukari and Ibi Local Government Areas. The research is limited to Wukari Local Government Area in the present Taraba State. The area is bordered to the north by Gassol and Bali Local Government Areas and in the south by Takum Local Government Area and Benue State. It is bounded on the west by Ibi Local Government Area, and on the east by Donga Local Government Area both of which are in Taraba State.

In terms of time frame, it covers the period between 1945 and 2005. The choice of the commencement period stems from the fact that the date witnessed the emergence of a Jukun candidate vying to represent the Wukari Federal Constituency in the Federal House of Representatives. The importance of this development to the present study is that, the establishment of party politics in the area of study played a vital role in polarizing ethnic groups that inhabited the area thereby making the emergence and the activities of ethnic militia a recurring decimal. The terminating year is significant because it marked the era of reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation in the study area after the 2000-2002 Jukun-Tiv crises. The shortcoming and limitation embedded in the available historical sources makes it imperative that

they corroborate and complement each other as far as possible if they are to be viewed as acceptable materials for historiography.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The justification of this study lies in the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, no detailed historical records have appeared to analyze the activities of ethnic militia in the Wukari Area in spite of the intensity and the magnitude of their impacts on the socio-economic activities of various ethnic groups that live in the area of study. According to Y B Usman,

Communal conflict, involving large scale destruction of lives and property, and widespread and pervasive feelings of insecurity, in a number of areas in the northern states, has come to increasingly threaten the unity of this country, weaken the national fabric of our society, disrupt the human and material infrastructure of our economy and retard national integration.... These communal conflicts, have, except for the outbreak in Numan and Kano, all occurred in the core central zone of Nigeria or in areas very close to it. This central zone is made up of territory with an area of about 109,000 sqkms, within a quadrilateral, made up of four straight lines of about 330kms. Each from Saminaka, through Kadunato Kontogora; from Kontogora to Lokoja; from Lokoja to Wukari; and from Wukari back to Saminaka.²⁷

It is against this background that the research is undertaken in order to establish basic facts about communal conflicts in Nigeria in general and the activities of ethnic militia in Wukari Area in particular. This makes the study highly justifiable and academically significant. Also, the research examines the implications of the activities of the militia on the various ethnic groups that live in the area of study.

²⁷Usman Y.B., National Integration and Community Relationship: A Historical study of the Changing Nature of Communities and Community Relationship in the Central Zone of Nigeria in the Twentieth Century. Abdullahi Smith Center for Historical Research, 1992, Zaria, Unpublished Research projects.

1.6 Methodology

The researcher depended on the archival materials, published and un-published works found in the libraries. The entire available source materials were fully studied, corroborated and scrutinized. Also the researcher conducted oral interviews with some informants of varying ages, occupation, and status. In summary, the historical inquiry used in collecting and analyzing data for this is as follows:

Primary Sources: The researcher conducted oral interviews with Jukun and Tiv leaders in the Wukari area, and also used relevant colonial reports in the national archives Kaduna State.

Secondary Sources: Published historical books related to the area, journals of historical research, and unpublished theses and dissertations were consulted.

Location: Some of these sources are found in Kashim Ibrahim Library, Ahmadu Bello University, (ABU), Zaria, Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS), Library of the Department of History Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Theory may simply be viewed as the presentation of incident in a more simplistic form. Thus, the theory adopted for this work is pluralism as elucidated by Otite. The choice of this theory was influenced by the fact that Nigeria as a state is plural in nature; this pluralism equally affects the socio-political life of the people of Wukari area and Taraba State at large. Otite, argued that, a plural society such as Nigeria is a sociological aggregate consisting of distinct cultural groups and institutions which interact within the territory and lay claim on the resources of the

wider encapsulating society²⁸. Howard cited in Mukhtar observed that almost without exception, African societies are made up of many ethnic groups of varying sizes and influences; these groups are seen as culturally distinct from each other on the basis of language, social organization, values, belief and other cultural characteristics.²⁹

Pluralism explains the existence of heterogeneous institutions and organizations in a society. The society in this form is characterized by diversified economic and ethnic groups and varied cultural interests. It is on this note that the cultural or ethnic pluralism model emphasizes the continuing aggressiveness, rivalry and competition among the various cultural groups in the polity. Thus, ethnic and religious conflicts are viewed as cultural conflicts emanating from cultural differences that usually divide people in the societies.³⁰

In essence, the theory propounds that in a heterogeneous society, the activities of ethnic, social, religious, and cultural groups are very vital in determining the outcome of politics and the distribution of limited societal resources. The relevance of pluralism to this research is clear because Wukari is characterized by diverse groups such as Jukun, Tiv, Idoma, Chamba, Igbo, Hausa, and Fulani among others and it has relevant social institutions which regulate the day to day behavior of the people. This study, titled: “A Study of the Origin and Development of Ethnic Militia in Wukari Area, 1945–2005” requires a historical and social theory characterized by revelation and explanation germane to its success which justifies the choice of pluralism.

²⁸ Otite.O, *Ethnic Pluralism and Ethnicity in Nigeria*, Shaneson pub, 1990, Ibadan

²⁹ Murhtar A, *Ethno-religious Conflicts and Political Stability in Bauchi State, 1991-2001*. Unpublished M.Sc thesis, Department of political science, 2007 Ahmadu Bello University Zaria.

³⁰ Ibid p13

1.8 Literature Review

The theme, ethnic militia is receiving a great attention from historians. Thus, to facilitate the research, the researcher consulted a number of works which are directly relevant to the research. Sa'ad Abubakar's work "People of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau before 1800" in, Ikime O (ed) *Groundwork of Nigeria History*, was consulted. The importance attached to the Jukun people and their socio – political influence on their neighbors makes the work important to the study. It is believed that the Jukun spread their influence over non- Jukun groups and rebuilt their institutions.³¹ In addition, the work states that the structure of the northern Chamba Chieftaincies differed from that of Donga, because the latter was greatly influenced by the Jukun. In Donga, the king's title is *Gara* and the structure of the government reflects that of their dominant western neighbors, the Jukun.³²

The relevance of this work to this study is that, it explains the early migration of the Jukun in the Upper Benue Basin and its subsequent contact with the Chamba ethnic group which resulted in the establishment of a settlement called Donga. Secondly, in addressing the issue of ethnic militia in the Benue Valley with Wukari Area as our study centre, the study of Jukun which is one of the dominant ethnic groups in the region becomes very imperative. However, the work of S. Abubakar fails to explain in detail the Jukun military expansion on her neighbors, but rather maintains that the Jukun's influence seems to have spread over non-Jukun within the area of study not by military conquest, but through mutual contact and the consequent adoption of Jukun institutions.³³

³¹AbubakarS, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau Before 1800" in Ikime O (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann, 1980, Ibadan

³² Ibid p175

³³ Ibid p172

Agbu, O. *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post Transition Nigeria*, discusses some vital aspects in the evolution of ethnic militia in Nigeria. He argues that, the phenomenon that gave rise to ethnic militia in Nigeria did not just start overnight, but rather began as a result of contradiction in our body politics, stemming from the colonial domination. Furthermore, he claims that, the over concentration of power in Nigeria's Federal practice and the failure of post-transition politics to urgently address the distortions in the polity are responsible for the emergence of ethnic militia, as a specific response to state incapacity and a means for achieving the decentralization of the state power.³⁴

Agbu's argues that the division of Nigerian territory into three unequal regions for the colonial administrative purpose gave rise to the manifestation of ethnic politics in Nigerian territory. He notes further that the result was the formation of regional political parties with their principal leaders emanating from the dominant ethnic group from each region. Thus, each ethnic group mobilized its people in order to secure their position, and this mobilization heightened ethnic consciousness.³⁵

Another importance of this literature to our study can be viewed from the geographical point. Here, Agbu aptly defines the area that can be called Middle Belt in Nigerian territory. He further claims the roots of incessant armed conflicts between the Tiv and Jukun can be traced to the colonial period, more precisely in the 1920s.³⁶ The work dwells extensively on the emergence and the impact of ethnic militia in Nigeria. Though, very little is discussed about the study area which is Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State. However, it is a good reference material on managing ethnic militia in Nigeria.

³⁴ Agbu O, *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post- Transition Nigeria*, Nordiska Afrikainstitute, 2004, Sweden.

³⁵ Ibid p10

³⁶ Ibid p24

Best, G. S. *et al* “Communal Conflict and the Possibility of Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Tiv–Jukun Conflict in Wukari Local Government Area Taraba State” in Onigu, O. *et al* (ed.), *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management, Resolution, and Transformation*. The literature seeks to identify the main issues underlying the causes of the conflict between the Jukun and Tiv communities. The authors argue that, the significant political factor within the area studied in the 17th century was the ancient Kwararafa polity established by the Jukun, and their capital sited at Kwararafa in the present day Gassol Local Government Area of Taraba State.

The Tiv migrated into the Benue valley from Cameroon in the 18th century, by that time the Kwararafa polity had been dominant in the region for centuries, albeit with diminished political significance³⁷. It is interesting to note that there is no record of any war between the two predominant ethnic groups during the pre – colonial era. Rather, both groups fought against their enemy, the slave raider (Dankaro) who raided both the Tiv and the Jukun.³⁸

This was, however the socio-political situation in the area in question before the advent of the British which was the next significant milestone in the history of the two ethnic groups. The colonial introduction of party politics in the region formed the bases of the ethnic conflict between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the subsequent years. The relevance of the work to this study lies first on the fact that it unravels the ancient socio-political structure of the Kwararafa polity in the Benue valley. The study also addresses the issue of contact and cordial relationship between the Jukun and the Tiv which resulted in establishing an alliance against their enemy. However, the work remains silent on the Jukun’s linguistic and cultural influence on

³⁷ Best .G. S *et al* article “Communal Conflict and the Possibility of Conflict Resolution in Nigeria. A Case Study of the Tiv – Jukun Conflict in Wukari Local Government area Taraba state” in Onigu. O *et al* (ed) , *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management, Resolution, and Transformation*, Spectrum book, 1999, Ibadan

³⁸ *Ibid* p90

their Tiv neighbors. It elucidates ethnic conflicts management issues between the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups in the study area.

An article by J. P. T. Agbe, “Inter-ethnic Interaction between the Tiv–Udam and Tiv–Jukun” in Akinwunmi, O. et al (ed.), *Inter Groups Relationship in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*, is another relevant work. He observes that the early contact between the Tiv and their neighbors: the Jukun and the Udam, was relatively peaceful and cordial. This mutual relation between the Jukun and Tiv led to the appointment of a Tiv man by the Aku Zakanyu Tsokwa, c1820 to the office of Agaiya in Wukari.³⁹ The relevance of this work to this study can be seen from the point that the colonial policies of boundary demarcation in the southern Tiv-land and the subsequent creation of “Munshi Wall” between the Tiv-land and Udam together with the “Ring Fence” policy introduced in the Wukari division to check the Tiv migration into Wukari area served as one of the factors that destroyed the existing mutual relations among the ethnic groups in question.

Also worthy of note is the work of Alubo, O. titled *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*. The author identifies the major causes of ethnic conflicts in north central region of Nigeria. He argues that the ethnic conflicts and the civil disturbances in Taraba State predated the birth of modern Nigeria. To him, the disturbance here involved two ethnic groups: the Tiv and the Jukun.⁴⁰ Alubo claims that the problems of citizenship and ethnic contests in the region together with colonial practice of ‘divide and rule’ were instrument in souring

³⁹Agbe J.P.T, Inter Ethnic Interaction Between the Tiv-Udam and Tiv- Jukun in Akinwunmi.O,et al (ed), *Inter-Group Relation in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*.Aboki pub, Makurdi,2006.p287

⁴⁰Alubo.O, *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*. PEFS Pub,2006, Ibadan.

relationship among the two ethnic groups. This uneasy relationship deteriorated with the advent of party politics in the run – up to Nigeria’s independence.⁴¹

Alubo identifies the issue of citizenship and party politics in relation to the symbolic meaning of land as a factor in production as well as part of what makes life worthwhile as central to all conflicts between the Tiv and the Jukun ethnic groups in central Nigeria. This work has enriched our knowledge on the level of interaction between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the central region of Nigeria, although it does not assess the effect of colonial policies on the nature of the relationship between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the region.

Therefore, we can adduce from the above scholars that the Nigerian experience of ethnic militia has witnessed a fair treatment in the contemporary literature. However, the experience in the central Nigeria and particularly in Taraba State has attracted less attention than the activities of ethnic militia in other states of the federation. It is against this background that the study hopes to provide a preliminary contribution.

1.9 Concept of Militia/Ethnic Militia

The phenomenon that gave birth to of ethnic militia in Nigeria and the world at large did not in any way start over night. In Nigeria, for instance, it began as a result of certain contradictions in the body politics introduced by the British colonial government whose policies encouraged ethnic differences existing among the various people in the geographical area now called Nigeria. Consequently, feeling frustrated and endangered the other ethnic groups, (minority) decided to take their destiny in their own hands by forming militia, both for their

⁴¹ Ibid p100

protection and to preserve their ethnic interests, and also for providing vigilante service against the increasing and unchallenged menace of armed hoodlums in the country.⁴²

The concept of ethnic militia can be defined as civilian armies whose members are recruited from the ethnic group, and subjected to military training and discipline. Some even wear uniforms and badge; like the regular soldiers, they are ready to meet their enemies in physical combat. They are armed and trained bands of local who could be mobilized on a short notice for the defense of a cause.⁴³ This band of fellows are not permanently mobilized like regular soldiers, nor maintained by an institution.

Hence, the overall purpose of militia organization is to draw attention to the plight faced by a marginalized group and so its activities are aimed at changing the unacceptable status quo.⁴⁴ Badmus asserts that ethnic militia emerges when an ethnic group assumes militant posture and gradually metamorphoses into militia purporting to act as the machinery through which the desires of its people are sought and realized.⁴⁵ It is an organized group whose membership cuts across different age strata. The members are exclusively recruited from an ethnic group and are ready to protect the general interest of the people who belong to their ethnic nationality in a well defined territory. It is against this background that the researcher extensively studies the activities of ethnic militia among the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the Wukari Area. The aim of this is to increase the knowledge and understanding of these activities so that from an informed

⁴² Agbu O, *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post-Transition*, Nigeria, Nordiska Afrikainstitute, 2004, Sweden

⁴³ Francis. D, cited in Metumara D.M, *Ethnic Militia and sub-nationalism in Nigeria*; A comparative study of Massob and OPC, Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Political of science, Covenant university, Otta, Ogun state, 2010.

⁴⁴ Ibid p34

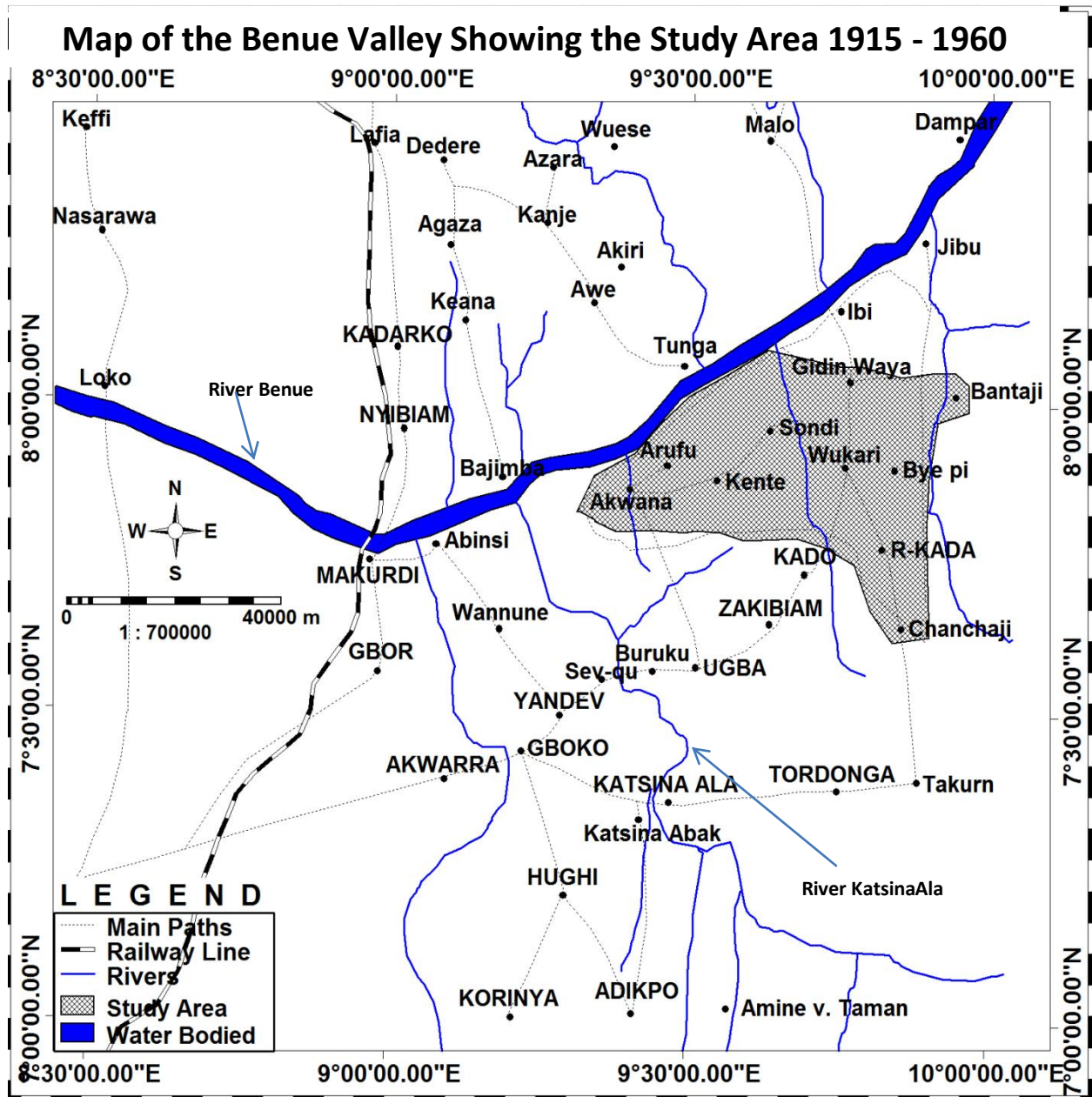
⁴⁵ Badmus I, "Ethnic Militia Movements and the Crisis of Political Order in Post-Military Nigeria" *Journal of Social Science* 13(3):191-198.2006.

position, policies could be designed in order to contain the militia activities in the study area and Nigeria at large.

1.10 Conclusion

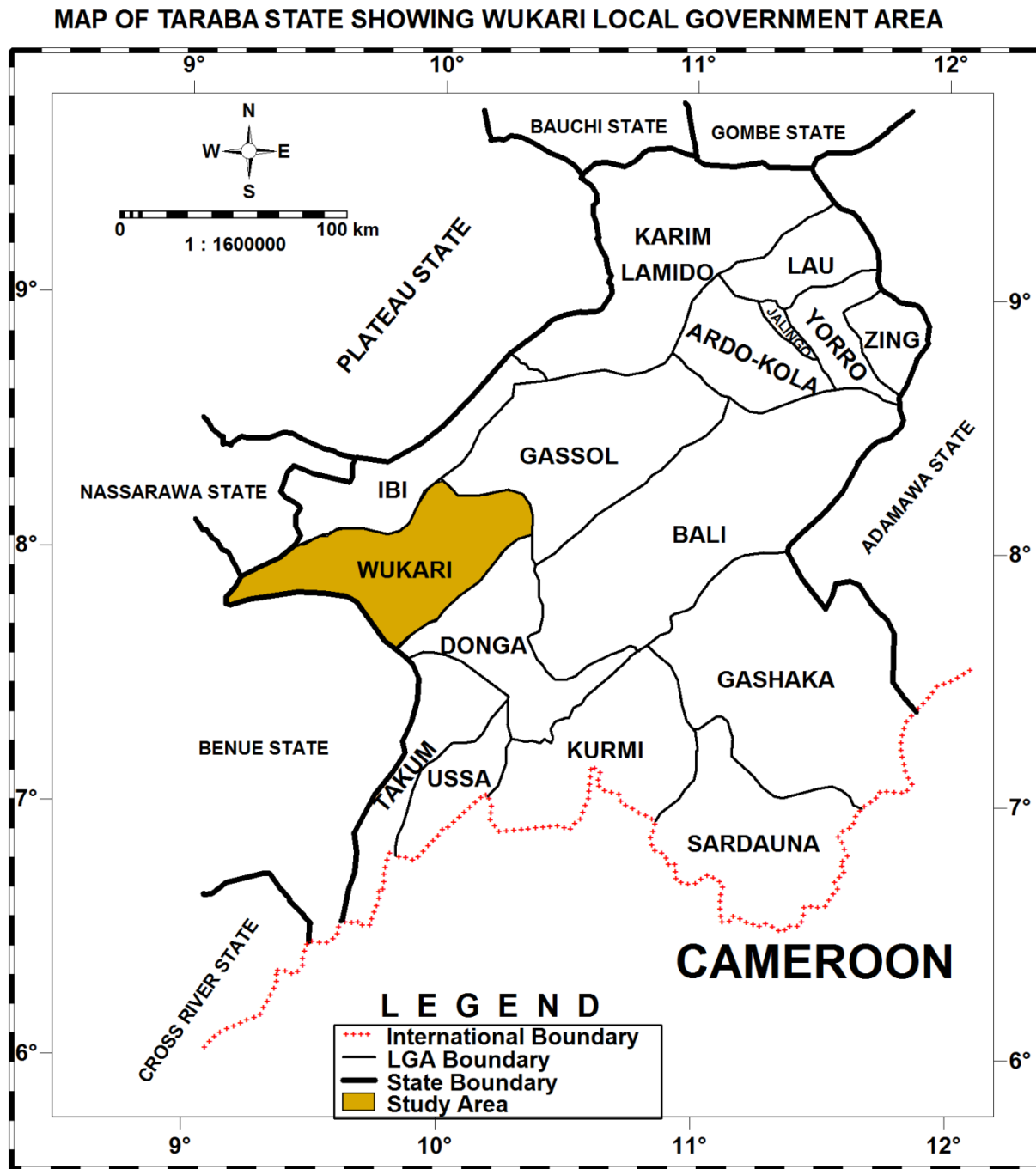
There have been several interpretations of the root causes of ethnic militia in contemporary Nigeria. Most scholars accused the imperial domination of Nigeria as the cause of ethnicity among the diverse ethnic groups which to an extent encouraged the formation of ethnic militia in the country. This chapter begins with the examination of the interaction between ethnic groups in the Middle Benue area before the advent of colonial domination. It is observed that the colonial policies fostered disunity among the various ethnic groups that lived in the Nigerian territory. The post-colonial regimes also failed to introduce policies that would ameliorate the ethnic crises occasioned by the imperialists leading to an intense quest for power at the center by the ethnic groups that made up Nigeria. The chapter also states the general aim of the study, which is to unravel the colonial policies in the Wukari area, and examine how these policies encouraged the evolution and activities of ethnic militia. It concludes with a brief explanation of ethnic militia, whose main purpose is to draw attention to the plight faced by its members or ethnic group as a result of marginalization with the ultimate aim of changing the unacceptable status quo.

Map :1



Source: Adapted from Dogo Gbande, Trade and Settlement in the Middle Benue Basin 1850-1960, MA Thesis in Department of History ABU, Zaria 1982

Map 2



Source: <http://google.com.ng/search?g=map+of+taraba+state+Nigeria&prmd=ivsm&tbm=isch&tbo=in&source=univ>, retrieved on 15/09/2015

CHAPTER TWO

LAND, PEOPLE AND ECONOMY OF WUKARI AREA ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL DOMINATION

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the geographical background of the Wukari Area and its peopling. These aspects include a discussion of the location, relief and geology, climate and vegetation, to mention but a few. It should be noted that these geographical features have no major contribution to the evolution of ethnic militia in the Wukari Area. However, they help in influencing the basic occupations and activities of the people in the study area. The chapter presents the origin and migration of all the major ethnic groups that live in the area, notably the Jukun, the Tiv, the Chamba and the Abakwariga, among others. The nature and structure of the economy of the area on the eve of colonial domination are also examined in this chapter.

2.1 Geographical Background of Wukari Area

The geography of Wukari Area remains an important element in understanding the historical antecedents and the present state of affairs in the area. The present Wukari Local Government Area, located in Taraba State, belongs to the North East Geo-political zone in Nigeria. Located in an expanse of land in the Middle Benue, it is characterized by guinea savannah vegetation. The geology of the Wukari area can best be comprehended within the broader spectrum of the general geology of the Middle Benue trough which is characterized by low plains. The trough was formed by rifting of the central West Africa basement, beginning at the start of the cretaceous era. The area composes of essentially intercalations of bands of shales, sandstones and clays. The plains are the base of the Jukun fisher folks of Wanu and Wurbo.

The Wukari Area enjoys the rainy and dry seasons common in the tropical region. The rainy season begins either in March or April and ends in October or November. However, much of the downpour occurs in June and July with a break of days in August ending, while downpour descends in September and sometimes October. The average annual rainfall is about 130 centimeters⁴⁶. The dry season begins in November and terminates in March. The dry season reaches its zenith in January and February when the dusty North East trade wind blows across the area. The average annual temperature in Wukari area is about 26.8⁰c with a precipitation average of about 1205mm⁴⁷. The historical significance of the above geographical phenomena, namely temperature, precipitation, and humidity is that they have a direct bearing on the plants and animals, and changes in them trigger off changes in the patterns of human activity⁴⁸.

The soils of the area is very rich with its alluvial nature, which to a great extent makes it conducive for growing varieties of food and cash crops. This is due to the Donga River that flows from the eastern boundary together with the Riti and Benue Rivers that flow via the North Western boundary of Wukari, creating very large flood plains in the Middle Benue area. The drainage of the area has profound effects on the land use, with the majority of the inhabitants engaged in agrarian activities. The plains of the Benue valley and its tributaries like the Donga and Taraba (Tella) rivers are extensive and gently undulating, ranging from over 1000ft (300m) in the east and south, to between 400 and 600ft (120 and 180m) above sea level along the line of the Benue river⁴⁹.

⁴⁶Barau A D, The Economics of Rice Processing Industry in Wukari, Unpublished M Sc, Department of Agriculture Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1979,p32

⁴⁷ Climate: Wuakri <http://en.climate-date.org./location/388485/> Retrieved on 20/07/2015

⁴⁸ Mahmoud Hamman, The Rise and Fall of Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa) c1812-1903, Unpublished PhD, Thesis, History Department Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1983, p10

⁴⁹Ibid Mahmoud Hamman, p15

2.2 The Peopling and Settlement Pattern

In this section, the researcher focuses his attention on the origin and migration of the ethnic groups into the study area. Thus, the study is therefore concerned with the entire Jukun speaking peoples, namely Wapan, Kpanzun, Ichen, Kpan-Nyonyo and Wanu within the Wukari area. However, there are other major ethnic groups in the study area, such as the Chamba, Tiv and Abakwariga, to mention a few.

2.2.1 The Jukun

There are several interpretations, views and literature on the origin of the Jukun. British colonial officials like Palmer and Meek presented helpful facts about the origin of the Jukun. However, for better understanding of the Jukun nomenclature such as *Apa* or *Wapan*, the researcher employed oral interview. According to Amfani, the term 'Jukun' is a name given to the people by their Hausa neighbors. He claimed that when the Hausa people asked them who they were, they said, "we are Apa Jukun," (which literary means we are people)⁵⁰. Hence, the popular usage of Jukun by most scholars to refer to Apa Jukun is a gross misinterpretation of their name. In Jukun language, Apa often refers to one person, while Apa Jukun is the plural, meaning people⁵¹. It is generally believed that their original name is Wapan, but in order to conceal their identity from their neighbors and the Hausa in particular, they chose Apa- Jukun for themselves⁵². Also, the Jukun oral tradition states that their ancestors came from Egypt and first settled in the Lake Chad region, thence, they migrated into the Benue region. Led by their leader Agadu, they built the Kwararafa State with its capital at Bye-pi.

⁵⁰ Interview with MrJibriAmfani, Aged 80, a retired civil servant and an adviser to his Royal Highness Aku-Uka, of Wukari, the interviewed was conducted in his house in Wukari on 21/07/2014

⁵¹ Interview with MallamAken Aji Samuel Aged 80, a Retired Servant in Wukari, the interviewed was conducted in his house in Wukari on 21/03/2015

⁵² MrJibril Amfani ,op cit

In contemporary scholarship, historians are skeptical of accepting the above oral account of ethnic migration particularly, the notion of Middle East origin which tends to promote the Hamitic Hypothesis. Also important, Greenberg's linguistic classification included the Jukun language among the Benue- Congo sub-family of the larger Niger Congo family of African languages. Therefore, if the Jukun ethnic group had in any way migrated at all, it must have been within the Nigerian area, and any attempt to explain the origin of the Jukun must be done in relation to that of other ethnic groups that belong to the same Benue- Congo language family to which the Jukun language (Jukunoid) is a sub-family⁵³. Meek refers to the Jukun as a group of people who inhabited the area of Middle Benue and parts of the Gongola Basin and who spoke different dialects of the same language⁵⁴. The people in question address themselves according to their clans. Thus, the Jukun of Kwararafa and Wukari are known as Wapan or Apa, their counterpart in Kona are called Jibe or Jibero, while the riverine Jukun are called Kpwanu or Wanu.⁵⁵ It should be noted that the extent to which the Jukun language had a sway in the Middle Benue Basin by the beginning of the 19th century was a direct product of the Jukun political dominance over the people in the area and the process of socio-economic integration, or even to a greater extent, assimilation that took place at the apogee of the Kwararafa polity from the 17th century onwards. Thus, Hamman asserts that this process that took place was indicated by the

⁵³Dansonka M S, Inter-group Relations in Wukari area, 1987-1992: The position of the Jukun and Chamba Peoples, Unpublished MA Thesis in History Department, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2014

⁵⁴ Meek, C K, *A Sudanese Kingdom, An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun Speaking People of Nigeria*, New York, Negro University Press, 1931, Meek tried and identified seven major dialects of people to be called Jukun, these among Others are Wukari, Abinsi, WaseTofa, Jibu, Jibu of Takum, Kona and Gwana

⁵⁵Hamman Mahmoud op cit p34

formation of communities that were collectively known in the Jukun as *wursan* (meaning my brother) who are said to be subjected to the political and cultural influence of the Jukun.⁵⁶

However, there are scholars who debunk the existence of Kwararafa polity, or argue that if at all the polity existed, the Jukun were not its founders. According to Oyigbelu, the claim that the Jukun among many ethnic groups, for example, came from the east is telling the black Africans that they have no concrete past to boast of since they came from Egypt, which is the cradle of civilization.⁵⁷ Oyigbelu discredits the Hamitic hypothesis, which promotes the idea of ethnic migration from the Middle East. Thus, in assessing traditions of origin, African scholars should adopt the application of archeological, linguistic, geographical factors rather than relying on mere oral traditions, myths, and folktales. Also, Abubakar A. Fari argues that the case of the Jukun Empire, or state is doubtful and rejects even the idea of loose-knit confederacy contrary to its acceptance by some other authors.⁵⁸

The denial of the existence of the Kwararafa polity cannot be substantiated under close assessment. A Katsina poet, Mallam Dan Marina, spoke of the prominent role played by the Jukun army in the war between Kano and Kwararafa.⁵⁹ In a similar vein, Jukun elders claimed that, there is a ward in Kano city called Yakasai in Hausa language, which is a corruption of the expression in Jukun language *Iya kasen* (meaning, we are going to return). The informant states that in one of the Jukun successful raids on Kano, some of the Jukun soldiers told their kindred who did not follow them, but decided to stay back in Kano to expect them back. The Hausa

⁵⁶ Abraham R C ,1940, cited in Mahmoud Hamman , the people included the Wurbo, Bandawa, Kunini, Karim, Chomo, Jiru, Alan, Birkani, Jemuryan(Muri) and Amiru. A common feature among these communities except the Je-Muryan was that they were mainly riverain.

⁵⁷Oyigbelu O M, 'Did the Jukun really migrate from Egypt?' in *Sunday Standard*, 5th March, 1978, p 14

⁵⁸Fari A A, "The Jukun Empire": in *Maiduguri journal of Historical Studies*, vol 1, 2003,p 24

⁵⁹Mallam Dan Marina cited in Dansonka M S, Inter-group Relations in Wukari area,1987-1992: The position of the Jukun and Chamba Peoples, Unpublished MA Thesis, History Department, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2014

speakers corrupted the word to sound like Yakasai.⁶⁰ Therefore, based on available historical evidence, it will be unfair to deny the existence of the Kwararafa polity and to exclude the Jukun from the formation and consolidation of the Kwararafa polity.

However, the limitation of oral sources and the general poor state of the archival materials associated with the movements of the Jukun speaking people before the establishment of their polity in the Benue valley cannot permit us to establish an authentic pattern and sequence of this movement.⁶¹ There is a significant consensus in all the Jukun oral sources of their migration from the Chad Basin. Also, in the light of Greenberg's linguistic classification which includes the Jukun language among the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger Congo languages, it will be very hard to accept the Jukun oral sources tracing their origin from the Middle East.

Against the backdrop of the controversy, a look at the major occupations of the Jukun people, mainly fishing and farming, and its association with water bodies like the Lake Chad, Gongola and Benue Rivers make the Jukun claim of Middle East origin most doubtful. Hence, if the Jukun migrated at any point at all, it must have been within the Nigeria areas, perhaps from the Lake Chad to the Gongola River Basin, and finally to their present location in the Benue Valley, which was greatly influenced by the Benue River and its tributaries that sustained their daily socio-economic activities. In similar vein, Williamson's classification of the Niger-Benue confluence languages which implies that the proto-language to which the Jukun belong has its dispersal center in Nigeria. Thus, it would amount to historical fallacy for the Jukun to seek

⁶⁰ Interview with Mr Edward Ajibauka Adi, Aged 75, a Retired Civil Servant and an adviser to his Royal Highness Aku-Uka, of Wukari, the interview was conducted in his house in Wukari on 21/07/2014

⁶¹ Mahmoud Hamman op cit p24

origin outside the area of Nigeria.⁶² However, the spread and the influence of the Jukun in the Benue Valley in the 19th century were not associated with any form of military raid. Sa'ad aptly notes that the Jukun influence seems to have spread over the non-Jukun speaking peoples within the Benue Valley not by conquest, but through mutual contact and the subsequent adoption of the Jukun institutions.⁶³

2.2.2 The Tiv

The Tiv in Wukari area are believed to belong to the Bantu stock, which migrated from central Africa into Nigeria area through the Cameroon. Makar observes that the Tiv's movement from the Cameroon was triggered by three major factors: hostility of neighbors, desecration of the Tiv deity *Swem Karagbe*, and the need for arable land.⁶⁴ While the exact dates of these historical incidents of migration remain controversial, there are speculations that the Tiv had settled south of the Benue River in large numbers by 1830s. That the Tiv migrated into the Benue Valley in the 18th century, by which time the Kwararafa kingdom had been the dominant political kingdom in the region for centuries albeit with diminished political significance.⁶⁵ According to Akombo, the Tiv clans of Shitire, Ugondo and Ukum migrated to what later

⁶² Kay Williamson 'Indigenous Languages of the Niger-Benue Confluence: Their Classification and its Implication for Pre-History,' A paper presented at the Conference on Confluence Nigerians, Lokoja, 27th Sept. 1987.

⁶³ Abubakar S, "Peoples of the Upper Benue Basin and the Bauchi Plateau Before 1800" in Obaro I (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann, Ibadan 1980

⁶⁴ Makar T, *The History of Political Change Among the Tiv*. Enugu fourth Dimension press 1994

⁶⁵ Best .G. S et al article "Communal Conflict and the Possibility of Conflict Resolution in Nigeria. A Case Study of the Tiv – Jukun Conflict in Wukari Local Government area Taraba state" in Onigu. O et al (ed) , *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management, Resolution, and Transformation*. Spectrum book, Ibadan 1999

became Wukari federation in the colonial era. The Shitire and Ugondo migrated to Takum and Donga districts respectively, the Ukum and Gambe-Tiv moved into Wukari district.⁶⁶

From the middle of the 19th century, there has been a considerable number of Tiv ethnic groups in the Wukari area and the Jukun became inter-mixed with them so much that, when the Reverend Samuel Crowther, on his expedition of 1854, asked one Njoro, the Tiv Chief of Iwom, the boundary between the Tiv country and that of Kororofa (Jukun), he replied by inserting his ten fingers between each other and that, they were thus mixed together as one people.⁶⁷ This relationship could be best described as symbiotic type where the Jukun were fishing, mining salt and antimony, while their Tiv neighbors were active farmers who supplied foodstuffs. It is still argued among the Jukun and the Tiv about the ownership of the Wukari area. The Tiv tradition claimed that the name Wukari was derived from a Tiv idol in the area called Waka.⁶⁸ Thus, it is obvious that among the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups, there is unresolved controversy over land ownership in the Wukari area chiefly because of the benefits that accrue to the indigene or to the first settler in the area.

The relationship between the Jukun and Tiv is not devoid of conflict and fracas. Freemantle observes that the Aku Uka, appointed a Tatsio(Tsahon), the title holder in charge of Akwana, to take charge of the Tiv ethnic group, but they refused to acknowledge his authority or that of his master, the Aku Uka.⁶⁹ There is also Freemantle's account of the Aku-Uka, Awudumanu (1871-1902) who twice invited the Emirs of Muri Burba (1869-1873) and

⁶⁶Akombo I E, "Jukun-Tiv Relations since 1850: A case study of Inter-Group Relations in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, History Department, University of Jos , 2005

⁶⁷Hamman.M, "Inter Ethnic Relations and Inter Ethnic Conflict" in Yakubu A.M et al(ed) *Northern Nigeria A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*.Arewa house ABU, 2005

⁶⁸Akombo I E op cit p45

⁶⁹Freemantle J N, *Gazetteer of Muri Province*, Kaduna , Dec 1919,pp18-38

Mohammed Nya (1874-1896) to contend with the Tiv menaces in his domain.⁷⁰ Consequently, political control of Wukari area, as well as participation and representation of Wukari at the national level, always caused tension between the Jukun and their Tiv neighbors in the Wukari area.

2.2.3 The Abakwariga

The word Abakwariga was a phrase by the Jukun “*aba kwa riga*” which means people that sew gown or wear gown. Some of my informants are of the opinion that Abakwariga is a general Jukun name for Hausa people.⁷¹ *Riga* attached to the name is a Hausa word which means gown/cloth. Thus, since it is not in the Jukun culture to wear cloth or gown, the Hausa people who do this are quickly called *Abakwariga*, people that wear *riga* (cloth/gown). Thus, the use of Abakwariga or Hausa interchangeably in this work stems from the fact that, both have the same origin. In Jukun traditional society, the men wear loin cloths which they normally tie around the upper belly, which is just below their chest, leaving the rest of the body bare and the female dress in similar fashion thus covering their breasts.⁷²

Thus, in commenting on the origin and migratory movement of these people into the Wukari area, Meek observes that, the Jukun claimed that the Abakwariga (Hausa speaking) people resident in Wukari and other Jukun towns, were descendants of Hausa people who were carried away as slaves by the Jukun from the North several centuries ago.⁷³ There is another view that the Abakwariga were descendants of craftsmen and immigrant traders that had been patronizing the pre-colonial trade in the Middle Benue Valley particularly during the famous

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Interview with Mr Daniel Awudu, WunukiNathaniel and MallamAken Aji Samuel, retired civil servants in Wukari, the interview was conducted in Wukari Yam market on 21/03/2015

⁷² Sule Modakai Dansonka op cit

⁷³ Meek C.K op cit pp29-30

Jukun polity in the 16th and 17th centuries. AkinwumiOlayemi explains that while Abakwariga was the initial name given to Hausa settlers or their descendants in the Jukun country of central Nigeria; others gave it to the descendants of mixed marriages.⁷⁴ The Abakwariga dominated the Blacksmithing industries and commercial activities and had contributed to the growth and development of Jukun polity particularly at the height of its power in the 16th and 17th centuries. Famous among them were: Mallam Dikko and Sambo who were said to have assisted the Jukun Aku's with their mythical power. The Abakwariga still play a significant role in the Jukun Gbonkpa festival in Wukari where the Jukun offer sacrifices to the crocodile at their pond in Marmara area of Wukari metropolis.⁷⁵

2.2.4 The Chamba

The Chamba ethnic group, like the Jukun also claimed that they migrated to the Middle Benue Basin from region outside. They migrated from the east to the Chad Basin where they then settled, and before the 18th century, they again migrated southward along the valley of the Yedseram down to the Benue plains.⁷⁶ As regards to their migration from the Upper Benue Basin to the present location, Abubakar writes that:

*The Chamba attributed their dispersal from the Upper Benue Valley to the encroachment of alien groups; consequently, according to tradition, there were land shortage and hunger. Thus, moving to the Shebshi highlands, the Taraba and the Donga River Valley, they came into contact with the Jukun and other ethnic groups*⁷⁷.

⁷⁴AkinwumiOlayemi, The Abakwariga and the Economic Transformation of the Jukun Kingdom of Wukari, ca, 1650-1900 in *Nordic Journal of Africa Studies*, Vol:7;1, 1998, pp93-103

⁷⁵ Discussion with Sule Modakai Dansonka, Civil servant and Post Graduate Student in History Department Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, op cit 10/07/2015

⁷⁶AbubakarSa'ad in Ikime.O, op cit p165

⁷⁷ Ibid p167

There is also Chamba tradition that claimed that their migration into the lower part of the Benue Valley was due to severe famine in the Upper Benue Basin, which resulted in food shortage and conflicts between them (Chamba) and the Bata people and later with the Fulani people.⁷⁸ Following these series of migration across the Upper and Lower Benue Valleys, the Chamba entered the area of study from the South. In Wukari area, the Chamba established some settlements like Rafin-Kada, Nyakwala and other settlements not included in the study area like Donga, and Suntai. As a result of their contact with the Jukun, the Chamba socio-political institutions were greatly influenced by the Jukun.

2.3Settlement Pattern

Located in the present Taraba State, Wukari has developed relative high population density largely due to the influx of migrant farmers from the neighboring states. The bulk of the inhabitants live in the villages and hamlets. In the main, the Jukun-speaking people that include Wapan, Kpanzun, Wanu, Wurbo, and the Jukun related people such as the Ichen, Ndoro, Tigon, Kuteb together with other ethnic groups like the Abakwariga, Hausa, Tiv and Fulani, live in this area.⁷⁹ Recently, the civil service has played a great impact, thereby making it possible for other ethnic groups to migrate from various parts of the country into the area.

A major characteristic of the Jukun settlement is the large compounds to house many people within a limited area due to their prevailing custom of polygamy among the non-Christian groups. The size of every family is an important factor in the production system, and it also adds more pride to the family head. As a result, large compounds are identified by the name

⁷⁸ Discussion with Sule Modakai Dansonka, Civil servant and Post Graduate Student in History Department Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, op cit 10/07/2015

⁷⁹Dansonka M S, "Inter-group Relations in Wukari area,1987-1992: The position of the Jukun and Chamba Peoples," Unpublished MA Thesis, History Department, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2014

of the pioneer or family head. An average of 6 members per household and 20 to 30 members is very common in the area.

Thus, the numerical strength of the family determines the available labor for farming, fishing, and other economic and social activities. The compound is often built in a circular shape and encircled by trees or flowers, and those who can afford it buy ‘Zana’ (Hausa word) which is subject to renewal every one or two years. The compound is split into two; the inner section is reserved for men called ‘Byeko’. The adult males take their meals in this place and are not supposed to be seen eating by their female folk. However, Jukun settlement pattern has undergone tremendous changes due to Western education introduced by the missionaries, and modernization together with the quest for modern architectural design, which is visible in Wukari.

The Tiv are found in the villages and hamlets mostly because of their farming activities. They live in compounds made of round huts that are built with mud blocks and thatched mostly with sword grasses locally known as ‘ihila’ (Tiv language).⁸⁰ Like the Jukun, the Tiv arrange their huts in circular forms while others are arranged in an oval shape. In the Tiv compounds, there is a reception hut called ‘Ate’, which is often located at the center of the compound, and in large compounds more than two reception huts exist. The Tiv settlement consists of sleeping huts, (*iyough–ikundugh*), store (*ityumbe*), kitchen (*iyough–iyoron*) and granaries (*iuna or iwuna*).⁸¹ New marriage and increase in the number of adults, and improvement in the socio-economic livelihood of the people due to fruitful harvest can lead to the construction of more huts in the compounds. Ndera aptly observes that, most settlements in Tivland are located close to

⁸⁰ Ndera J D, *WomboMakar, Historical Reflections on Chieftaincy and Colonial Experience in the Tivland*. Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 2013.

⁸¹ Ibid

rivers or swampy areas to cope with the water needs of the people as pipe borne water systems are absent in most areas.⁸²

However, just like their Jukun neighbors, the Tiv ethnic groups were greatly influenced by the sameaforesaid factors so much so that even in the hamlet a Tiv man would prefer to roof house with aluminum, and build with cement blocks. This helps in preventing their houses from getting burned during the dry season since there is no proper measure to control bush burning in the area of study.

2.4 The Nature and Structure of the Economy of Wukari Area in the Pre-Colonial Era

Mahmoud Hamman observes that the nature of interactions between man and the physical environment in the Benue Valley during the pre-colonial era could fully be explained in the various ways in which land was used by the people. Land was a fundamental factor of production in c1500-1812 in the study area and was theoretically vested in the hands of the king, and the various communities in the state actually had unrestricted access to land. Land matters were handled communally.⁸³ However, lands that were very rich in mineral deposits were directly controlled by the ruling clans or the aristocracies. As a result, the salt and the antimony deposits in Akwana and Arufu were under the firm control of the Aku Uka of Wukari.⁸⁴ Also, the rich fishing ponds were under the control of the aristocrats. The communities in the area used the water bodies for fishing activities particularly the Wanu Jukun stock. The Wanu Jukun, because of these fishing activities, were scattered across the water bodies in the Benue Valley. The physical and ecological diversity of the Wukari area influences the structure of production.

⁸² Ibid p 10

⁸³ Hamman, M, “The Political Economy of the Midlle Benue Basin before the Jihad,c1500 1812”, in *HistoricalResearch at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Vol. 9, 2012*

⁸⁴ Ibid p58

Thus, agriculture, fishing, salt mining, textile and, to a lesser extent, pastoralism among the Fulani are the primary sectors of the economy. Human labor is a significant factor in the process of production.

In Wukari area, different forms of human labor were employed in the various economic sectors. These forms of labor included labor by the individual producer and his primary family, free communal or cooperative labor, the servile labor provided by slaves, and a semi-hired type of labor found in the antimony and salt mines.⁸⁵ The exploitation of the natural resources mentioned above and agrarian practice form the basic occupations of the people in the Wukari area.

2.4.1 Blacksmithing

This was one of the major industries in the pre-colonial Middle Benue Basin economy. The metal works in this industry formed some vital part in the production process and its products influenced the agriculture, hunting, fishing, mining, and military expansions. Iron works were established in Wukari before the beginning of the 19th century, and Hausa- speaking blacksmiths were among the artisans that migrated to the town since the second half of the 18th century.⁸⁶ There is a view by some of my informants that the Hausa artisans that occupied the blacksmithing industry were all ex-slaves who were conquered as a result of the Jukun raids on the Hausaland. In the same vein, Hamman observes that, Agwabi, the second Aku-Uka who reigned either at the end of 17th century or the beginning of the 18th was said to have stationed a

⁸⁵ Ibid p60

⁸⁶ Adamu cited in Hamman, M, "The Political Economy of the Middle Benue Basin before the Jihad, c1500-1812", in *Historical Research at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria*, Vol. 9, 1985.p68

large number of Hausa-speaking and Kwatawa (Igbirra) slaves near Wukari.⁸⁷ Thus, it is very possible that some of these slaves that had some knowledge and skills about blacksmithing might have engaged themselves in this industry in order not to be left idle and good result or contributions to the success of the industry could earn a slave some minimal level of freedom from his guards.

Away from the iron metallurgy, there were also gold and silver melting activities. It is observed that all the blacksmiths families in Wukari had a few individuals who specialized in gold and silver work.⁸⁸ Equally important, in the blacksmithing industry there were brass, tin and copper which were fabricated to produce different domestic tools, ornaments and military gadgets like arrows, swords and javelins.

2.4.2 Agriculture

Farming was the dominant economic activity in the area. Communities in the area engaged in farming at different degrees ranging from the large agricultural communities like the Wapan and the Tiv, to those who considered it as a part time, or in small scale basis like the Wanu and the Wurbo fisher folk. Farming was and still one of the major features of the pre-colonial and post-colonial economy of the Wukari area. In an area where the topography was gentle, the people employed the conventional methods of farming which involved bush clearing and burning, then furrowing prior to planting.⁸⁹ The availability of land in the pre-colonial period and the provisions governing its acquisition in the Wukari area was fairly easy, although theoretically vested in the state as embodied by the king who along with the ruling aristocracies

⁸⁷N.A.K, 2441, Vols 1, 3 and 4, Muri Prof. Jukun of Wukari: Historical and Anthropological Notes Reported by E.H.O Keates, also Hamman M op cit p85

⁸⁸Adamu cited in Hamman op cit

⁸⁹Ibid p61

would grant farming permission. As a result, shifting cultivation, intercropping and crop rotation were common agricultural practices in the area. Some of the crops grown in the area included yam, cassava, millet, guinea corn, and maize which all served as the staple food.

In terms of agricultural labor, family members served as the principal suppliers of labor in the farm. However, in a large agricultural community, during planting and harvesting seasons, cooperative labor based on extended family members and at times village age groups were organized during this period for extensive farm work. Slave labor was also employed by the ruling aristocrats for agricultural production.⁹⁰ The societies of the Middle Benue Basin were involved in pastoral activity that was supportive and formed part of the pre-colonial economy of the region.⁹¹

2.4.3 Salt and Antimony Mining

Salt making is one of the important occupations that flourished in the pre-colonial Middle Benue Basin. The mineral was obtained from several places, most of which were controlled by the Jukun. In the Wukari area, the salt was extensively mined in the Akwana community. The salt was said to have been discovered by one Atsiyikpa during the reign of Katapa c1660–1669.⁹² The main processing of the salt commenced after the rainy season. The brine was obtained from the pool which, on the conclusion of the rain, was boiled out in order to increase

⁹⁰ Hamman M. “The Rise and Fall of Emirate of Muri (Hamaruwa) c1812-1903,” Unpublished PhD, Dissertation, History Department Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1983.” He observed that, Agwabi, the second Aku-Uka who reigned either at the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century is said to have stationed a large number of Hausa-speaking and Kwatawa (Igbira) slaves near Wukari. Therefore, it would seem that since these slaves would not have been left idle, they were possibly engaged in agricultural production for the Aku-Uka.

⁹¹ Op cit pp7-8

⁹² Freemantle J N, Gazetteer of Muri Province, in Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. *Gazetteer of Northern Provinces of Nigeria: The Eastern Kingdoms Vol 2*, London, 1972, p35

itsalinity.⁹³ The brine was then collected and boiled for final evaporation. The processing was tedious and technical hence it required patience. In terms of labor, the pool owners employed various types of labor as mentioned earlier. Thus, the common practice was that the family unit shared the labors among its members, particularly the female folks. Although, the heavy task of fetching fire-wood was done by the men, the scraping, carrying straining and boiling of the saline water was done by the women.⁹⁴

Antimony was another important mineral that had contributed to the pre-colonial economy of the Wukari area. Baikie opines that the entire supply of the mineral for Central Africa was mined from Arufu, and that it was found abundantly not far from the surface.⁹⁵ The mineral was collected through an underground mining, which involved intense labor. As noted in the salt mining, labor was equally hired and the payment was made according to the amount of mineral extracted each day, usually 1/3 of the total amount.⁹⁶ The implement used in the mining exercise is called 'Kota' (both in Jukun and Hausa language) and 'Siko' also known as 'Dundurusu'. This instrument served as a hoe for digging, and the earth is thrown to the surface in baskets.⁹⁷

2.4.4 Fishing

This is another important economic activity among the Jukun-speaking stock, especially among the Wanu and the Wurbo who undertake these activities on commercial basis. Fish was said to be one of the major articles for trade and was used for paying tributes. Fishing activities

⁹³Hamman, M. op cit p64

⁹⁴Glenny H Q, NAK SNP 473P/1913, Muri Prof, Muri District, Assessment Report, p13

⁹⁵Baikie W B, *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up to Rivers Kwora and Binue*, London 1856

⁹⁶Hamman M, op cit

⁹⁷Freemantle J N, op cit, pp18-38

among this Jukun stock (Wurbo and Wanu) had enhanced their migratory exercise along the River Benue's bank. As a result, these Jukun folks scattered themselves across the Benue River bank in the Middle Benue Basin and established their settlements. The fishes caught were either dried in the sun or smoked in order to be preserved for future use.

The fishing activities were said to be done among the Jukun either on individual or family basis and at the time on large scale organized by the community leaders in what could be aptly considered as traditional fishing among the Jukun. The tools used for catching fish were net of different kinds and at times trap. Meek observes in this regards that:

This net is of three kinds, first is the usual larger seinenet common all over Nigeria...known among the Jukun as 'andu'. The second one is smaller form of this net which is known as 'tsali' which is worked by two men in shallow water...and there is also the hand net called 'komo or kiba' in Jukun language.⁹⁸

The fishermen in the Wukari area also employed other means of catching fish apart from the nets, they used lines with hooks, poisons and at times they used spears. Most; if not all Jukun professional fishermen arm themselves with some secret talisman and charms, for protection against crocodiles, water scorpion, and all sorts of evil spirits which live in water. Some of these charms are used to appease the gods for success and surplus catch.

2.4.5 Hunting

Hunting activity was one of the ancient occupations of the menfolk among the Jukun people. Apart from serving as one of the economic activities, it is also important in the conduct of religious function and other social activities among the Jukun people. Hunting activities are

⁹⁸ Meek C.K., *A Sudanese Kingdom; An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, Negro University Press, New York 1969, pp420-421

not to a large extent hereditary and are not restricted to specified families among the Jukun. The exercise is undertaken on individual or collective (communal) basis. Meek further observes

Professional hunter among the Jukun usually adopts a disguise method with a hornbill using as a headpiece the head of a hornbill or an artificial representation in wood of a hornbill's head. He is fumigated with a secret medicine, which is believed to have the power of drawing bush-animals towards him and also arm himself with charms designed to protect him from evil spirits that accompany the soul of larger-game animals.....and prevent him from losing his way.⁹⁹

Bowl and arrows, spears together with noose traps were common tools used for hunting among the Jukun, while the traps were used to catch game-animals of moderate sizes which moved about in herbs and damaged farm.¹⁰⁰ In case of communal hunting, the hunters selected among themselves a leader called 'aku-nyo' who had experience, and could exert command together with his possession of some level of mythical power to direct the operations and as well settle disputes among hunters in the game or bush. An animal caught from this exercise could either be used for domestic purpose or smoked and taken to the market for economic gains.

2.5 Conclusion

The discussions above have perhaps made it clear that the dominant ethnic groups in the Middle Benue Valley had separate histories of migration to the area of study. The Jukun entered the area from the North Eastern part of the River Benue, while the Tiv migrated to the area in question from the southern part of the River. Thus, the growing need for man's basic need which included food, shelter and cloth led to the contact and interdependence between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the Benue Valley as noted by Reverend Samuel Crowther, during his expedition of 1854.

⁹⁹ Ibid p414

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

It has been also revealed that in spite of the bond between the two ethnic groups, there was little skirmishes between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups around the Akwana-Arufu area. This incidence was exacerbated by the operation of the Dankoro (slave raider) who raided both ethnic groups in the area. The era of antagonistic relations between these ethnic groups ended in a truce and mutual cooperation until the advent of colonial domination.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH CONQUEST AND ADMINISTRATION OF WUKARI AREA, 1900 – 1960

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the British conquest and subsequent domination of the area of study. It also assesses the dynamic nature of colonial administration policies, which include the establishment of Wukari Division and series of repositioning of the colonial administration system in the Wukari area. Noteworthy are the colonial economic and social policies in the area and how they affected the dominant ethnic groups. The introduction of party politics in Wukari area and its implication on inter-ethnic relations in the Division are also discussed.

3.1 British Conquest and Occupation of Wukari Area 1900-1916

The total submission of Wukari to British colonial forces was not as violent as that of her southern neighbors in Tivland. According to Amfani, no resistance was put up against the imperialists in Wukari and hence no single battle was fought.¹⁰¹ This however, was not the case in the Suntai chieftdom of Donga District. Wukari Division was made up of the three Districts, which included: Wukari, Takum, and Donga with Wukari town as the divisional headquarters under the Benue Province.

Two fundamental factors facilitated the submission of Wukari to the British Colonialists. One of these was the external situation which was characterized by conflict between Jukun ethnic group and Fulani adventurers from Wase and Missau (Kano Province) together with the

¹⁰¹ Mr. Jibrin Amfani, Retired civil servant and Adviser to Aku-Uka, age 79, Wukari, 21/07/2014

Emir of Muri.¹⁰² This antecedent weakened the internal cohesion and military might of the Jukun people in the Benue Valley. The second factor, according to Angyu, was the Jukun fundamental principle of pride in father's land. He argued that the Jukun having been convinced that the imperialists were not going to change any aspect in their socio-political institutions submitted to the colonial authority.¹⁰³ Another important antecedent in the area in question was the gradual Tiv encroachment into what the Jukun claimed to be their ancestral territory. Thus, with diminished Jukun military might in the Benue Valley, the Jukun leadership welcomed British with their acclaimed "protection" treaty. This cooperation between the Jukun leadership and the colonial forces is corroborated by Keates, who reported that:

*The "Munchi" (Tiv) gave much trouble near Akwana by continuing highway robbery, Sarkin Wukari (Aku-Uka) complained to the European at Ibi who took his troops and after some trouble quietened things down.*¹⁰⁴

Meek observes that Aku-Uka Abite Awudumanu I (1871-1903) entered the first treaty with the Royal Niger Company to checkmate the Tiv's encroachment into his domain and to curtail the incessant menace of the Dankoro (*slave raider*) in the area.¹⁰⁵ The imperialists claimed that Jukun leadership gave the Royal Niger Company exclusive rights over all foreign traders as well to trade within its domain. It is on this note that Keates observes that the successor of Aku Awudumanu I, Agbumanu II (1903-1915), went to Ibi to salute Captain Ruxton.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Fremantle, F.M, op cit pp37-38

¹⁰³ Interview with Justice Daniel Angyu, Civil servant (Lecturer in Federal College of Education, Zaria), age 42, 2015

¹⁰⁴ SNP17/K.2441 VOL.1, Jukun of Wukari. History and Anthropological Notes: By H.O Keates, A.D.O, Ibi Division

¹⁰⁵ Fremantle, F.M. op cit p37

¹⁰⁶ Edward H.O. Keates (A.D.O) op cit

The above claimed treaty entered by the Jukun leadership and the imperialists revealed the exploitative nature of colonialism in the Wukari area and Nigeria at large. Thus, the colonial policy of signing treaties of ‘friendship’ with some communities against the other implies undermining those other groups and demarcating arbitrary boundaries. This was an effective tool employed by the imperialists to establish their philosophy of divide and rule.¹⁰⁷ This factor was responsible for the ensuing ethnic conflicts between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the post-colonial era.

3.2 The Establishment of Wukari Division

The Europeans had had a series of contact with the people in the coastal areas of what later became Nigeria before the 19th century. However, from the mid-19th century, the British in particular became interested in exploring the interior of the areas later known as Nigeria. It is on this note that the British administration decided to organize the pleiad expedition of 1854 to the Benue.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the subsequent years, Henry Venn undertook another expedition into the Benue area through his sponsorship by the Church Missionary Society (CMS). He was also assisted by J.H. Ashcroft, the agent of C.M.S in the Niger River area, and Von Edward Flegel to serve as their Secretary and accountant.¹⁰⁹ These explorations brought about British contact with the people in the study area and led to the introduction of British trading company called National Africa Company, which later became known as the Royal Niger Company in the Benue river areas.

¹⁰⁷ Akombo, E.I, “Jukun-Tiv relations since 1950: A Case Study of Inter-group relations in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State”, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 2005.

¹⁰⁸ Baike W.B, *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue in 1854*. London, 1856, p229

¹⁰⁹ Interview, Sule Modakai Dansonka, Civil servant (Lecturer in History Department, Federal University Wukari) ,aged 45, he also gave some helpful materials with his MA History Proposal, in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 2014.

The company made series of territorial claims through treaties allegedly signed with the indigenous people and community's leaders. On 17th October 1884, Bulla the Headman of Ibi signed a treaty with the National Africa Company conceding his territory to the company.¹¹⁰ From 1886 to 1889, Ibi remained the administrative centre in the Benue area for the Royal Niger Company and of its predecessors the National African Company.¹¹¹ Thus, by 1899, the British government showed great interest in direct administration of Northern protectorate as a result of the threat posed by the French companies in the area in question. It is against this background that the British government revoked the charter of the company to trade in the Nigeria areas; hence declaration of the proclamation of the protectorate of northern Nigeria via, the Northern Nigeria order in council 1899, which provided for the office of the high commissioner, empowered to legislate by proclamation, with effect from January 1st 1900.¹¹² The entire northern protectorate was re-organized into nine provinces with a resident in charge of each province. Sir Fredrick Lugard was appointed as the High Commissioner of the Northern protectorate.

Consequently, Ibi which was the aforesaid trading company's headquarters in the Benue became a division with Wukari Takum and Donga attained a district status in the first decade of the 20th century during the colonial domination. By 1917, the colonial administrators reorganized the boundaries of the provinces in the protectorates. Thus, the non-Muslim ethnic groups such as Jukun, Idoma, Igala and Tiv were grouped together to form separate province called Munchi province.¹¹³ The reason for doing this was that the British colonial administrators sought to find a

¹¹⁰ Fremantle, F.M, op cit p28

¹¹¹ Ibid-p28

¹¹² Hassan, E. L, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun, Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the history of Inter-Group Relations from 1900- 1993", Unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 1995.

¹¹³ Ballard J.A op cit

readymade traditional political institution which the Jukun had well established with the Aku-Uka as the supreme leader.

The colonial administrators were influenced by the Jukun socio-political hegemony on other ethnic groups in the area particularly during their famous Kwararafa polity around 17th and 18th centuries. Hence, they sought to revive and strengthen the Jukun institution. The colonial officers had long cherished the hope that the Jukun traditions might be revived and Wukari again would become an important centre. To affirm the re-organization, the colonial officer argued that:

As regard the amalgamation, the old Jukun rule extended practically over the whole of the area of these independent states. They regard with deep superstitions and respect and they all have tradition of the former power of the Jukun. Even the Zompere (Kuteb) ... use the Jukun as medium of intercourse. The inhabitants of Donga, who are Chamba, have already forgotten their language and speak Jukun-Wukari is the most natural centre.¹¹⁴

The provinces were reorganized by the Governor and this led to the abolition of Munshi province and the creation of Benue province. Consequently, the Wukari Division was enlarged to incorporate the Tiv and other ethnic groups under the leadership of Aku Uka in the Wukari division. The Governor justified his action in the following words:

The Aku-Uka, like the Oni of Ife, was semi-sacred personage, who ruled through four big chiefs who in turn each ruled a quarter a segment of the country-Wukari being the centre of the circle. Whatever tribes or people fell within any of these segments retained their internal economy and independence, and their chiefs only had much to do with Wukari "big four. "These men are there still and I was favorably impressed with them and I think it is far better to put the nearer sections of the much under Wukari than continue the present policy of continually shearing away Wukari land and making a new boundary which they (Tiv) never keep and never will keep. I should propose therefore the North Shiteri Munchi as a clan and certain sections of the Tumbo Munchi, should be included as unit under Wukari-retaining their internal organization-but looking to Wukari as their territorial chief.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ NAK/SNP/17/K2441; Extract from IbiDiv, Quarterly Report 1918

¹¹⁵ Palmal H R cited in Adamu A D, *Issues in Tiv- Jukun Conflicts*, Target pub, Jos 2002

Therefore, from the above explanation, Wukari Division was sub-divided into fifteen districts and grouped, viz:

- i. Predominantly Jukun Speaking Districts Wukari Donga and Takum
- ii. Districts under Fulani rule: Awe and Katsina–Ala
- iii. Tiv Districts including Turu: Shitire North, Sitire South, Ikurau North, Ikurau South, Ukum, Ugondo, Tomgo, Turan, Turu and Mbagen.¹¹⁶

As noted earlier, the Aku-Uka administered his domain with the aid of a council comprising a number of village heads including Tiv kindred, heads of all the Tiv clans domiciled in Wukari area, leading members of Jukun hierarchy and each district head. The Tiv under the authority of Aku-Uka became virtually impossible to be controlled as a result of their recalcitrant attitude and lack of respect for any form of central headship. As a result, when the British resident officer tried to inaugurate taxation among the Tiv under the auspices of the Aku–Uka in Wukari, the Tiv people refused to recognize the Aku’s authority or even pay taxes to Wukari. They regarded this act as a sign of submission to Wukari and the fracas was resolved when the Tiv were allowed to pay their taxes directly to the administrations.¹¹⁷

This was the political arrangement in Wukari Division until 1931 when Sir Donald Cameron was appointed the Governor General and reformed the political structure of the area of study. This development led to the creation of Tiv Division to replace Abinsai Division, and all the predominant Tiv districts as mentioned above were moved to the newly created Tiv division. The Governor quickly introduced four possible administrative systems

¹¹⁶ NAK/14/Wukari Division Annual Report by Capt H S Bredel 1932

¹¹⁷ Jacobs C C, British Administrative Policies in Tiv-Jukun Relations Between 1900 and 1945 in M.O.Odey, J G Negel and O.O.Okpeh (ed) *History Research and Methodology in Africa: Essay in Honor of Professor Charle Creswell Jacob*, Aboki Pub, Makurdi, p338

namely: Federation of chiefs, tribal council, clan or village council, and native administration such as tribal chief, all with a rotational chairmanship. Based on this adjustment, the Aku-Uka was made the chairman of the federation of chiefs in Wukari Division which comprised the Aku-Uka (Wukari), Gara Donga (Donga) and Ukwe Takum (Takum), and with the inclusion of kyetun (Ichen) mandatory territory.¹¹⁸ It was this development that equally brought about the popular slogan of 'Wukari federation' on board. Thus, in evaluating the political re-structuring of the area, the District officer sent a report to the Resident, Benue province stating thus:

*It appears to me that the inter-relation of the Districts of Wukari, Takum and Donga justified their inclusion in the category "federation of chiefs" defined in the recently issued memoranda on Native administration... I suggest that the danger of a permanent president becoming regarded as a permanent Chief should be avoided by the Division officer presiding as was done on this occasion. I consider that the council for the present should remain purely deliberative. Although the present relations between the chiefs of these Districts are fairly good; I am strongly of the opinion that a categorical statement to the effect that it is not the policy of government to envisage any infringement of their independence, would do much to facilitate co-operation.*¹¹⁹

The traditional leaders met in Wukari quarterly to address issues relating to their division and they are as well charged with the responsibility of supervising the general administrative activities in their districts. However, issues relating to the use of force were left upon the central authority (the British Officer in charge of the Division). The British superintendent of Agriculture had once attended the meeting of Wukari federation of chiefs and commented on how the indigenous people (farmers) could improve in their cultivation of export crops in the area of study.¹²⁰

From the foregoing, the Tiv's refusal to acknowledge the leadership of Aku-Uka in the Jukun dominated settlements marked the sense of skepticism among the Jukun, particularly in

¹¹⁸ Sule Modakai Dansonka op cit

¹¹⁹ NAK/Mak/Province/50/Federation Council of Wukari, 1931

¹²⁰ NAK/14/Wukari Division annual Report by Capt H S Bredel 1932

relations to their peaceful co-existence in the Benue Valley. The two ethnic groups had diverse political views: While Jukun regarded the authority of their Aku as divine, the Tiv considered the leadership as a nominal role that could be performed by any charismatic or brave individual in the community regardless of age.

3.3 Organizational Structure

The British conquest and occupation of the Nigeria area took place at different times. Each of the phases was however, characterized by different military maneuvers and expeditionary forces which yielded different responses on the part of the indigenous people. Thus, the nature of response and resistance from the Nigerian people was similar to that obtained in other African states.¹²¹ African reaction towards colonial domination took the forms of armed resistance, violent and as well as diplomatic, or non-violent measure. African states were occupied by the Europeans largely because of the superiority of the weapons used by the latter.¹²²

In Northern Nigeria, the British established an organized administrative structure based on hierarchical order. British colonial officials in Northern Nigeria were headed by top British colonial administrators, assisted directly by Resident and District Officers. At the bottom of the administrative hierarchy were the African Chiefs (Paramount Chiefs and Emirs). The entire Northern Protectorate in Nigeria was placed under full control of a Governor, who served as the head of all colonial troops and administrative officers in the protectorate. The Governor was directly answerable to the Governor-General in Lagos (the capital of Nigeria) who in turn was

¹²¹ Ikime O, *The fall of Nigeria*, Heinemann, London, 1977

¹²² Agi O John, "The Development and Impacts of British Colonial Rule in the Lowland Division of Plateau Province in Central Nigeria, 1902-1948". Unpublished PhD Dissertation in the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Nigeria 2004, p143

answerable to the Secretary of state for the colonies in London. The secretary on the other hand, was equally answerable to the king or queen, being the head of the British Empire.

The Northern protectorate was divided into Provinces, and these Provinces were in turn sub-divided into Divisions, which were also divided into Districts. Districts were also split into village areas, hamlets, and sub-districts. While a province was headed by a Resident, the Division was put under District Officer or Assistant District officer and these officers were representative of the Governor in the protectorate.¹²³ The colonial officers established Native Authority to be chaired by the Chiefs and Emirs. The colonial officers were directly responsible for matters relating to foreign affairs, currency and defense while the indigenous chiefs and emirs were charged with the responsibilities of collecting taxes, executions of colonial policies and maintaining law and order in their respective domains.

In sum, under the administrative structure of the colonial domination of Northern Nigeria, the exclusive rights for both legislative and executive powers were in the hands of the colonial officers. They had the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any polity, or ethnic groups in order to protect the colonial interest.

3.4 Native Authority System in Wukari Area

The British conquest and administrative policies in Nigeria from 1900, particularly in the Northern protectorate led to the introduction of Native Authority System. Native administrations were developed into units of local government based on chiefs and emirs, and towards the end of the Second World War, had evolved into powerful political force.¹²⁴ However, the actual purpose of the Native Authority (NA) was captured in the political memoranda by Frederick Lugard thus:

¹²³ Ibid p144

¹²⁴ Yahaya A D, *The Native Authority System in the Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, Kaduna State, Nigeria 1980 p3

*The Native Authority...thus recognized were not to be regarded as independent rulers. They were the delegates of the governor whose representative was the Residents. The central government reserved to itself the sole right to raise and control armed forces, to impose taxation of any kind, to make laws and to dispose of such land as are under Native law and custom vested in the paramount power. These limitations were specifically under which each chiefs of the higher grades held his office.*¹²⁵

It is on this note that Ediba opined that the Native Authority was constituted under chiefs. The legal authority for local government during British rule was vested in the office of the Emir, and the emirs thus, became recognized as the authorities responsible for local government and the implementation of colonial policies through the Resident and the District officers.¹²⁶ It is interesting to note that, during colonial domination of Northern Nigeria and particularly the Middle Benue Valley, NA was not simply an institution of local government, but an organizational manifestation of a political and social force in the colonial society.¹²⁷ In the same vein, Yahaya further stressed that:

*The NA as a political institution under colonial rule was expected to maintain law and order, to balance interests among the political and social force, and to supervise the allocation of resources in the society. It is in this sense that, the colonial regime expected it to function.*¹²⁸

Consequently, it could be said that, the objective for the establishment of NA in Northern Nigeria during colonial domination was to safeguard the values on which it was founded and it was considered vital for the survival of the political and social force it represented.¹²⁹ Thus, the establishment of NA by the imperialists as a rudiment of a local administration in the Middle

¹²⁵ Bello S, *State and Economy in Kano c1894-1960, A Study of Colonial Domination*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, Kaduna State, Nigeria 2011, also see Lugard Fredrick, *Political Memoranda*, London, 1918 p93

¹²⁶ Ediba O I, "Colonial Rule in Nigeria: A Case Study of Otokpo District in Idoma Division 1908-1960". Unpublished MA Thesis in Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Kaduna State, Nigeria 2009

¹²⁷ Yahaya A D op cit

¹²⁸ Ibid p5

¹²⁹ Ediba op cit p136

Benue Valley was a direct manifestation of the system of “indirect rule” successfully established in the emirates of Northern Nigeria. Lugard introduced this without adequate consideration for any discordant local administrative ideology as obtainable in the non-Muslim areas of the Northern Provinces in central Nigerian area. Meanwhile, this area was made up of various independent, but inter-related polities and to an extent harbored the stateless society of the Tiv ethnic group.

The British, through Richard Palmer, were fascinated with the history of Jukun Kwararafa polity and its centralized political system in the Middle Benue Valley. Since they lacked this system in their Tiv neighbor, they quickly concluded that the Tiv were stateless society and had no any form of political organization. It is on this note that Ballard observes that the British saw the ‘pagan’ of the North and South as ‘tribes’ in the lowest stage of primitive savagery, without central organization.¹³⁰ Consequently, the colonial officer established the Native Authority system in the area of study to serve as a tool for effective administration of traditional matters in the Wukari Division. Thus, the Native Authority system was established in all the three districts in the Division to be headed by the district head, and Aku–Uka assumed the leadership in Wukari district. In view of this, membership of the Native Authority system in Wukari district was based on tradition of the indigenous people (Jukun), since the imperialists considered the Tiv people as having no common political culture with the Jukun, as well as not being indigenes of the area and had no business with the administrative activities in Wukari Native Authority system.¹³¹ The colonial officer like Richard Palmer, considered the Tiv (Munchi) as immigrants, or settlers¹³² in the territory considered to be Jukun ancestral

¹³⁰ J A Ballard, Pagan Administration and Political Development in Northern Nigeria, in *Savanna, the Journal of Environment and Social Sciences*, Published at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria Vol 1, No 1 June 1972

¹³¹ Interview with Elder Ada SoboAgyo, age 78, Retired civil servant, (Head master) Wukari, 21/09/2014

¹³² NAK/SNP/17/K.2441, VOL 1

headquarters. More importantly, they believed that in Jukun culture and tradition, to be a member of traditional council, a fellow had to be a title holder and this title was hereditary. They were not just conferred on person based on representative method or characteristic virtues. Consequently, the Resident in-charge of the Muri Province, W.P. Hewby, in his attempt to establish a judicial system on statutory basis titled “Native Court Warrant” in Wukari district, did not allocate seat to the Tiv in the District Court:

Under the power conferred on me by the proclamation No.5, 1900, I, Williams Petch Hewby, Resident of the Upper Benue, do hereby establish a native court at Wukari, with power in accordance with the said proclamation to hear and decide civil and criminal actions between natives within the jurisdiction of the court; which for the present shall be exercised in the town of Wukari; the town of Akwana; all (some 20-25 miles) Jukun villages east of Katsina Ala river on the left bank of the river Benue, (excepting the four villages on the bank of the Benue, viz Sinka, Gidan Wurbo, Osebefu and Gidan Yaku), including all their outlying farm hamlets; and in such of the Deyin [Chamba] and Musi [Tiv] villages lying to the southward and westward of Wukari in Wukari territory as may be practicable under existing circumstances. The court shall consist of the following: President; the present chief Agudu Mallam [Awudumanu] Judge, the Kinda Ajo [Kinda Achuwo] Judge, Abu dan Ashu mallam [Agbu Ashumanu] Judge, Alkali Sualu [Salau] Judge, Audu dan Zenua Scribe, Mallam Diko given under my hand at Wukari this fifth day of April. 1900. (Sign) W.P. Hewby Resident.¹³³

By this development, the Tiv in Takum and Donga districts of Wukari Division enjoyed independent sub-native courts and native authorities¹³⁴, while the Tiv in Wukari district were denied these benefits and were rather incorporated to be part of Aku’s advisory council, while others served as assessors in the Aku’s court.¹³⁵ Consequently, the deliberate refusal to grant the Wukari Tiv some measure of administrative and judicial autonomy as in the case of Donga and Takum districts eroded the cordial intercourse between these ethnic groups and questioned the

¹³³Keay, E.A and Richardson, S.S, cited in Adamu, D, *Issues in Tiv-Jukun Conflict*, Taeget Publicity, Jos, 2002, p25

¹³⁴Akombo op cit p155

¹³⁵ MAKPROF/FED/4/1/4377/ Delves-Brouhton report on the Tiv in Wukari Div

sense of belonging on the part of the Tiv in Wukari district. The Tiv felt uncomfortable with the Jukun leadership and the colonial officers in Wukari district because they believed that, by implementing this policy in Wukari district, the authority had succeeded in creating conditions for their predicament in the Wukari district. This factor among others created inter-ethnic conflicts in the former Wukari Division, since the Tiv felt that their interest and peculiarities were not duly appreciated and considered. The colonial officer had once reported that:

*The Tiv are very recent intruders into territory which for many generations had belonged to the Jukun. It is therefore felt that the Aku should not be legally bound in any way to apply the principles of "indirect rule" to their administration; and it is accordingly recommended that he should only apply them as a matter of administrative convenience, retaining the rights, should circumstances arise which make it seem desirable, to administer the Tiv direct and according to his methods. The justification of such action would be that any discounted Tiv are always at liberty to return as, indeed, they were once compelled to return to their proper sphere.*¹³⁶

Thus, the continuation of this attitude of forcible subordination of the Tiv to the Jukun system without adequate regard to their interest and peculiarities in the Wukari area made inter-ethnic conflicts more common in the Middle Benue Valley particularly from the 1960s. The Wukari district officer had once received a petition from the Tiv, lamenting of their marginalization in the district, and he identified some areas of neglect where the Tiv had suffered in the Wukari district thus:

*There are five Tiv members in the Wukari Native Authority council but none in the Wukari court... There are separate Grade D courts for Shitere Tiv in Takum district and the Ugondo Tiv in Donga district.*¹³⁷

The main consequences of colonial policy of 'indirect rule' and the establishment of NA in Wukari District were that it created unhappy relation between the dominant ethnic groups, that

¹³⁶ MAKPROF/FED/4/INT/W//1/4377

¹³⁷ Op cit paragraph 3,8 &10

is, (Jukun and Tiv) and the colonial administration. Thus, the relations between the Jukun and the Tiv in the Wukari district were hostile particularly from the 1950s. The establishment of the NA led to the forcible subordination of Tiv ethnic group in the Wukari area hitherto regarded as stateless society by the imperialists to be brought under control of the Aku-Uka (Paramount Chief of the Jukun) in the Wukari district. This policy of forcible subordination characterized British policies during the period c1900-1930.¹³⁸ Thus, the coercive subordination of hitherto independent Tiv ethnic group to their Jukun neighbor in the Wukari area gave rise to acute political grievances and unrest in the form of overt conflicts perpetrated from the 1959/60. Consequently, it is not surprising that most of the subordinate groups resisted colonial rule from the outset.¹³⁹

However, by in-depth examination of the colonial policies in Northern Nigeria 1900-1930, it can be argued that the system was largely characterized by the creation of paramount chiefs, native courts and large territorial districts that were similar to the ones in well-organized centralized pre-colonial polities. Consequently, independent ethnic groups or communities were forcibly subjected to their neighbor regardless of their peculiarities, population and to an extent their religion in order to establish Divisions or Districts. This single act created a fertile ground for bitter ethnic rivalry between the small-scale societies (groups) who were arbitrarily subordinated to the centralized pre-colonial polities in Northern Nigeria.

However, Governor Cameroon in 1931 initiated the reorganization of the British administration in Northern Nigeria which led to the amelioration of some defects embedded in the system of 'indirect rule'. Thus, the reforms led to the introduction of "indirect rule" to the

¹³⁸ Agi O John, "The Development and Impacts of British Colonial Rule in the Lowland Division of Plateau Province in Central Nigeria, 1902-1948". Unpublished PhD Dissertation in the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Kaduna State, Nigeria 2004, p147

¹³⁹ Ibid

‘pagan’ areas of Northern Nigeria. In comparison to the Lugard’s British administrative policies, the colonial era of 1930s to 40s was characterized with the de-annexation of hitherto subordinate small-scale societies or ethnic groups from the sway of sub-imperial groups. The era also witnessed the creation of new divisions and districts based on administrative and anthropological studies of the immediate communities, with special regard to the interest and peculiarities of their traditions and socio-political organization. The development concomitantly ended the era of headmen and paramount chiefs’ control in Northern Nigeria and in turn, encouraged development in the ‘pagan’ areas.

With this new development, colonial attitude towards the domiciled ethnic groups in the Wukari Division soon began to dictate the nature and forms of socio-political inter-course between the Jukun and the Tiv in the post-colonial era. The general Tiv ambition of involvement in the affairs of the then Native Authority system and later traditional council (1977) in the Wukari area stemmed out of their gross misunderstanding and interpretation of the Jukun culture and tradition particularly in relation to the traditional title holders who controlled the affairs in the Native authority or traditional council.

3.5 Reorganization of the Administrative Areas of Ibi/Wukari Division 1925/26 and 1931

The conquest and domination by the British of the territory that came to be known as Nigeria started from 1851 and by 1861 Lagos was acquired through the use of military force.¹⁴⁰ The British government’s realization that the chartered company Royal Niger Company,(RNC) had failed to keep at bay other European rivals from the Niger-Benue territory

¹⁴⁰ Abba A, *The Northern Progressive Union and the Politics of Radical Nationalism in Nigeria, 1938-1960*, Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research, Zaria, Nigeria 2007 p1

led to the revocation of the company's charter in 1900.¹⁴¹ Thus, a protectorate was declared over the entire areas hitherto controlled by the RNC and captain Lugard was appointed its High Commissioner.¹⁴² The British government had to undertake series of military campaigns as from 1900 to subdue the entire polities in the area under her control. Thus, by 1903 the major polities in the Northern part of Nigeria area were brought under the British¹⁴³, remaining pockets of little resistance in the Middle Benue Valley.

Soon after the overthrow of these polities, the imperial government introduced enormous changes which led to the curtailing of the powers of emirs and chiefs and the imposition of artificial traditional rulers (British supported chiefs) over groups that were considered stateless and had no organized and centralized political structure prior to the advent of the imperial domination in the Nigerian area. It is on this notes that the Tiv in the Ibi and Wukari division were directly brought under the authority of the Aku-Uka in Wukari District in the first three decades of colonial domination in Nigeria.

Consequently, by forcibly subordinating the Tiv ethnic group under Aku-Uka's authority, the British upset the pre-colonial political organization of the people in Wukari area. Elsewhere in the Northern and Southern regions, the small scale ethnic groups were equally arbitrarily placed in a single district and meant to be ruled by emirs or imposed district heads or chiefs that were directly loyal to the imperial officers. Diverse ethnic groups were forcibly brought together into new units for new purposes by the fiat of imperial decision makers. This circumstance invariably created tensions among the ethnic groups in Nigeria as the colonial administrator's fiats favored some groups and put others at disadvantages.

¹⁴¹ Abubakar.S; The Northern Province Under Colonial Rule: 1900-1959 in Ikime O, *Ground Work of Nigeria History*, Heinemann Educational Books, Nigeria 1999 p449

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Ibid

It is on this note that the first three decades of colonial domination in Nigeria experienced widespread resistance or revolt against imposition of “indirect rule” and the new type of taxes which the people never understood and were not in any way willing to accept. The establishment of taxes became the symbol of identification of the new authority. Thus, the rejection of the British taxes equally constituted a significant way of registering the objection of the people to the political order.¹⁴⁴ According to Fremantle, the representative of the Aku-Uka Agbumanu (1903-1915), Moi Agiyo Nyafa, accompanied the Resident Captain Ruxton to Abinse to inaugurate taxation among the Munshi under Wukari auspices, but the experiment was not repeated, though later on Wukari made the appointment of a few Munshi chiefs at Arufu with the Resident’s help.¹⁴⁵

In a similar development, the Acting Resident in 1906, Captain Charles Forbe Gordon, investigated into why the Aku found it difficult to collect taxes and identified the Aku’s challenge to be caused by the influx of Tiv settlers who undermined the Aku’s authority north of Arufu and Akwana. To them, paying taxes to Wukari was regarded as a sign of submission to Wukari leadership. This in turn encouraged the Jukun subjects of the Aku not to pay taxes. Gordon settled the issue by allowing the Tiv people in the area to pay their taxes directly to the administration.¹⁴⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that the Tiv were not the only ethnic groups that revolted against the colonial domination in the Middle Benue Valley. In 1916, the colonial officer, Mr. C. E. Boyd, stressed on a serious revolt in the Donga District of Ibi Division. The officer reported that:

¹⁴⁴ Abba A op cit p15

¹⁴⁵ Fremantle, J.M., ‘Gazetteer of Muri Provinces’, in Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., *Gazetteers Of The Northern Provinces Of Nigeria: The Eastern Kingdoms*, Vol. II, London, 1972 p39

¹⁴⁶ NAK SNP15/NO117 Quarterly Report ,Muri province 1906 by Captain Gordon

In October 1916, Mairiga Karife 'the untouchable' raided the surrounding villages and eventually went to attack Donga town itself-he was wounded and retreated and later captured and executed at Nukko.¹⁴⁷

Some of the colonial officials in the Middle Benue Valley were not ready to impose direct taxation as instructed by the Governor partly because of the revolts and lack of manpower for proper administration. It is on this note that the then Resident of Muri province stressed that:

A study of our relations with this primitive tribe leads me to the conclusion, borne out by all experience in personally dealing with others on the same plane of civilization during the last thirteen years, that the policy laid down last year (1912) for our guidance is not the most expedient one, viz; that until native pays a direct tax he does not acknowledge the authority of government... which implies that taxation must be simultaneous with first administration. With all due respect I venture not to agree with our extremely limited staff the two cannot be simultaneous.¹⁴⁸

It is on this note that Abba observes that it was the fear of the consequences of the immediate imposition of taxes that made the British to wait until after the completion of the conquest of the individual emirates and most importantly, the capture of both Kano and Sokoto in 1903,¹⁴⁹ before the colonial officials came up with its tax regime. In Adamawa Province, the village of Guriga in 1909 refused to pay taxes and in turn encouraged the neighboring villages not to pay. In response, Mr. W.S Sharpe, the then Resident, sent troops to restore order. In the process, the six communities that took part in the tax revolt namely: Guriga, Marufa, Marashi, Bati, Shambi and Numki, were razed to the ground and the British administration confiscated the livestock of the people.¹⁵⁰ The Chamba settlement of Tibak village refused to pay taxes in 1911

¹⁴⁷ NAK/SNP10/510P/1917, Muri Province, Donga District Assessment Report by Mr C E Boyd

¹⁴⁸ NAK/SNP10/583P/1913, Muri Province, Report for June Quarter 1913

¹⁴⁹ Abba A op cit p16

¹⁵⁰ NAK/SNP8/62/1909, Yola Province; Quarter Ended Report December by W. S. Sharpe

and was decisively punished by the colonial troops leading to the death of 20 villagers as recorded by the colonial authority.¹⁵¹

There was also a similar tax revolt in Montol area of the Lowland Division in the central Plateau area popularly called the Montol rebellion of 1916. As already noted earlier about the colonial subordinating policies, the British subordinated the Montol to the Ankwe chief in 1909.¹⁵² This factor together with the excessive taxation, triggered the revolt in 1916. Fremantle recounted that:

The Montol set upon the District officer, Mr. Malthy when he was collecting overdue taxes and had no escort. He was killed, and the Ankwe chief who was with him, and practically the whole of the staff of both, most of their followers, fifty-nine in all (this was on July 30th).¹⁵³

He further stressed that:

This wholesale massacre is, I think unique in the history of the Northern Province, including as it did among the victims, a British officer, a powerful chief with his brothers and all his counselors but one, four native staff, four dogari, and others.¹⁵⁴

This rebellion was precipitated by a long accumulated hardship to which the colonial official subjected the Montol people and the entire people in the Middle Benue Valley as a result of direct taxation and colonial policies of subordinating small-scale communities to the centralized polities of pre-colonial era. As earlier recommended to the then Governor Temple, Ruxton the Resident of Muri province stresses that:

¹⁵¹ NAK Yola Province Vol10: Yola report for the Quarter ended 31th March 1911 by G.W. Webster

¹⁵² Abubakar.S; op cit p468

¹⁵³ NAK/SNP10/95P/1916 Muri Province Annual Report for 1917 by J.M Fremantle

¹⁵⁴ NAK/SNP10/671P/1916 September Quarter Report Muri Province, By J.M Fremantle

*The imposition of direct taxation should be delayed in the province untiladequate knowledge of the socio-political structure of the small-scale societies was available to the British.*¹⁵⁵

He further argues that:

*In some districts the people have to travel considerable distance to buy cash for the special purpose of paying their tax. At time great stringency prevails in the Ibimoney market owing to the action of the Nupe andKakande canoe men who buy up all available coin for export to Onisha and Lokoja.*¹⁵⁶

From the above quotation of Ruxton, it is obvious that the hardship imposed on the people of Northern protectorate as a result of colonial policies was equally transferred to their neighbors in the Southern region where Onisha was located. It is on this note that a similar tax revolt broke out in the Southern region; popular among these revolt was the riot that took place in Aba, Opobo and other major towns in 1929 which resulted in the killing of the women protesters.

It is therefore not surprising that the tax rebellion exhibited by indigenous people in Nigeria was tense in the first three decades of the 20th century during the colonial domination, and hence, remained one of the major problems of security among the imperialists for most of the period of their domination in Nigeria. Protest and resistance against colonial domination in the Northern region were greater in the Middle Benue Valley partly because the British paid more attention to the emirates and able administrators were deployed to the powerful Muslim emirates while the Middle Belt area received less experienced usually new recruits as District officers.¹⁵⁷

Consequently, towards the end of 1925, the colonial state began a major reorganization of Northern Nigeria. The arrangement for the reorganization was contained in a proposal from the

¹⁵⁵ NAK/SNP10/583P/1913

¹⁵⁶ NAK/SNP10/181P/1913, Muri Province Annual Report for 1912, by F.H Ruxton

¹⁵⁷ Abubakar.S; Op cit p473

then Lieutenant Governor of the Northern protectorate to the Secretary of the colonies.¹⁵⁸ In 1926, this process of reorganization affected Kano, Borno, Bauchi, Plateau, Yola, Munshi, Kabba, Zaria and Niger provinces. The exercise led to the abolition of Muri and Nassarawa provinces whose parts were reorganized with others such as Mushi province to establish Benue province. In June of the same year, Ibi Division, including Wukari was moved from defunct Muri province to Benue province, while Idah Division was transferred from Bassa province to Kabba province. This reorganization saw the creation of enlarged Wukari Division and Awe community which had been part of Shendam Division was equally merged to Wukari Division. Shendam Division formerly in the Muri province was transferred to Plateau province.¹⁵⁹ Thus, reporting on the enlarged newly created Wukari Division, the then Resident of Benue province, G C Monk, remarked that:

*The following Tiv clans will be transferred to Wukari division; Shiteri N, Shiteri S, Ugondo, Ikurav N, Ikurav S, Ukum, Mbagen, Tongou, Turau, Turan (including Katsina Ala). I consider it inexpedient to make the Katsina River the actual boundary, as Tombo East and Tombo West will doubtless eventually form a single district, which should be under district officer, Abinsi. This is compensated for all by Turu and Mbagen being included in the Wukari division although west of the Katsina-Ala River as they form practically the home district of Katsina-Ala. Turan which is also West and South of the Katsina River should be in the same division as Kasimbila.*¹⁶⁰

However, the departure of Sir Richmond Palmer from the Northern Region and the subsequent dissatisfaction with the reorganization together with the Aba Riot of 1929 in the Southern Region created the need for a proper reorganization in the colonial domination. The colonial administrators were dissatisfied with the colonial policies of forcibly subordinating

¹⁵⁸ AHA/SNP/37305; Reorganization of Northern Nigeria Provinces

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ NAK/SNP/17/2/11/60, July 1926, Benue Province Administrative Changes, by Monk

small-scale communities to the centralized pre-colonial polities and the imposition of direct taxation on people, which led to widespread resentment.

Consequently, Governor Cameron in 1931 initiated another reorganization of colonial administration, which was essentially characterized by the government's quest for better anthropological reports of ways of governing the small-scale societies. This reform led to the introduction of "indirect rule" to the 'pagan' areas of Northern Region. It is on this note that Ballard stressed that:

*In the place of uniform Emirates model, Cameron's instruction laid out four possible types of Native administration, Tribal chief, Federation of chiefs, Tribal council (with a rotating chairman or a District officer as chairman), and Clan or Village councils.*¹⁶¹

It was this reorganization of 1931 that brought the creation of Wukari Federation of Chiefs on board. The colonial administrators kept making minor reorganization and adjustment within this period and beyond in the Northern region. As a result, the Tiv districts in Wukari Division were transferred back to Abinsi Division in 1934, and the division name was changed to Tiv Division with a new capital at Gboko.¹⁶²

It is expedient to note that the imperial policies of forcibly subordinating hitherto independent polities to the centralized pre-colonial societies in the Northern protectorate and Nigeria at large created a fertile ground for bitter inter-ethnic rivalry particularly in the Middle Benue Valley in the post-colonial Nigeria. Hence, it encouraged the emergence of ethnic militia that claimed to champion the interests and aspirations of its ethnic group. These colonial policies as outlined formed the root causes of all the Jukun-Tiv overt conflicts over the years.

¹⁶¹ J A Ballard, 'Pagan Administration and Political Development in Northern Nigeria', in *Savanna, the Journal of Environment and Social Sciences*, Published at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria Vol 1, No 1 June 1972

¹⁶² NAK/MAK/PROF/4/24/AR/INT/W/1; Wukari District, Report on Reorganization by Dewar, p10-11

3.6 People's Reaction to the Reorganizations in Wukari Division 1926/1930s

The emergence of ethnic militia in Nigeria and in Wukari area in particular was a product of the British conquest and continued forcible subordination policy on the (stateless) Tiv group under the centralized pre-colonial polity of the Jukun in the Middle Benue Valley, for the economic, political and strategic interest of the imperialists and the British society at large. It was this policy that led to resentment by the subordinated ethnic groups against the Lugardian system of “indirect rule” in the first three decades of the imperial domination in Nigeria. Thus, the resentment was characterized by protests and rebellions in the form of resistance against the British administrators, and people working for the colonial government. For instance, it was reported in June 1900, that the people of Illorin town were refusing to have business transaction with the local people working for the British.¹⁶³

In the Wukari Division, the main grievances of the Tiv ethnic group stemmed out of their socio-political relations with the Jukun and the imperial officers. The relations were characterized by discrimination by the sub-imperial officials against the Tiv group as earlier noted. Also, in regard to taxation in the Division, there was a wide discrepancy between the two ethnic groups as noted by the colonial official.

*With regard to taxation, I am to say that His Honour, while not prepared to approve penal rates directed against any particular tribe, yet considers that the present wide discrepancy between the tax paid by the Tiv in Wukari Division and that paid by the Jukuns is not justified.*¹⁶⁴

It was these series of conflicting relations between the people and the imperial officials in the Wukari Division and Nigeria at large that led to the 1916 uprising against the colonial rule in

¹⁶³ Abba A op citp15

¹⁶⁴ Makprof:2402, Administration of the Tiv in Wukari Division; 07th August, 1948.

Donga District led by Mai Riga Karife.¹⁶⁵ Whatever explanation the imperial officers in Northern region might have advanced in subordinating the hitherto independent small scale groups to their centralized neighbors, the fact remains that, this policy was unfair and unjust. Hence, it undermined the political structure of the indigenous people. As a result, the imperial officers embarked on reorganization of the provinces which also witnessed dissatisfaction on the part of the ethnic groups in the region.

Consequent upon the indigenous revolts in Nigeria (1900-1929), the imperial administrators embarked on general reorganization of the entire provinces and thus, in 1926 Wukari Division was created. As noted earlier, the colonial officers incorporated nine Tiv districts into the newly created enlarged Wukari Division¹⁶⁶ with the aim of establishing a centralized system of native administration under the control of the Aku-Uka of Wukari. Following this arrangement of 1926 and the subsequent dissatisfaction by the Tiv ethnic group as a result of their subordination to the Aku's leadership in the Division together with the 1930 provincial annual report regarding the Aku, the colonial officers observed that:

*Unless the Aku is reminded, little or nothing is done...constant reiteration by us and watching alone appeared to keep the organization functioning with effectiveness.*¹⁶⁷

It is on this note that, in 1934 the Tiv Districts in Wukari Division were returned to Abinsi Division, the names were changed to those of the Tiv Division, with a new capital created for it at Gboko.¹⁶⁸ It should be noted however that the riverine Jukun settlement of Sufa initially in Abisai (Abinsi) Division and later in the newly created Tiv Division strongly as a matter of

¹⁶⁵ NAK/SNP/10/510P/1917 Donga District Assessment Report by Mr C.E Boyd

¹⁶⁶ MAKPROF.AR/INT/W1; Wukari District Report on Reorganization of by Mr K Dewer Asst District Officer

¹⁶⁷ Ibid paragraph 29

¹⁶⁸ Ibid paragraph 31

fact, acknowledged the Aku-Uka of Wukari as their personal chief. Thus, following the abolition of Abisai Division and creation of Tiv Division with the capital at Gboko, these Jukun communities opted to be incorporated into Wukari Division instead of remaining in the Tiv Division as noted by the colonial officers:

That it is the wish of the people that both the existing Abinsi and the proposed Ashuku native authority be transferred to Wukari and made subordinate to the Aku. There are many reasons why such transfer is desirable....with regard to the Abinsi and the proposed Ashuku native authorities in Tiv Division, it is recommended that serious consideration be given to the expressed wish of the people that these units should eventually be made subordinate to the Aku¹⁶⁹.

Another area of wide discrepancy in the Wukari Division could be viewed from the quest for the improvement of standards of living among the Tiv in the districts. From 1900 onwards when the imperial government set up native courts in the Wukari area, the Tiv ethnic groups in Ibi and later Wukari Division were exempted from the services and benefits of the courts. Also, only Tiv clan heads that were loyal to the Aku's authority were appointed by the British to sit on this court and meant to serve as assessors.¹⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that the Divisional headquarters in Wukari in an accessible location was a development that characterized an imperial aim of expanding Aku's authority in the Middle Benue Valley as noted by the colonial report:

In 1926, the policy initiated in 1918 and followed up in 1919 with the amalgamation of the "Ibi Divisional Treasuries with, but under, Wukari" bore fruit in the formation of the present Wukari Division. The only territory actually added to that of the Aku was the old Ibi District....Nine independent Tiv districts with a population of approximately 120,000 Tiv were however transferred to the new Division from Abinsi Division....after the formation of the new Wukari Division policy adopted was to attempt to develop and increase the efficiency of the Aku's administration by a careful study of the Jukun methods.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ MAKPROF/AR/INT/W/1: Wukari District Report on Reorganization; Paragraph 33 and 46 By K Dewer

¹⁷⁰ MAKPROF; 4377 Tiv in Wukari Division, Appendix B p 14 & 15, Also some Tiv elders Tseror John Aged 55 and Awua Samuel aged 70 along Kente –Akwana area farmer confirmed this statement.

¹⁷¹ K Dewer op cit paragraph 27 & 28

It is on this note that the Tiv clans and villages which, by this development, found themselves in a position of subordination by the colonial fiat felt highly aggrieved. In this case, the Tiv in the Wukari District found the administrative structure imposed by the imperial officials less acceptable when compared to their brethren in other districts of the Wukari Division. Whether or not these acts were deliberately intended, the imperial officials had imperceptibly introduced into the Division and Nigeria at large, a sense of inequality among the ethnic groups, where some were favored, and some were not.

Consequently, the Tiv Progressive Union, Wukari Branch forwarded its demands to the Resident, Benue Province as follow:

We of the Wukari Tivs despites our huge population of 35,000 souls, have not got such privileges from the chief of Wukari. We therefore ask for separate council with head chiefs under the Wukari NA. In addition, we ask for recognized and monthly paid Tiv representatives on the Wukari central council and court. In the absence of the above possibilities, we Wukari Tivs are suffering untold ill-treatment and maladministration under the Wukari chief and nobody seems to care for our interestwe hope the Resident will be of some service to us and do something to improve this hopeless condition of us, the undeclared slaves.¹⁷²

Therefore, it was obvious that in a matter of time, the inequality exhibited in the Wukari Division among the ethnic groups could lead to overt tensions. This was partly the cause of the Jukun- Tiv conflict that began on the eve of independence in 1959, though it started in the then Tiv Division in the Benue Province.¹⁷³

Consequently, from 1926 with the establishment of Wukari Division in Benue Province, up till the attainment of independence in 1960, the colonial administrative system in the Wukari Division played a cardinal role in sowing the seed of inter-ethnic tension in the Division between

¹⁷² MAKPROF; 4377 Improvement of Condition of Tivs in Wukari Division, Provincial Office, 27th August, 1953

¹⁷³ Anifowose R, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria, The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*. Nok Pub, Enugu 2006, p117.

the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups. It is on this note that Ikime argues that when colonial administrative arrangements resulted in inter-ethnic tensions which could dislocate activities, the British tried to modify them. While such modifications could be justified, they did some times create new tensions.¹⁷⁴

3.7 Colonial Socio – Economic Activities in Wukari Area

British colonialism was propelled mainly by economic interest in overseas territories. Thus, the British policies and to an extent their actions were geared towards the successful accomplishment of this very task. Wukari area as noted earlier was a region of great significance to the colonial officers. Thus, the area because of its strategic location offered traders and merchants the opportunity to transport bulks of the export commodities via Wukari to Ibi. It is imperative to recall that by 17th October 1884, Bula the headmen of Ibi signed a treaty with the National African Company conceding his territory to it.¹⁷⁵ This company was succeeded by the Royal Niger Company which set up its regional headquarters at Ibi. The company explored the River Benue and its tributary of River Donga which led to the creation of a minor station at Donga. Thus, the Wukari area lay in between Ibi and Donga and the activities of the company opened a new phase of commercial engagements vis-a-vis trade routes linking communities both within the Division and places outside, as far as Muri and Cameroon. The Royal Niger Company steamers navigated the River Donga for about four (4) months in the year (July to October)¹⁷⁶ and in the remaining months in the year, the export commodities were transported

¹⁷⁴ Ikime O, Changing Administrative Arrangement and Inter-Group Relations in an Emerging Nation State: The Case of the “Delta Province” Area, Unpublished paper Retrieved on 17th/02/2016 from the internet, http://www.waado.org/biographies/mowoe/Lectures/Mowoe_Ikime.html

¹⁷⁵ Fremantle, F.M, op cit p28

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

via Wukari to Ibi using human and animal carriers. Ibi served as the collection centre of the farm produce from the hinterland as well as an entre pot.¹⁷⁷

The major commodities produced in the area of study were benni- seed, groundnut, soya beans and short (small) pepper. It was reported that the Jukun stock of Ichen and Tigon along Donga, Takum and Kurmi in the eastern and southern parts of Wukari area also involved themselves in the cultivation of Cocoa and Rubber. These farm produce were all transported from the production centre via Wukari to Ibi.¹⁷⁸ In 1917, Benniseed was sold at £7:94 per ton and groundnut unshelled was sold at £7:4 per ton.¹⁷⁹

The expansion of trade in the hinterland led to the development of trade routes that traversed the area of study and also increased the tempo of socio – economic activities among the people. Although, there were routes linking the various towns or communities prior to the advent of colonialism in the area of study, the routes were very rough and narrow due to the low level of technology and some seasonal routes could only be accessed during the dry season. The imperialists embarked on roads construction and expansion projects thereby connecting principal towns and villages. In the process, a wooden bridge was constructed over various streams along the trade routes. This was done chiefly to avoid any form of break or scarcity in supply of export produce from the hinterland via Wukari to Ibi. Fremantle concluded that some of these roads were suitable in the dry season for motor cycles. The principal trade routes were:

- Ibi via Wukari and Donga to kento and Bamenda (Cameroon)
- Ibi via Wukari to Arufu and Akwana the (galena/salt area.)

¹⁷⁷ Hassan, E. L, “The Kuteb, Kpanzun, Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the history of Inter-Group Relations from 1900- 1993”, Unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 1995.

¹⁷⁸ Interviewed with Justice Daniel Angyu, Civil servant, aged 45, 2015

¹⁷⁹ NAK/MAK Prof Assessment Report On Donga District

- Ibi via Nyakwala and Bantaji to Bakundi (Muri Emirate) and the Cameroon.
- Ibi via Wukari to Katsina – Ala and the Sothern Provinces
- Ibi via Wukari to Akwana – Arufu hence Awe across the Benue River.¹⁸⁰

The construction and improvement on road networks, with the provision of river-travelling steamer brought about improvement and more interaction between people, thus, enhancing fusion of peoples in the area of study. The motivating factor for the construction and improvement of road networks in the area, however, was the desire by the imperialists to exploit the available resources in the area and link up the communities with the main centers of trades in the Division. This economic determinant explained Downes, the Wukari District Officer, gave the imperialist strong desire to continue with road maintenance, even in the face of numerous projects being executed by the District 1932.¹⁸¹

Another important development in connection to the trade routes was the emergence of villages or communities along the routes. To begin with, a community developed in Rafin-Soja (Soldiers stream) in between Ibi and Wukari. It is believed that the colonial soldiers as well as traders that used the Wukari, Donga and Takum route often stopped by the stream to refresh themselves. In the course of time, the community grew to incorporate people from different ethnic groups who were attracted there as a result of their proximity to River Benue in Ibi in relation to the trading activities with the European merchants. Also worthy of note is the development of settlements along the colonial telegraph line called “*Gindin Waya*” (a Hausa phrase for cable base). The Tiv resisted the construction of the telegraph from Lokoja to Ibi via Loko, Tiv settlement, in the 1900. As a result the line was diverted in order to avoid Loko and the

¹⁸⁰ Fremantle, F.M, op cit p59

¹⁸¹ MAK PROF /FED/4131/AR/REP/W/3

entire Tivland. The colonial telegraph line from Keffi crossed the River Benue at Chinkai and ran through the easterly direction of Ibi and the gadget, of eight miles loop, was mounted at this place.¹⁸² Colonial officers stationed a guard house close to the gadget in order to protect it from hoodlums. In the long run, this project began to attract people into the area and a community gradually emerged and was called “*Gindin Waya*” Village, named after the colonial telegraph.

3.8 Conclusion

From the above analysis, it is shown that at a point in history the dominant ethnic groups in the Middle Benue Valley had good relationships for centuries. Anifowose observes that the Jukun and Tiv interaction predated colonialism.¹⁸³ Avav equally notes that the Jukun–Tiv relation was particularly cordial¹⁸⁴ before the advent of the imperialists. Thus, the subsequent evolution and activities of ethnic militia particularly from 1959–60s and their re-occurrence since then was the possible trait of colonial legacies in Nigeria and in Wukari Division in particular. The introduction of the Ring Fence Policy in the Division and the ejection of the Tiv from some of the districts created the insinuation among the Tiv ethnic group of Jukun–colonial partnership to cut the cord of inter–ethnic relationship that existed for years among them. However, the Jukun interpretation of the abolition of this policy was that, the imperialists deliberately encouraged the Tiv to execute their expansionist policy in an area known to be Jukun sphere of influence as a result of colonial economic gains.

By the 1940s, the Tiv population outnumbered the Jukun in the Division. Thus, with the introduction of party politics into the area where numerical strength played a vital role in determining whom to assume the leadership, the Tiv quickly capitalized on their population to

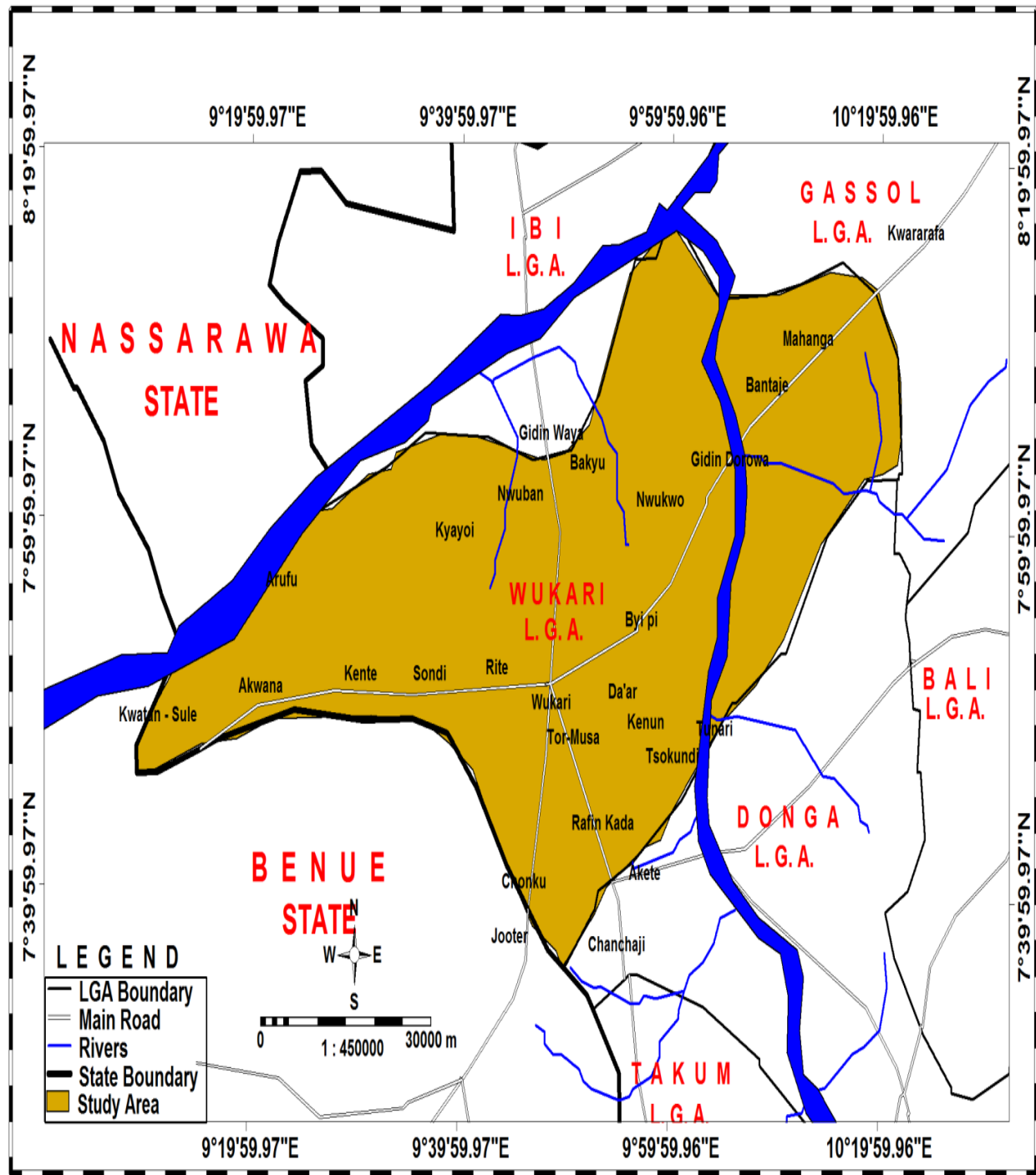
¹⁸²Sule Modakai Dansonka Op cit

¹⁸³Anifowose op cit p49

¹⁸⁴Avav T *Refugees in own Country (The Tiv-Jukun Crisis) 1990-93*, Supreme Black Communication, Abuja

win the position. It was the tide of the disagreements among them during the colonial era that manifested in a series of ethnic uprisings beginning from 1959, which made the development of ethnic militia in the area most likely.

Map 3: Map of Wukari Area and its Environs 1990-2005



Source: Adapted from Taraba State Administrative Map 2014, Available in Ministry of Land and Survey Jalingo

CHAPTER FOUR

FACTORS IN THE EVOLUTION OF ETHNIC MILITIA IN WUKARI AREA 1945-

2005

4.0 Introduction

Nigeria diverse population of about 250 ethnics groups is well known.¹⁸⁵ These ethnic groups are either majority or minority groups within the Nigerian state. This, by implication, created an opportunity for unequal level of development within the polity. Thus, the scenario portends the fear of domination of one ethnic group by the other after the attainment of independence from the colonial domination in 1960. The political parties in existence were regionally based and they aimed at protecting regional interests at the expense of national interest. For instance, a cross examination of the dominant political parties in Nigeria after independence in 1960 revealed that the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, which was later renamed the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) had its main base in the Eastern Nigeria, while Action Groups (AG) had its base in the Western region and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was established in the Northern region.

The development concomitantly encouraged ethnic differences already in existence among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria as part of the imperial legacy. It is against this

¹⁸⁵It should be noted that there is no consensus among scholars on the actual number of ethnic groups in Nigeria. According to Agatha Inweregbu, estimated about 250 ethnic groups in her article titled "Stereotypes and Inter-Ethnic Interactions in Nigeria: A Psychological Perspective", in Akinwunmi.O,et al (ed), *Inter-Group Relation in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Century*. Aboki pub, Makurdi, 2006, p38. Also Alubo.O, estimated about 370 ethnic groups in his book titled: *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*. PEFS, University of Ibadan 2006.p1

background that, this chapter examines the evolution and growth of ethnic militia in Wukari area. An attempt is made to discuss the emergence of ethnic militia in Nigeria.

4.1 The Concept of Ethnic Militia

There are various definitions of the concept *ethnic militia* presented by scholars and security experts based on their intellectual experience and environmental interest. Ethnic militia is not a rebel movement; they are not seeking to take over the reins of political power though they sometimes operate like the terrorist groups.¹⁸⁶ Thus, as noted in the previous chapter, they served as a social pressure group designed to influence the structure of power to their advantage, and call attention to the deteriorating material condition or political deprivation and perceived marginalization of their group or social environment.¹⁸⁷

Ethnic militia are youth groups formed to protect the socio-political and economic interest of a specific group.¹⁸⁸ Badmus asserts that ethnic militia emerges when an ethnic group assumes militant posture and gradually metamorphoses into militia purporting to act as the machinery through which the desire of its people are sought and realized.¹⁸⁹ Hence, the common attributes of ethnic militia are: the uncritical use of violence, a preponderance of youth membership, ethnic identity, affiliations movement demanding change over the status

¹⁸⁶ Ibid p3

¹⁸⁷ Metumara op cit , p14

¹⁸⁸ Hazen J and Hormen J Cited in Philip D D; The Paradox of Managing Ethnic Militia in Nigeria and its Implication on Socio-Economic Development, in *Proceeding book of ICETSR; Handbook on The Emerging Trend in Scientific Research*, PAK Pub Group, Malasia, 2014

¹⁸⁹ BadmusIsiaka, "Ethnic Militia Movements and the Crisis of Political Order in Post-Military Nigeria" *Journal of Social Science* 13(3):191-198.2006.

quo.¹⁹⁰ Schneckener observes that militia is an irregular, paramilitary combat unit that aims at protecting and defending the interest of the government and or certain section of the society.¹⁹¹

The deductions from the above description are that: ethnic militia pursues a sectional interest; its members are youths; it relies on force to achieve its aims; and lastly, it can emerge from the inaction of the state, or felt societal injustice. Scholars have attempted to explain this phenomenon. In Nigeria for instance, Anifowose postulates that there are three theoretical explanations for civil violence: (1) The relative deprivation model, (2) Rising expectation and frustration-aggression hypothesis, (3) The group conflict model.

The central theme of the first school of thought is that aggression is the end product of frustration and anger, particularly when a person's attempt to set his or her needs fails. In such a case, the person is likely to get angry and when he does, the more satisfactory option is to strike out at the sources of frustration. The second systemic model which he identifies is the wide spread belief that there is a paradoxical relationship between modernization and political disorder.¹⁹² This school of thought stresses that in a society where the leaders, for instance, enlarge the educational potential of their followers without an equal increase in the level of economic opportunities, the most likely result is political anomie. This explains the case of area boys and girls and to a great extent, ethnic militia in Nigerian urban centers like Kano, Ibadan, Onitsha, Aba, and Kaduna where many youths find themselves unemployed, underemployed or even unemployable. The third school of thought is the group conflict model, which conceives violence as a means of struggle among different ethnic groups within the society. Protagonists of this thought identifies some sources of civil violence in the society to include: religion, ethnicity,

¹⁹⁰ Agbu O, op cit p7

¹⁹¹ Schneckener. U, *Spoilers or Governance Actors? Engaging Armed Non- State Groups in Area of Limited Statehood*, SFB-Governance Working paper Series;21:2009

¹⁹² Anifowose R, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, Nok Pub, Enugu, 2006

regional and political cleavage. It is on this note that Anugwom observes that, though conflict is a principal variable explaining social change in the society, it becomes detrimental to the consolidation of democracy when it is extreme.¹⁹³

4.2 Historical Background of Ethnic Militia in Nigeria

The geographical territory known as Nigeria was British constructed conglomeration of diverse ethnic and cultural groups. As a result, virtually all ethnic groups in Nigeria talk about marginalization and domination. The Yoruba complain of power exclusion, the Igbo of marginalization, the Niger-Delta people of exploitation and environmental degradation, Hausa-Fulani of uneven development, the Middle-Belt people of internal colonialism, thus, everybody is requesting for empowerment on the basis of one assumption-xenophobia.¹⁹⁴ The introduction of regional system of administration in the 1940s together with the party politics where population became a determinant factor used by aspirants to occupy the important political offices encouraged mutual suspicion among the various groups.

Akinwumi states that the British colonial government adopted federal system in 1954 as the only feasible method to hold the different groups together without adequately resolving the anomalies created by their imposition of regional administrative structure.¹⁹⁵ He identifies three levels of competition as result of the weak federal system to which include: regional competition (involving three regions), the hegemonic struggle among the three major ethnic groups (the

¹⁹³ Anugwom E, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy in Nigeria; The Marginalisation Question in *Journal of Social Development in Africa* vol;15,1,pp61-78,2000

¹⁹⁴ Ajayi J O, Odudua People's Congress (OPC) and Crime Control in the Lagos Metropolis, PhD thesis in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Science, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 2007 Unpublished.

¹⁹⁵ Akinwumi O, Ethnicization of violence in Saliu H.A(ed) *Nigeria Under Democratic Rule 1999-2003*, vol 2: Ibadan University Press

Hausa/Fulani, the Yoruba and the Igbo) and lastly, the struggle among the three majority groups and the minorities within the three regions.

Therefore, from the above analysis, it is pertinent to conclude that colonial policies strengthened the imperial domination and control of the various ethnic groups within the Nigerian territory and created unhealthy competition among the ethnic groups. These ethnic competitions were at time expressed in the form of political violence as the example of the Kano riot in 1953, emergence of MASSOB, OPC, Bakassi Boys, Egbesu Boys and other ethnic militia like the Ombatse militia group in Nasarawa State in the North Central Nigeria.

It is noteworthy that the formation and activities of Jukun and Tiv ethnic militia predated the independence of Nigeria and their activities were more pronounced under democratic rule than the military regime. This might be associated with relative liberal atmosphere created by democracy and its degree of tolerance. Onimajesin stresses this further that liberal democracy posture encourages banditry and has ironically popularized violence as a means of seeking redress and settling old scores. The activities of the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic militias in Central Nigeria and the ensuing inter-ethnic feuds that followed happened to be one of the protracted conflicts in Nigeria that had occurred in the 1959/60, 1964, 1990 and 2001.

Therefore, the evolution and development of ethnic militia in Nigeria could not have been caused by a single factor. One of the factors responsible for the proliferation of the militia activities in Nigeria can be gleaned from the perception of the elites from the various ethnic group that the structures and the general operations of the federal system of government in practice have failed to accommodate the general interest and the aspiration of their ethnic

groups. Adding to their woes were the activities of military administration through subjugation which caused a lot of havoc by disrupting all the platforms for expressing social discontent.¹⁹⁶

Fawehinmi lends credence to this position that the emergence and proliferation of ethnic militia movement was as a result of perceived injustice, deprivation and marginalization of some ethnic groups. He believes that the militia activities developed in Nigeria because of perceived exclusion and injustice of various forms such as political injustice, ethnic marginalization and economic exclusion in the form of lack of access to social service.¹⁹⁷ While injustice played a significant role in the emergence of these ethnic militias, the gradual militarization of Nigeria in 1966 to 1979 and 1983 to 1999 had made the citizens accustomed to the military dictatorship and indirectly many Nigerians imbibed the attitude of threat and violence as a means of satisfying wants.¹⁹⁸ Given the difficulty in creating a pan-Nigeria civil society under the auspices of the military regimes, the easy way to match state repression with a stronger formation is to relapse into ethnic cocoons not only for protection, but also as a force to defend perceived rights within the Nigerian state.¹⁹⁹

Moreover, the growth in the number of Nigerian youths is another factor responsible for the emergence of ethnic militias. The rapid population growth leads to explosion in the number of youths that cannot secure formal jobs and are subjected to harsh conditions in the informal job sector, or the nightmares of overcrowded job market.²⁰⁰ Under these circumstances, the Nigerian

¹⁹⁶Fasheun F.I, *OPC, Our History, Our Mission*. Lagos, Inspired Communication LTD, 2005

¹⁹⁷Fawehinmi G *Ethnic Clashes Erupt in Southern Oil Town*, Ethno-net publication 2003

¹⁹⁸Shittu A K, A Conceptual Examination of Militia Movement and Challenges to Socio- Economic Development in Nigeria in *journal of Business and Management*. Vol 14;6, 2013

¹⁹⁹Metumara Op cit p51

²⁰⁰Shittu A K op cit

youths are exposed to a culture of marginality rooted in drugs, loose morality, violence, profanity and disrespects for social institution.²⁰¹

Agbu points out that these youths who are ultimately urban dwellers become a ready base for recruitment as criminals, area boys and girls and members of ethnic militia. They also become prey in the hands of ambitious politicians who employ them as political thugs and guards, equipped with the aim of participating in local and national assignment given to them by their 'god-fathers'. The relationship between the 'god-fathers' (politicians) and the servants (youths) most of the time terminates at the end of electoral activities. The politicians discard these youths immediately after elections, as the former relocates his base from the local or regional part of the country to the capital, Abuja. As a result, the discarded youths become coercive militia organizations, most of which now hide under the banner of fighting for the general interests and aspiration of their ethnic groups.²⁰²

It is glaring that the collapse of compulsory social institutions together with inter-ethnic inequality in Nigeria has stimulated various ethnic groups to form new associations that would champion the interest of their ethnic groups both in national and international levels. The groups have gained strength from the new global recognition of "Ethnic self-determination" as an integral part of the promotion of global human rights.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Op cit p52

²⁰² Ibid p52

²⁰³ Agbu O, *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post- Transition Nigeria*, Nordiska Afrikainstitute, Sweden 2004

4.3 Emergence and Development of Party Politics in Wukari Area 1945-2002

Generally speaking, colonial domination in the Wukari Division sowed the seeds of suspicion and distrust among the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the area. It should be noted that party politics in the colonial and post-colonial Nigeria was largely characterized by the winner-take-all syndrome.²⁰⁴ The concept of democratic governance was not properly developed in Nigerian political culture as a result of inherent suspicion and skepticism among the dominant ethnic groups. As a corroboration, Davies observes that politics in Lagos in those days was characterized by:

*...simply rivalry between eminent personalities. There were always two or three groups, all hostile towards each other, each with its own leader and followers, usually singing derogatory songs about their rivals whenever they met. There was no ideology, no aspiration to self-rule. It was simply a case of follow your leader.*²⁰⁵

It was the continuation of these negative attitudes in the body politics among the domiciled ethnic groups in Wukari area that soon began to influence the nature and forms of socio-political inter-course between the Jukun and the Tiv peoples in the post-colonial era.

Consequently, the political parties formed were regionally inclined²⁰⁶. The dominant political parties in Northern Nigeria then were: the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and later in 1955 the Middle Belt Peoples' Party was amalgamated with the Middle Belt Congress to form the United Middle Belt Congress

²⁰⁴ Ikime O, Changing Administrative Arrangement and Inter-Group Relations in an Emerging Nation State: The Case of the "Delta Province" Area, Unpublished paper Retrieved on 17th/02/2016 from the internet, http://www.waado.org/biographies/mowoe/Lectures/Mowoe_Ikime.html

²⁰⁵ Chief Davies H O, *Memoir*, Evans Brothers, Ibadan 1989, p39. Also see Abba. A, op cit

²⁰⁶ Usman Y B and Abba A, *The Misrepresentation of Nigeria*, CEDDECRT Occasional Pub, Zaria, 2014, p33

(UMBC),²⁰⁷ under the leadership of Joseph Tarka. The leadership of the UMBC party felt that the minority ethnic groups in the Northern Region were marginalized by the NPC government, hence they sought the creation of Middle Belt Region out of the one united Northern Region.²⁰⁸ In view of this political development in the area of study, the Jukun and the Tiv were divided along political lines. While the former generally supported NPC, the latter opted for the UMBC. It should be noted however that, in 1945 and 1949, Mallam Ibrahim Sangari, a Jukun candidate, was elected to represent the Wukari Federal Constituency in the Federal House of Representatives.²⁰⁹ He was a personal assistant to the Aku-Uka of Wukari, Agbumanu Atoshi (1945 – 1960).²¹⁰

Anifowose observes that the exclusion of the North for about twenty-five years from the highest legislature in Lagos was due to the level of illiteracy among the Northern citizens. The southern dominance in administration and economic activities in both the Northern and Southern regions brought sharp reactions by the Northern aristocrats who felt their positions in the power structure were threatened.²¹¹ In a similar vein, the Jukun leadership became suspicious on the activities of UMBC party as a calculated attempt by the Tiv movement, which aimed at promoting Tiv ethnic group and traditions in an area considered by the Jukun to be their ancestral homeland.

Consequently, the Jukun cultural association called the Kwararafa Congress evolved with the aim of resuscitating the unity among the descendants of former Kwararafa polity and began a

²⁰⁷ Sule Modakai Dansonka op cit

²⁰⁸ Adamu A D, *Issues in Tiv- Jukun Conflicts*, Target pub, Jos 2002, p49

²⁰⁹ Best et al in Onigu O & Albert I O, *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management, Resolution, and Transformation*. Spectrum book, Ibadan 1999; P93

²¹⁰ Hassan, E. L, "The Kuteb, Kpanzun, Chamba Peoples of Takum: A Study in the history of Inter-Group Relations from 1900- 1993", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 1995. P-106

²¹¹ Ibid p46

sensitization campaign against the UMBC in Wukari division. Thus, the association ensured that the entire Wukari Division went for the NPC and not any other party, particularly the Tiv dominated party (UMBC) as a result of the Jukun skepticism of the Tiv. However, the Tiv increasingly became aware of their number in the Wukari Division and that this number could be translated into a political weapon.²¹² The UMBC, under the leadership of Joseph Tarka, embarked on mass political mobilization and sensitization of the Tiv on the need to utilize their numerical strength to liberate their ethnic group from the NPC Hausa–Fulani leadership in the Benue province.

As a result, the Tiv presented their candidate, Charles Tangur Gaza, under the platform of UMBC for the 1956 federal elections, and he defeated Mallam Ibrahim Sangari of NPC.²¹³ It should be noted that by 1954, the two dominant ethnic groups in the Middle Benue valley were divided along party lines. It is on this note that Best *et al* observes that the defeating of Ibrahim Sangari, a candidate of the NPC by Charles Tangur Gaza on the platform of the UMBC, a party perceived to be Tiv dominated raised so much dust in Wukari.

The Jukun claimed that the major reason behind the defeat of their candidate was the intra-party crisis within the ruling NPC in Wukari Division. The Chamba of Donga District and the Kuteb of Takum District claimed that there was an agreement between the three major ethnic groups in the Wukari federation (Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb) that Sangari being a Jukun would serve for a term and give way to either Kuteb or Chamba candidate. Thus, Sangari's ambition for re-election and Wapan (Jukun) support for his candidacy truncated their agreement.

²¹² Best et al in Onigu O and Albert I O, op cit

²¹³ Ibid p93

This was the socio-political atmosphere in Wukari Division on the eve of Nigeria's independence. When the Tiv riot began in 1959–1960, rioters capitalized on these existing divisions among the dominant ethnic groups in the Middle Benue Valley along party line. By March 1960, in Wukari and Lafia Divisions (The neighboring Tiv Division), and in some parts of Tiv Division, the people undermined the security operatives thereby making it inevitable to reinforce the Nigeria police.²¹⁴ This attack by the Tiv against the NPC members who were predominantly Jukun, Chamba and Hausa was tagged '*nade-iorin*' in Tiv language (meaning arson or burning of house of people the Tiv believed to be NPC supporters) and it really wreaked havoc on the Jukun because of the large Tiv population in Wukari Division.²¹⁵

In 1964, the Wukari Division witnessed another Tiv uprising tagged '*atem tyo*' and '*kura cha chain*' in Tiv language (meaning head breaking and clear them all respectively). The victims were Jukun who were chiefly supporters of NPC. Just like the previous conflict, the 1964 Tiv uprising caused wanton destructions among the Jukun, Hausa, Chamba and other ethnic groups in the Wukari Division. Therefore, the negative consequence of the Tiv riots of 1959/1960 and 1964 among numerous ethnic conflicts in Nigeria was that the riots had blotted stability and culminated in economic and social dislocation in Wukari area. According to Egwu, the conflicts were one of the protracted inter-ethnic feuds²¹⁶ that had occurred in the area in question in 1959, 1964, 1980, 1990 and in 2001. These rivalries between the two dominant ethnic groups in the Middle Benue Valley led to confusion and open confrontation between them, thus extending the boundary of the problems of inter-ethnic conflict. It is obvious that the origin and development of ethnic militia among the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups in the Middle Benue Valley can fully be

²¹⁴ Anifowose R op cit p111

²¹⁵ Op cit p94

²¹⁶ Egwu S G , Agrarian Question and Rural Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria in Nnoli O (ed) *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa*, CODESRIA ,Dakar,p53-77

comprehended from the study of imperialists' policies in Nigeria and in the Wukari Area in particular.

4.4 Land Factor and the Evolution of Ethnic Militia in Wukari Area

The nature of interaction between ethnic groups in the Wukari Area during the 20th century can fully be explained in various ways in which land was put to use by these ethnic groups. Being a fundamental factor of production, land is perceived by the Jukun as a symbol of prestige and political control. As a result, any attempt to change the Jukun customs and perceptions in relation to land ownership in the area of study is often contested by them. It should be noted that during the period under study, majority of the Tiv and the inhabitants of the Middle Benue Valley depended on the sales of agricultural produce in meeting their socio-economic needs. The successive Tiv's migration into Wukari Division targeted what they claimed to be virgin agricultural lands during the early years of colonialism and it became an issue of concern to the Jukun leadership and the imperialists. It is in relation to this that Gunn, the then Resident officer, observed that:

The Tiv immigrants contact neither the Aku-Uka nor their own fellows and with the absence of any natural barrier, it is the easiest thing in the world for them to move to vacant land in Wukari.... The late trend that I could observe was for new comers to leapfrog some of the long established Tiv near the border and to establish themselves along or near the Wukari – Ibi road.²¹⁷

It is against this background that the colonial officers sought to halt the Tiv expansionist policy which threatened the entire ethnic groups in the Ibi and later Wukari Division, hence they decided to adopt the Ring Fence Policy in the Wukari Division. Led by Freemantle, J.M and his supporters Foulker and Boyd, the Colonial administrators introduced the policy in 1918. Even though, 'the Ring Fence Policy was aimed at protecting the entire former Wukari Division from

²¹⁷ MAK PROF /FED/4/1/4377

Tiv encroachment, particularly into Wukari and Takum districts,²¹⁸ the execution of the policy was strict in the Wukari District. This was partly because Wukari was the epicenter of the Jukun. Anthropological studies suggested that the Jukun had a strong culture capable of being corrupted by the Tiv if allowed to migrate into the Wukari District. It was on this ground that the Tiv, particularly in Wukari District were ejected from the District.

Thus, the Tiv who had settled around Wukari–Akwana area, were ordered to return to their ‘Munchi’ Sphere.²¹⁹ In furtherance of this policy, Richard Palmer pushed for the entrenchment of the imaginary colonial boundary between the Tiv and Jukun in 1923²²⁰ along the same area. This development of Tiv migration prompted one of the district officers of Wukari, Mr. R. Findley, to state that there must be no question of the Tiv imagining that their migration put them in the position of overlords of the land into which they moved and outnumbered the original inhabitants.²²¹ However, the policy could not be sustained partly because the colonial officers failed to understand that the Tiv people cannot be halted with the policy of territorial boundaries, especially when there were fertile, uncultivated agricultural lands that stretched for miles around them. Also the Officers equally failed to note that ethnic groups were never monolithic, fixed and separated. They were each unique, complex, multifaceted and inter-connected and intermeshed at various levels and always changing at various levels and at different paces.²²² According to Dewar’s report:

²¹⁸ Ibid

²¹⁹ NAK/SNP/17/K244, VOL 1 & NAK/MAK/PROF/AR/K07/M/1

²²⁰ Kuna M.J, Coloniality and Geography of Conflict: A Typology in Yakubu, A.M, et al (ed) *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Arewa House Ahmadu Bello University, 2005.p422

²²¹ Avav T 2002 cited in Alubo O, op cit

²²² Usman Y B and Abba A, *The Misrepresentation of Nigeria*, Center for Democratic Development Research and Training (CEDDERT), Zaria, 2014,p12

*Indeed, the District Officer of Ibi in 1922 wrote of thecry of the landrendered barren by the eviction of the Tiv. That, they should not only farm the land and bring trade but also pay tax to Wukari Native Treasury which was of course doubly advantageous. Economically,it was advantageous to Wukari that the Tiv should farmtheir waste land.*²²³

Therefore, from the above quotation, it is obvious that the colonial officials could not continue with the execution of the policy. Consequently, by 1923, the policy was abolished. In the same vein, the subsequent re-organization of Abinsi Division in 1926 ended with the relocation of nine Tiv districts from Abinsi to Wukari, which was basically motivated by economic factor. The following colonial officer's report reiterated the rationale for the relocation:

*The reason for the inclusion of these Tiv districtswas that, they supplied the revenue which was one of the condition essentials to the development of Wukari CentralAdministration.*²²⁴

Although Wukari was not a Tiv sphere of influence, yet the Tiv were encouraged to execute their expansionist policy in order to achieve the colonial economic enterprises through the abolition of the colonial Ring Fence Policy. This explained the extent of the Jukun contention that the colonial maneuver in Wukari Division in partnership with the Tiv was to the Jukun disadvantage which aided the former to outnumber the latter in the 1946 population census. The Tiv constituted about 37% (40, 400) of the population of Wukari Division, the Kuteb 19% (20,284), the Jukun 10% (11,867), the Iche 6% (6775), the Hausa 5% (5,287) and the Chamba 4% (4,500) and others 12% (20,229).²²⁵

²²³ MAK PROF/FED/4/24/AR/INT/W/1,

²²⁴ Dewar's report op cit p142

²²⁵ NAK/MAKPROF/4377

It should be noted however that, the figure of population captured in percentage above is incomplete. This is partly as a result of, either the colonial officers negligent to include some part of the Jukun stock in the census process or another tactical way of placing the immigrants (Tiv) ahead of the indigenous tribes as a result of former economic important to the colonial enterprise in the Wukari Division. Thus, 7% of the population was

Equally, the Tiv felt uncomfortable with the colonial authority because they believed that by implementing harsh policies against them, the imperialists directly or indirectly created condition for their predicament in the district which resulted to the ‘settlers stigma’ on the Tiv in Wukari District.²²⁶ Given this stark reality of contention between the two dominant ethnic groups for ownership of Wukari land, any national policy or issue that could lead to socio-economic and political benefits in the area was fiercely contended between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups. This historical contention regarding land of Wukari (land factor) often manifested in the form of conflicts championed by ethnic militia from both groups.

4.5 Origin and Operational Activities of Ethnic Militia in Wukari Area

i. The Dynamics of Jukun militia.

The various ethnic militias in Nigeria have their unique histories and goals. Their core objectives range from drawing attention to the perceived marginalization of their ethnic groups, serving as social pressure groups to influence the structure of power and redress the perceived of marginalization of their groups.²²⁷ Thus, in exploring the activities of the Jukun and Tiv ethnic militias in the study area, the researcher intends to discuss the organizational structure and control of the aforesaid militias in this section.

Generally speaking, the group of people that secretly controlled and regulated policing activities among the Jukun in Wukari Area during the pre-colonial era are called the ‘*Khawa*’ in

not captured, which could be the Kpanzu or WanuJukun residing in Wukari Division. Thus, the weakness adduced from this population exercised rendered the statistic unrealistic. In similar vein as observed by Best *et al* that, the 1952 population census in Nigeria, the Jukun were not even listed as one of the ethnic groups in the Wukari Division in 1952, however, the Tiv remained the single largest ethnic group in Wukari Division at this time.

²²⁶Akombo op cit p147

²²⁷Shittu op cit pp29-39

Jukun language. They served as secret personnel responsible for sourcing information, punishing offenders and helping in maintaining law and order. These people are believed to be at the forefront in the organization and control of the Jukun youths when attacking their enemies. During major traditional festivals the Khawas are identified by their common traditional uniform showing ancient Jukun weapons.²²⁸ In the colonial era, the Jukun '*Khawa*' institution could not operate freely as a result of the introduction of colonial forces. Therefore, it would seem that since this group would not have been left idle as a result of their enormous military experience, they were possibly engaged in the Colonial armed forces.

Consequently, some of these men were recruited into the colonial police and because of their experience and knowledge about the terrain they were used in policing and maintaining law and order in the Wukari Area. However, it was not possible for any ethnic group in the area of study to form an ethnic militia during the colonial era as a result of the colonial use of excessive armed force in crushing any form of ethnic rebellion against the British administrators, and people working for the colonial government. Thus, while it was obvious that some of the '*Khawa*' members joined the colonial police, the '*Khawa*' group in the Jukun institution became much weakened and remained silent among the Jukun throughout the colonial era.

The inability of the '*Khawa*' group to unify the Jukun youths under a single leadership in the Wukari Area during the colonial era led to the creation of what could be considered a more formal association of Jukun youths in Nigeria. Thus, in 1958 students under the leadership of Ibrahim Mazo and Barau Garpiya formed an association called Wukari Federation Students Union (WFSU), which later metamorphosed into Kwararafa Congress (KC). The aim was

²²⁸ Oral interview with Jukun Youths led by TankoNagu, aged 45 & Ada Tanko, aged 48 both Civil Servants; at Angwan Pwazu Ward in Wukari Town, 13/04/2016

toresuscitate unity among the descendants of Kwararafa polity in the area. Members of the union increased and outgrew the students' base to include the elites and civil servants in the former Wukari Federation.²²⁹ One of the prominent members was Mallam Adi-Byewi,²³⁰ who was a Head Teacher in Katsina-Ala. Mallam Ibrahim Sangari Usman, a member had once stated thus:

*When we started Kwararafa Congress... that was the time the British people were trying to go away and give Nigeria self-government. We thought our interest would not be safeguarded if the British people left so we decided to organize a sort of cultural organization that would win the sympathy of those within Kwararafa region and we would become a factor to reckon with politically.*²³¹

The Jukun youths mostly (students) dominated the association as a result of their frustration and fear of being endangered by continuous Tiv demographic dominance in the Wukari Area and the increasing unchallenged menace of the Tiv hoodlums as a result of their population encouraged the creation of vigilante groups among the Jukun in the Wukari Area. Predominant members in the group were the Jukun, the Abakwariga, the Chamba and the Kuteb youths. Members increased to include more retirees of ex-service men and civil servants in the Wukari Area. Although the group was open to all peace loving peoples domiciled in the Wukari Division; the Tiv people were skeptical of it. Hence, they decided not to be members as a result of the Jukun dominance in the group.

Going by the purpose of their formation, the vigilante groups in the Wukari Area were meant to maintain civic law and order in the communities. However, in the event of crises in the area, the vigilantes were often accused of taking side with their ethnic group. Thus, it was generally believed that with the absence of the Tiv people among these groups, some of the

²²⁹ Oral interview with Sule Modakai Dansonka, Lecturer in History Department, Federal University Wukari, on 14th/ August/2016

²³⁰ Adi-Byewi later became the Aku-Uka (1960-1970)

²³¹ Relics of Kwararafa, Journal of Studies in Kwararafa History, vol.11, no.2 Feb. 2003, p.7 cited in Dansonka M S, Inter-group Relations in Wukari area, 1987-1992: The position of the Jukun and Chamba Peoples, Unpublished MA thesis, History Department, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2015

members easily metamorphosed into Jukun militia and were referred to as '*Zhen Wapan*' in Jukun language (literally meaning Jukun Youths). The Jukun militia, although there is no precise date of their formation,²³² were unified under one central body. This was possible as a result of the centralized nature of the Jukun traditional institutions. Thus, members of the militia who were predominantly the youths were directly under the control of the youth leader in their various villages and communities and the leader was answerable to the community or village heads. The Jukun people believed in clear chains of command, this was to ensure effective response and coordination of smaller villages and communities, and the militia had centralized principles and planning, but decentralized act of execution.²³³ The militias are bound to be committed to the same causes in their attempt to defend the community.

However, deadly conflict areas, were left in the hand of the individuals, who were super-witches together with the witch doctors to confront the enemies. It is important to note that, no single Jukun militia was devoid of one or more talisman in their possession in the battleground, however, their influence and powers were limited when compared to those of the witch doctors who often consecrated the militia himself before going out to confront the enemies. Also, every capable Jukun youth regardless of sex could join the militia; however, men were most preferred because of their abilities to withstand long hardship more than women. The male folks were always considered pure and clean during rituals and consecration in preparation for battle in the shrine. This recruitment exercise was done covertly particularly during crisis. Thus, most female folks in the militia followed the men from behind; involved themselves actively in invoking

²³² There is consensus among some of the Jukun informants that, the Jukun Militia possibly emerged in the Wukari Area around 1950s in response to the Tivs uprising in the former Wukari Division however their activities are shrouded partly as a result of secrecy embedded in the Jukun political institution.

²³³ Interview with Angyu Wunuki at Mission Quarter Wukari, & Random interview Jukun elders in Akwana and Kente District, April, 2015

ancestral spirits to favor the militia in executing their acts, while others transported the war booty from one location to another.

Meetings of the militia at all levels from rural or urban centers, were held in the night, but general meeting would only be called when there was a crisis, or there was a compelling reason for it, so in Wukari metropolis being the epicenter of the Jukun people. In terms of financial activities, Angyu Wunuki states that the militia received donations (in cash or kind) from individuals or groups, particularly Jukun affiliated cultural groups, in order to defend their cause. The militia also claimed to have the support of several non-indigenes like the Igbo, the Hausa, the Fulani and the Yoruba who lived in the Wukari area and felt safe from their activities in respect of the non-indigenes business and investments during crisis.²³⁴ In addition, money was also raised at the villages or community levels, through contributions by members of militia and payment of fees by individuals for safeguarding properties.

ii The Dynamics of Tiv militia

It should be noted that the Tivland was divided into five major sub-units namely: 'Jemghagh sub-gr, Sankera sub-group, Minda sub-group, Je-Chira sub-group, and Kwande sub-group.' This was done purposively for equal representation in limited political portfolio and in the Tiv traditional council.²³⁵ Thus, unlike in other parts of Nigeria, where we have the Oodua Peoples' Congress (OPC), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), there was strong consensus among my informants that neither the Jukun nor the Tiv militia operate with a conventional name or acronym. Thus, in the 1959/60 violence in the Tiv Division, which later spread to

²³⁴Wunuki A, Ibid

²³⁵Oral interview with some Tiv Youths led by Jacob Nevkaa, aged 40 & Samuel Aondon, aged 48 both Civil Servants; from Ihugh Ward but live in Gboko Town, 02/09/2016

Wukari Division, the Tiv militia was called by the name ‘*Adzov*,’ a plural word for ‘*Ijov*’ meaning a collective spirits in human form.²³⁶

According to Jonathan D. Ndera, the possible name the Tiv called any set of militia group was ‘*Shoja Pitili*’ (meaning insignificant soldiers, or armed men wearing short skirt). He explained that all the Tiv successive rebellions over the years bear the name tag to the rebellion and hence the active participants (militia) were known and identified by the name.²³⁷ Ahula stressed that though Tiv generally referred to ethnic militia as ‘*Shoja Pitili*’, the secrete name given to the Tiv militia in the study area was *Zone 4* and they had over 4,000 active members both men and women.²³⁸ The Tiv militia had never been united under one centralized organizational structure, thus, they could be likened to an amorphous ethnic militia. Lack of centralized structure in the operational activities of the Tiv militia stemmed out of the general nature of the Tiv communities in the study area, which was largely divided along clan based ideology. This division was also obvious at the national level at large. Commenting on the disunity among the Tiv ethnic group in the Benue Valley, Ahokegh observes that:

*The Tiv elite that obviously should unite for the development of Tiv society are always either at war of words among themselves or employing the service of the youths to destroy Tivland....relation among the Tiv negate their collective actions against external incursion.*²³⁹

This disunity was caused partly by political differences, chieftaincy disputes and at times, the quest for agrarian land which was endemic among the Tiv group, leading to the insinuations that the Tiv are the enemies of themselves because of their internal disunity. It should be noted that

²³⁶ Anifowose R, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria, TheTiv and Yoruba Experience*, Nok Pub, Enugu 2006,p116

²³⁷ Oral interview with Prof. Jonathan D. Ndera: Lecturer in the Archaeology Department, ABU, Zaria; Aged 51, 12th August, 2016, 10.35am, in his Office.

²³⁸ Oral interview with MrMichielAhula, Biolody Department, Federal College of Education Zaria, 1.10pm,; Aged 47,20th/08/2016

²³⁹ Ahokegh A F, *Military Invasion of Zaki-Biam and the Lesson for the Tiv People of the Benue Valley*, in *Sokoto Journal of History*,Usman Danfodiyo University Pub,Vol.1,Sept.2012 pp147-155

inter/intra ethnic conflict is not the Tiv peculiarity in Nigeria because conflicts occur between same people of other ethnic groups in Nigeria.

The Tiv militia by nature was ethnic-based and was dominated by the youths in the community. Thus, with the absence of centralized traditional institution among the Tiv ethnic group in the former Wukari Division, each Tiv community or village remained politically independent from the other. In the same vein, the organizational structure of the militia was limited to the particular community.²⁴⁰ However, Tiv respected the aged and the authority of elders²⁴¹ in their community or village. These elders met in order to discuss matters affecting the community as a whole and agreements were often reached by consensus. However, the elders lacked power to impose their decisions on the community members. Recruitment exercise was done covertly particularly during crisis in the community and youth especially were encouraged to join the militia in order to defend and protect the community interest. Therefore, the feuds between Jukun and Tiv in the years 1959, 1964, 1979, 1990 and 2001 revealed the general traits, organization and control of the Tiv militia.

It is a difficult task to disarm the Jukun-Tiv militia after communal conflict or political conflict with ethnic inclination in Wukari. Thus, the easy way for the militia to resist their enemies or government agencies (securities) with a stronger formation was to relapse

²⁴⁰ There is consensus among some of the Tiv informants along Wuakari-Takum/Donga road, and Wukari-Kente road that, most Tiv communities/ villages in the former Wukari Division are independent clans of Tiv ethnic group, hence the activities of their youths (in the clans) who are the predominant members of the militia is often restricted to their aboriginal community and that explained why, they (Tiv) hardly created a unify force against their enemies. While the Tiv in Donga district are from Ugondo clan and small amount of Shitire clan, those in Takum district are predominant Shitire and minority Ugondo clans, and those in Wukari district are predominantly Ukum and Gambe-Tiev clans. Ideological differences among these clans often posed barriers for unity among them in the former Wukari federation. Also see Ahokegh A F, Military Invasion of Zaki-Biam and the Lesson for the Tiv People of the Benue Valley, in *Sokoto Journal of History*, Usman Danfodiyo University Pub, Vol.1, Sept. 2012 pp147-155

²⁴¹ Ibid p75

intobanditry not only for protection, but also as a means to defend perceived denied rights within the community. This was how some of the members of the Tiv militia metamorphosed into armed bandits over the years in the study area.²⁴² While it is true that the Tiv militias are not centralized in any form, particularly when it comes to the Tiv response against the immediate enemy, it is quite misleading to say that, Tiv had no outstanding warriors in the time past.

Leadership among the militia was not inherited, but the Tiv believed that, a leader was a man of power '*Isav*' (a word that means power) and one who had the potential of witchcraft and offered his protection to the people.²⁴³ For instance, in time of crisis, a brave and a skillful fighter would automatically become the leader of his people in the battlefield. Such men were often called '*Tor-U-agbande*' (leader of war).²⁴⁴ In a scenario where community lacked '*Tor-u-agbande*', a warrior called '*Kur*' or '*U-kur*' (meaning War chief) would lead his followers against the enemies. It was generally believed that, the '*Kur*' was being assisted by some sets of brave men called '*irmo or gagum*'.²⁴⁵

²⁴² It should be noted that there are individuals among the Tiv people that had succeeded in establishing an armed bandit in Tivland. Popular among them is Terwase Agwaza A.K.A Ghana who was very popular in Kastina-Ala and its environ (Sankara area). There is Aondonegen Ansha armed bandit who gave much trouble to the inhabitant of Gboko and its surrounding. In Ihugh community of Vandeikya Local Government Area, there is Saasaa Ajav armed bandit group that also engaged in troubling people in that community. Leaders of these armed bandits are believed to have an excessive *Tsav* in Tiv language (literally mean mystical power) which protects them from being arrested by the Nigeria Security agencies and as well defend them from rival bandits that operate in the Tivland. They were often accused of extorting cash/ in kind from people in the area they operate. It is recorded in 2004 that a Tiv militia known as the Tiv Defense Corps (TDC) invaded Jato-Aka community close to the Republic of Cameroon border and allegedly killed 10 people. For more detail on TDC, see Senan John Murray, "10 Killed as Militia Sacks Benue Community", in *Punch*, 21/06/ 2004, p1. While the exact dates of the above armed bandit's formation still remain obscure, in an event of crisis against the Tiv people, the armed bandits were often accused of falling back to their ethnic cocoon. This factor encourages the popularity of Ghana around the Sankara area during the Tiv-Fulani herdsmen crisis in early 2000s.

²⁴³ Group interview with the Tiv community at Tor Musa along Wukari-Takum Road led by Shavea Tavershima (52 years), in October, 2014

²⁴⁴ Anifowose op cit p76

²⁴⁵ Jonathan D. Ndera op cit pp33-40

Though the Tiv militia differed in their organizational structures from their Jukun counterpart, available sources reveal some level of similarities in the recruitment pattern, financial support and ritual consecration before engaging their enemies. According to Alubo:

The violence was perpetrated by gangs of marauding youth militia on both sides. That both groups have vast reserves of retired military and police personnel gave the campaigns a military coloration. The situation was further compounded by accusations of high-level collusion on both sides. According to the Tiv, Group Captain Ibrahim Kefas, a retired Air Force Officer and former Military Administrator of Cross River State, armed and trained the Jukun militia.....the Jukun similarly accused the serving Benue State Governor, George Akume of financing retired Tiv military men to prosecute the war²⁴⁶.

It is on this note that the killing of nineteen (19) Nigeria soldiers by the Tiv militia who were on peace mission from Wukari to Va'ase, a Tiv community, raised serious controversy in the Wukari Area and in Nigeria at large. Therefore, from the above examination of the nature and structure of the Tiv militia revealed that, the militia was amorphous and ethnic based militia. Thus, the activities of the militia could not be curtailed by the elders in the community, but rather could be influenced by a person who had excessive *Tsav* (mythical power) to protect individual, and if possible, the community at large.

4.6 The Development of Ethnic Militia in Wukari Area, 1945-2005

The developmental process of ethnic militia in Wukari area can be divided into five major phases namely: The Colonial Phase 1945-1960, The Post-Colonial Situation Phase I (1960-1964), The Post-Colonial Situation Phase II (1980-1982), The Post-Colonial Situation Phase III (1990-1993), and The Post-Colonial Situation Phase IV (2001-2002). This categorization was done in order to easily identify and unravel the differences within the developmental stages of the Jukun-

²⁴⁶ Alubo, O., *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, PEFS, University of Ibadan 2006, p119

Tiv militia, beginning from their formative phases to the overt and active phases of militia activities in the study area.

4.6 .1 The Colonial Phase, 1945-1960

It should be noted that relations between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups predated the advent of colonial domination in Nigeria. Thus, the recurrent question is: Why then could groups once considered to have had a pre-colonial cordial relation manage to shift from such an apogee of friendship into ethnic conflict in the post-colonial era? Various reasons have been cited for this persistent violence and conflict among these groups which concomitantly encouraged the development of ethnic militia in the area under consideration. In the colonial phase, it was not possible for any ethnic group in the Benue Valley and in the Wukari Area in particular to form an ethnic militia as a result of the colonial punitive measure in crushing any form of ethnic rebellion against the British administrators, and people working for the colonial government. Thus, the major ways of resisting the colonial domination and its policies in the Wukari Area then was through revolt²⁴⁷ and elsewhere, people were refusing to have business transaction with the local people working for the British.²⁴⁸ Thus, the Tiv peoples in Abinsi community of Wukari Division revolted against the representative of the Aku-Uka Agbumanu (1903-1915), Moi Agiyo Nyafa and the colonial official while trying to impose taxation on the people under Wukari auspices.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ NAK/SNP10/510P/1917 ,Muri Province, Donga District Assessment Report by District Officer Mr C E Boyd

²⁴⁸ Abba A, *The Northern Progressive Union and the Politics of Radical Nationalism in Nigeria, 1938-1960*, Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research, Zaria, Nigeria 2007 p15

²⁴⁹ Group interview with the Jukun youths at Yam Market (Angwan Kasuwa Doya) along Wukari-Jalingo Road led by Elder Ada Sobo Agyo, aged 74 10.30am, on 20th January, 2017

This revolt in Wukari Area was primarily against British conquest and continued forceful subjugation policies in which the Tiv were brought under the centralized pre-colonial polity of the Jukun in the Middle Benue Valley, for economic, political and strategic interest of the imperialists. While it is obvious that the colonial authority did not give room for the formation of ethnic militia in the area of study, it is true that the colonial policies in the Wukari Division played a role in sowing the seeds of inter-ethnic tension in the Division between the Jukun and the Tiv. Consequently, the major weapon used by peoples (the Jukun and the Tiv) to resist the colonial authority in this phase was revolt against the colonial policies especially those concerning taxation. The Tiv ethnic group even went further in boycotting court sitting in Wukari district, particularly in some cases between the Jukun and the Tiv people,²⁵⁰ as a result of their (the Tiv) fear of biased judgment.

However, the 1959 Tiv uprising on the eve of Nigeria's independence changed the nature and operation of the militia in the area of study. The militias were armed with poisoned bows, arrows, Dane guns and spears all of which were locally made.²⁵¹ These were the common weapons used by the militia during this phase. Therefore, it is noteworthy that in the colonial phase, the ethnic rebellions recorded in the area served as the formative stage in the development of ethnic militia among the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups in the Wukari Division.

4.6 .2 ThePost- Colonial Situation Phase One (1), 1960-1964

Before independence in 1960, the activities of ethnic militia among the Jukun and the Tiv were not pronounced except in the cases of the Tiv rebellions in the area. The colonial policies created the fear of domination of one ethnic group by the other as a result political party

²⁵⁰MAKPROF/FED/4/1/4377/ Delves-Brouhnton ; Report on the Tiv in WukariDiv, paragraph 3,8 &10

²⁵¹Elder Ada Sobo Agyo, 74 years op cit. Also Terkura John, aged 75, retired civil and farmer, 4:00pm on 19/01/2017 in Tsukundi community

affiliation among the Jukun and the Tiv, which was largely ethnic based. While the Jukun supported NPC party, the Tiv on the other hand opted for UMBC party.²⁵² It should be noted that party politics in the colonial and post-colonial Nigeria was largely characterized by the winner-takes-all syndrome.²⁵³ This was the state of socio-political atmosphere in the Wukari Division at the eve of Nigeria independence. Thus, the Tiv riots of 1959-1960 and that of 1964 in the Wukari Division added more impetus to the ethnic hatred among the Jukun and the Tiv.

These scenarios encouraged the emergence and the development of ethnic militia among the ethnic groups, hence, the beginning of overt and active manifestation of ethnic militia activities in the area. The crisis which began at the eve of Nigerian independence gave the militia an opportunity to exhibit their act. The militia in this phase relied heavily on locally fabricated weapons as noted earlier. According to Akombo:

*The brutal manner in which the Iyongo pasia employed in the prosecution of the aggression made it very difficult for many Jukuns to forget their ordeals in the hands of the Tiv militants. For instance, some were either thrown into deep wells to die or being tricked to be trapped to experience death by the poisonous Tiv arrows.*²⁵⁴

It is noteworthy that the development of this militia, though ethnic in nature, had political and economic undertones. The quest for political power between the Jukun and the Tiv had economic implications for both ethnic groups, and this explained their motivations for competing quite fiercely for political power. This point became relevant as the quest for power and resources at the national, state and local levels became politicized along ethnic line. It was the

²⁵² Terkura John, aged 75, retired civil and farmer, 4:00pm on 19/01/2017 in Tsukundi community

²⁵³ Ikime O, Changing Administrative Arrangement and Inter-Group Relations in an Emerging Nation State: The Case of the "Delta Province" Area, Unpublished paper Retrieved on 17th/02/2016 from the internet, http://www.waado.org/biographies/mowoe/Lectures/Mowoe_Ikime.html

²⁵⁴ Akombo I E, "Jukun-Tiv Relations since 1850: A case study of Inter-Group Relations in Wukari L.G.A, of Taraba state", Unpublished PhD Dissertation Department of History, University of Jos, Nigeria, 2005. Pp-200-201, Also Anifowose R, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria, The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*. Nok Pub, Enugu 2006, p115

1966 coup and the subsequent civil war in Nigeria that put a halt to the activities of the militia and thwarted the development of the Jukun-Tiv militia in the area.

4.6 .3 The Post-Colonial Situation Phase Two (II), 1979-1982

This period experienced relatively slow development of ethnic militia activities among the Jukun and the Tiv in the study area. Although there may be different reasons for the low rate of the development of militia in the period, it is however, believed that the Jukun and the Tiv in the Wukari Area were recovering from the long military rule after the civil war and the subsequent suspension of political activities in Nigeria at large during the military regime. Consequently, in the 1979 election which ushered in the Second Republic, the Tiv ethnic group used its demographic influence in the Wukari Division and achieved its political interest by dominating the allotted political offices in the area.²⁵⁵ Avev stated that the Jukun in their attempt to express their anger physically assaulted the chairman of Wukari Local Government Area, Mr. Iyortyer Musa, in 1982.²⁵⁶ This was the socio-political atmosphere in the Wukari Area before the military coup led by General Mohammadu Buhari, which put an end to the Second Republic, hence quenched the ethnic revolt which had the potential of encouraging the development of the militia in the Wukari Area.

4.6 .4 The Post-Colonial Situation Phase Three (III), 1990-1993

Another factor that encouraged the reverberation and development of ethnic militia activities in the Wukari area was the 1990-1993 Jukun-Tiv crises. There are various records of

²⁵⁵ Group interview with the Tiv youths at Tor Musa along Wukari-Takum Road led by Shavea John, Aged 53, Teacher/ Farmer and Tavershima Mathew, Aged 79, farmer, 11:00am on 19/01/2017

²⁵⁶ Aluaigba M T, *Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria: Insight into the Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Crisis*, Lap Lambert Pub, Abuja, 2015 p140, and Aluaigba T M, *The Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Conflict and the Citizenship Question in Nigeria*. Aminu Kano Center for Democratic Research & Training, Bayero University Kano, Unpublished, p15

how the crisis started. One of the major causes of the conflict was the contentious issues of land,²⁵⁷ indigenes versus settler, arising from the colonial policy of “Ring Fence” in the Wukari Division. Since the conflict has been described in depth in section (4.7), little is said about it in this section. Thus, this conflict gave militia the opportunity to bounce back from their long-term recess as a result of the military regimes which strongly used force to control the people, and did little to address the grievances in the Wukari Area.

This period witnessed one of the most active phases in the development of the ethnic militia in the study area as a result of the duration of the crisis. From this phase, the operational activities of the militia changed with the use of sophisticated military weapons as a result of proliferation of small and light arms. Thus, with enough manpower particularly the ex-service men with military maneuvering skills, the militia unleashed violence on each other in the area of study. The Nigeria Police Force and the Army were often accused of taking sides²⁵⁸ in their attempt to restore peace. The activities of the militia were however brought to a pause at the end of the crisis there by halting the development of the Jukun-Tiv militia in the Wukari area. The activities of the militia which lasted for three years were marked by high level of damage to humans and properties in the Wukari Area.

4.6 .5 The Post-Colonial Situation Phase Four (IV), 2001-2002

One decade of truce was observed after the 1990 crisis between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups, a period that could be called the dormant phase in the development of the militia among the ethnic groups in the area. This was a result of the fact that both groups were just recovering from the wanton loss of human lives and properties as a result of the 1990-1993

²⁵⁷ Terkura John, aged 75, op cit

²⁵⁸ Agbu O, *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post- Transition Nigeria*, Nordiska Afrika institute, Sweden 2004, p105

crises. Also, the military regime under General Sani Abacha whose leadership characterized by the use of force to suppress civilian protests and any form of political association had done a great deal in halting the development of the militia among these groups. Thus, institutions that were created for good and effective democratic governance like judiciary, police, legislatures, were allowed to decay and with the removal of the military yoke in 1999, the underlying problems were exposed²⁵⁹.

Consequently, in 2001 an encounter between a Tiv farmer and a Fulani herdsman in Tsokundi, a Jukun dominated settlement, sparked another crisis in the study area.²⁶⁰ This scenario concomitantly led to the involvement of militia activities in the Wukari area, as discussed in detail under the subsequent heading. This development is significant as it activated the hitherto Jukun-Tiv militias and gave it some military strength.

The situation was further compounded by accusations of high-level collusion on both sides.²⁶¹ It should be noted that the proliferation of small arms in to Nigeria played a vital role in the military coloration of the militia activities in the Wukari area in particular. It is recorded that:

The deployment of Nigerian troops elsewhere in West Africa is perceived as a major cause of the 'leakage' of small arms into the hands of unauthorized persons. There is also extensive smuggling and the incidence of mercenary involvement, especially in the conflicts of the ethnic/communal hue notably in the Northern zone and the South West.... During the years of military rule

²⁵⁹ Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, *Federal Republic of Nigeria: Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA) Report*, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution Pub (IPCR), Abuja, 2003, p15

²⁶⁰ Samaila Dantala, aged 70, retired civil and farmer, 2:30pm on 19/01/2017 in Rafin Kada community. Also, Ada Bulus, Aged 80, retired civil and farmer, 1:30pm on 20th/01/2017 in Matan fada (Gindin Doruwa) community

²⁶¹ Alubo O, *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, PEFS, University of Ibadan 2006, p119. Also Agbu O, *Ethnic Militia and the Threat to Democracy in Post- Transition Nigeria*, Nordiska Afrika institute, Sweden 2004

*there was an excess of soldiers. As they are retrenched they often take their fighting skills back into society.*²⁶²

It is on this that Aluaigba explains that though the 2001-2002 conflict lasted for relatively shorter duration compared to the 1990-1993 crises, yet it produced a high scale casualty rate and destruction.²⁶³ Thus, the massive intervention from the Nigeria security agencies in 2002 brought the crisis to an end and thwarted the activities and the development of the Jukun-Tiv militia in the Wukari Area.

4.6.6 External Influence on the Militia Activities in the Wukari Area

Generally speaking, the nature of the militia in Wukari Area is ethnic inclined. It is on this note that conflict between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the area of study often had external influence among the major ethnic groups domiciled in the Wukari Area and the Middle Benue Valley at large as a result of ethnic association and common traditions of origin. However, the abolition of the “ Ring Fence Policy” during the colonial era and the subsequent Tiv expansionist policy in Wukari Division culminated in the immigrants (settlers) outnumbering the Jukun group in the Wukari Division beginning from the 1946.²⁶⁴ Thus, the 1959-1960 Tiv riot in the then Tiv Division, which later spread to Wukari Division²⁶⁵ marked an overt nature of proliferation in the activities of the Jukun-Tiv militia in the Middle Benue Valley. Two major factors encouraged the spread of this violence into Wukari Division. One of the factors was the proximity of Wukari Division to the Tiv Division both in the Benue Province, and the

²⁶² Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, op cit, p21

²⁶³ Aluaigba M T, op cit p178

²⁶⁴ Ada Bulus, Aged 80, retired civil and farmer, 1:30pm on 20th/01/2017 in Matan Fada (Gindi Doruwa) community. Also, Samaila Dantala, aged 70, retired civil and farmer, 2:30pm on 19/01/2017 in Rafin Kada community

²⁶⁵ Anifowose R, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria, The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*. Nok Pub, Enugu 2006, p117

other was the Tiv demographic influence in the Wukari Area and the Middle Benue Valley at large.

Consequently, in the 1959 Federal House of Representative election, the Tiv and UMBC party candidate, Charles Gaza, defeated the Jukun and NPC party candidate, Mallam Ibrahim Sangari. This political development in the area raised so much dust and argument between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups. The Jukun alleged that the Tiv brought in people from the Tiv Division, a different political unit in Benue Province but contiguous, to vote in their brother.²⁶⁶ This was the socio-political atmosphere in Wukari Division at the eve of Nigeria independence. Thus, when the Tiv riot began in 1959 in the Tiv Division, the militia easily enlarged the boundary of the crisis to Wukari and Lafia Divisions in 1960 as a result of contiguity of these Divisions.

The Jukun alleged that the Tiv people in Wukari Division hired Tiv militia from contiguous Divisions to fight for them. It is on this note that the 1990-1993 and the 2001-2002 Jukun-Tiv crises, which started in Wukari Area in Taraba State, but later spread into Benue State could not be treated in isolation. In fact, it was an extension of the skirmish between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups. This began during the colonial era and was marked by accusation and counter accusation of each other by this group in the area of study. The accusation of external influence in the activities of the militia was further translated into national issues with the adoption and subsequent execution of nineteen (19) Nigeria soldiers by the Tiv militia who were on peace mission from Wukari²⁶⁷ to Va'ase, a Tiv community. The Tiv militia that captured the

²⁶⁶ Adamu A D, *Issues in Tiv- Jukun Conflicts*, Target pub, Jos 2002

²⁶⁷ Alubo.O, *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, PEFS, University of Ibadan 2006, p119-123

army alleged that the soldiers were hired mercenaries by the Jukun to fight against the Tiv.²⁶⁸ As a result, after their captured in Va'ase a neighboring community to Wukari, the soldiers were taken into Zaki-Biam in the Tivland and were killed²⁶⁹ hence, enlarged the boundary of the militia activities.

Furthermore, the accusation of external influence and the use of mercenaries against each other became complicated as all other ethnic groups domiciled in the area were perceived as either friends or foes leading to high rate of suspicion and distrust among the ethnic groups domiciled in the Wukari Area. Thus, it is imperative to note that contiguous Jukun-Tiv communities influence and played a vital role in the intensification of the activities of the Jukun-Tiv militia in the Wukari Area and as well enlarged the boundary of the Jukun-Tiv crises in the Middle Benue Valley.

4.7 Ethnic Militia Activities in the 1990-92 Crisis in Wukari Area

In the preceding chapter, the researcher discusses the colonial antecedents in the area of study and how this development made the two ethnic groups to become skeptical of each other in matters relating to governance. Interestingly, there might not be as many crises recorded between the Jukun and the Tiv in the pre-colonial era, and the level of interaction between them was cordial.²⁷⁰ The evolution of ethnic militia among the two dominant groups particularly from 1959/60 Tiv uprising, and their continuation since then made the feud to be one of the longest running conflicts in the central region of Nigeria. Alubo observes that the emergence of militia

²⁶⁸ Till this day, majority of my Tiv informants still claimed that the nineteen (19) soldiers were parts of Jukun mercenaries used in fighting the Tiv in the Wukari.

²⁶⁹ Group interview with the Tiv youths at Tor Musa along Wukari-Takum Road led by Shavea John, Aged 53, Teacher/ Farmer and Tavershima Mathew, Aged 79, farmer, 11:00am on 19/01/2017

²⁷⁰ Avav 2002 cited in Aluaigba T M, *The Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Conflict and the Citizenship Question in Nigeria*. Aminu Kano Center for Democratic Research & Training, Bayero University Kano, Unpublished, p15

groups is not restricted to particular areas, although the high population of retired military and police personnel in the central regions of Nigeria facilitates recruitment.²⁷¹ It is against this background, that the researcher succinctly unravels the factors that encouraged the 1990/92 Jukun–Tiv crisis in the area of study.

4.7.1 Remote Causes of the 1990-92 Jukun-Tiv Crisis

The origin of the Jukun – Tiv crisis can be traced to their past relations and contentions for space in Wukari and as well competition for sense of belonging. More importantly, the advent of colonial domination in the area gradually strained the amiable co–existence between the Jukun and the Tiv. This change was possible through the establishment of series of policies. As noted in the previous chapter, the Tiv migration into Wukari Division during the early years of colonialism became an issue of concern to the colonial officers, as a result, they designed a means to keep them out of what they (colonial officers) considered to be Jukun territory.

Consequently, Fremantle, the then resident officer, adopted the Ring Fence Policy in 1918 to halt the Tiv encroachment into Wukari Division. However, the policy could not be sustained because of its negative consequence on the colonial economy. As noted by the colonial officer:

*The District officer of Ibi in 1922 wrote of the land rendered barren by the eviction of the Tiv. That, they should not only farm the land and bring trade but also pay tax to Wukari Native Treasury was of course double advantageous, to Wukari that the Tivs should farm their waste land.*²⁷²

As noted in the previous chapter, the abolition of this policy did not go well with the Jukun leadership in the Division. It is imperative to note that the introduction and the subsequent

²⁷¹ Alubo.O, *Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*. PEFS, University of Ibadan 2006, p79

²⁷² MAK PROF/FED/4/24/AR/INT/W/1; Paragraph 26, p9

abolition of the Ring Fence Policy in Wukari Division as a result of colonial economic gains marked the genesis of intractable and fundamental disagreement between the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups.

This feud later manifested in the form of overt conflict between the two ethnic groups from the late 1950s. Also, the introduction of party politics into Wukari Division from the 1945 was another significant factor in the area. In 1945 and 1949, a Jukun candidate was chosen to represent the constituency in the Federal House of Representatives.²⁷³ The Tiv, conscious of their large number in the Division, chose Charles Gaza in the 1959 federal election; he easily defeated Sangari, the Jukun candidate.²⁷⁴ However, the Jukun alleged that the Tiv brought in people from Tiv Division, a different but contiguous political unit in the Benue Province to vote in their brother.²⁷⁵ This allegation by the Jukun tended to negate the mosaic plurality of the Wukari Area and Nigeria at large, the processes of fusion, formation and transformation, which had marked the history of the Nigeria peoples and the Wukari area in particular. It should be noted that political affiliations, set both ethnic groups on a collision part especially during elections. While the Jukun were in support of the NPC, the Tiv were in support of the UMBC. Thus, during the 1959/60 and 64 Tiv uprising, the Tiv militia overtly attacked the Jukun with their slogan '*nade ior*,' meaning 'burning down house' 1959/60, the protest degenerated to '*atem tyo and kura cha*' meaning 'Head breaking and clear them all'.

Thus, because of the large Tiv population in the Wukari Division and majority of the Jukun supported that the NPC, the conflict wreaked havoc on the Jukun people.²⁷⁶ Adding to the

²⁷³ Best et al in Onigu O and Albert I O, op cit P93

²⁷⁴ Avav 2002 Op cit p43

²⁷⁵ Adamu A D, *Issues in Tiv- Jukun Conflicts*, Target pub, Jos 2002

²⁷⁶ Best et al in Onigu O and Albert I O, op cit, P94

Jukun woes was the political appointment in the Second Republic in which the Tiv people virtually dominated the Jukun in the area considered to be their ancestral headquarter. This political achievement of the Tiv in the Wukari area from 1979 to 1983 was aptly described as the golden age of the Tiv.²⁷⁷ Thus, to express their dissatisfaction, the Jukun physically assaulted the then Chairman of Wukari Local Government Area, Mr Iyoryer Musa in 1982.²⁷⁸ This ethnic contention was suppressed by General Muhammadu Buhari's regime that came to power through the coup of 1983. Thus, with the end of the second republic political activities, the entire ethnic feud in the former Wukari Division was put to a halt. The manifestation of the aforesaid factors in Wukari Division sowed the seeds of discord and fostered disharmony between the two ethnic groups in the area. In similar vein, Akombo states that:

*The inability to mend fences and re-accommodate one another notwithstanding the brutality exhibited by the Iyongo Pasia in the prosecution of the 'Tiv uprising' laid the basis for the emergence of the perennial inter-ethnic suspicion and hatred being observed between the Tiv and the Jukun over the years.... the brutal manner in which the Iyongo pasia employed in the prosecution of the aggression made it very difficult for many Jukuns to forget their ordeals in the hands of the Tiv militants. For instance, some were either thrown into deep wells to die or being tricked to be trapped to experience death by the poisonous Tiv arrows.*²⁷⁹

It is imperative to note that these factors formed the remote causes of the resonating waves of the Jukun–Tiv conflict of 1990-92 and 2001-2002 in the Wukari Area.

4.7.2 Immediate Causes of 1990-92 Jukun–Tiv Crises

It was against the backdrop of unhealthy spirit of inter–ethnic relations between the Jukun and Tiv beginning from the 1918 that the 1991/93 conflicts ensued. Thus, the immediate

²⁷⁷ Avav 2002 op cit

²⁷⁸ Ibid p50

²⁷⁹ Akombo I E, "Jukun-Tiv Relations since 1850: A case study of Inter-Group Relations in Wukari L.G.A, OF Taraba state", Unpublished PhD Dissertation Department of History, University of Jos, Nigeria, 2005. Pp-200-201

trigger revolved around land, which in many ways was only one of the several dimensions the politics of Jukun–Tiv relationship was played out.²⁸⁰ A case in point was the incident that happened in Kato Bagha hamlet on 25th September, 1990, on a disputed piece of land in Nwuban community which led to the eruption of conflict that engulfed the entire parts of the Wukari Area in the subsequent years. Although, the dispute was timely resolved, it had far reaching consequences on the already stained Jukun–Tiv relationship because the atmosphere was charged with news of inter–ethnic clash, and any minor dispute involving members of the two ethnic groups was capable of converting the whole area into a theater of conflict.²⁸¹

Similarly the entire Wukari area was engulfed with an open crisis in 1991 as a result of minor land dispute at Wana village along Wukari- Ibi Road, in October 1991. There were various interpretations of how the 1990/1993 crisis started. One version claimed that, the Jukun were on a piece of land to cultivate it, but the Tiv people claimed it was theirs. Thus the ensuing confrontation resulted to loss of lives on both side.²⁸² According to the Tiv version, the Jukun were annoyed by the Tiv's challenge to defunct Kwararafa polity and went in the night and destroyed the Tiv villages along Wukari–Ibi Road²⁸³. By December 31st 1991, the Tiv militia launched an attack to destroy Wukari town. This was contained by the Jukun youth militia. Subsequently, a colossal reprisal attack from both side became very common with a record of wide spread devastation, the crisis stood out as the longest running single outbreak in the festering conflict between the Jukun and the Tiv.²⁸⁴ Obviously, the failure to restore law and order in the Wukari Area by the Nigerian security agencies throughout 1992 made the minor

²⁸⁰ Alubo ;op cit p103

²⁸¹ Akombo; op cit p286

²⁸² Ubwa 2002 cited Alubo O, op cit p103

²⁸³ Tiv elders Tseror John Aged 55 and Awua Samuel aged 70 along Kente –Akwana area farmer

²⁸⁴ Ibid p106

skirmishes to continue. Militia from both ethnic groups capitalized on the weakness exhibited by the security agencies in sourcing information and their inability to understand the terrain generally encouraged them to perpetrate their acts.

Given this scenario, the militia resorted to gorilla fight where road blocks were mounted on major roads across Wukari–Akwana–Arufu area, Wukari–Chonku thence Kado to Zaki Biam area, Wukari–Rafin Kada thence Chanchaji area, Wukari -Gidan Idi thence Kwararafa area, and Wukari to Ibi route where travelers from opponent ethnic groups were pulled from passing vehicles and summarily executed on the roads. Thus, on January 24th 1993, Chonku was burnt and the subsequent days witnessed series of attacks in Dooshima and Anyam, Jibu (26–29 of January, 1993).²⁸⁵ The crisis was however, brought to a halt with massive deployment of securities agents.

4.8 Ethnic Militia Activities in the 2001-2002 Crisis in the Wukari Area

*Remote causes:-*It should be recalled that factors that formed the remote causes of the Jukun – Tiv conflict of 1990/93 would not be considered in isolation without relating them to the 2001/2002 crisis. It became very obvious that after one decade of truce between the two ethnic groups in the Wukari area, both the state and federal government failed to implement the recommendations proposed by Commission of Inquiring.²⁸⁶ Adamu observed that the 10-point peace agenda was therefore, not implemented and in the Jukun perception, not implementable.²⁸⁷

The Commission of Inquiry recommended 10-point peace programmed as follows:

²⁸⁵Aluaigba T M, op cit p4

²⁸⁶John Atom K and Iyorwuese Hager: Tiv/Jukun Inquest; Tiv in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, *in Vanguard*, Thursday, November 29, 2001 p28

²⁸⁷Adamu D, *The Issues in the Tiv-Jukun conflict*, Target pub, Jos, 2002

“Resolution 1: The two traditional rulers, Aku – Uka and Tor Tiv should do more than they have been doing to bring peace to the area.

Resolution 2: The Aku – Uka should invite the Tor Tiv to Wukari for a crusade to talk to both the Tiv and the Jukun in Wukari.

Resolution 3: The governor of Taraba State should make sure in re-constituting the Wukari traditional council, the representation of the Tiv people is well addressed.

Resolution 4: The police should disarm everybody in Wukari, Ibi, Donga and Takum local Government in Taraba State, and Katsina-Ala and Ukum LGA, in Benue state. The police are to make sure there are no roadblocks and if there should be any, they should be manned by the police.

Resolution 5: The issue of boundary between Benue and Taraba States. The vice president is to meet the two governors (Benue and Taraba) after the report on same is submitted by the National Boundary Commission.

Resolution 6: Mischievous tendencies by Taraba government to discriminate against certain ethnic groups should be discouraged.

Resolution 7: Regular reports to the vice president should be made.

Resolution 8: The two governors should jointly tour the crisis area so as to ascertain the extent of relief measures needed to rehabilitate all those affected and they should forward the report to the vice president.

Resolution 9: The displaced people should be appealed to return home and police should provide security for returnees.

Resolution 10: The governor of Taraba State will henceforth be held responsible if the crisis continues”.²⁸⁸

Unfortunately, this 10– points peace programmed instead of fostering inter-ethnic relation between the two warring sides, ended up in widening the gap between them. The Jukun accused the Tiv of swaying the membership of the committee in order to pass a resolution in their favor; the Tiv on other hand, accused the Taraba State government of lukewarm attitude toward implementing the resolutions. Thus, the relationship between the two ethnic groups in the last decade of the 20th century was characterized by unhealthy contestation for space (land) as well as the sense of belonging in the Wukari area.

Immediate Causes: The immediate causes of the 2001 conflict was however, linked with an encounter between a Tiv farmer and a Fulani herdsman. There seemed to be a controversy as to where the incident first happened. In Wukari, it was generally believed that the confrontation started in Tsokundi, a Jukun dominated village. Alubo posits that the incident took place in Chi–Ikyambe, a village inhabited by a combination of Tiv, Fulani, Etulo, Sayawa and Hanwa ethnic groups.²⁸⁹ The incident happened when Fulani cattle rearer trespassed into the farm of a Tiv man and grazed there. When confronted, the Fulani man stabbed the farmer to death.²⁹⁰ According to Adamu, the said trespass into beniseed farm; a crop which for some reasons, cows did not eat was an excuse to act the alleged belligerences of the Tiv ethnic groups.²⁹¹

The contestation became complicated as all other ethnic groups in the area were perceived as either being for or against the diseased or the culprit thus, leading to high rate of

²⁸⁸Adamu D Ibid

²⁸⁹Alubo op cit p111

²⁹⁰Aluaigba T M op cit

²⁹¹Adamu A D, *Issues in Tiv- Jukun Conflicts*, Target pub, Jos 2002. Also see D Adamu, Destruction and Blood in Jukun Land, in *Sunday Vanguard*, December 9, 2001, p17

suspicion and distrust among the inhabitants of the Wukari Area. The eruption of the crisis came as a result of an attack in Ikyiar, a Tiv village about 25 kilometers from Wukari in the dawn rain of 5th September, 2001; and the Tiv concluded that the nature of the attack was too sophisticated for the Fulani, thus, the possible culprit were the Jukun using the Fulani as cover.²⁹²

In reprisal attack, the Tiv swiftly attacked the Jukun settlement along Wukari-Zaki Biam road. This incident formally engulfed the Jukun in what was hitherto Fulani–Tiv conflict. It was on this note that the conflict took a tripartite dimension with the Jukun and Fulani on one side, and the Tiv on the other. Consequently, prosecutors of the violence were the militia from the three warring ethnic groups and the conflict was characterized by wanton burning of enemies' houses, mounted roadblock for stop and search operation where enemies were pulled out from passing vehicles and summarily killed, stealing and looting of domestic and farm produce and an endless molestation of women by the militia groups.

The crisis was further exacerbated by the attack and execution of 19 Nigerian military officers on the peace mission to the Wukari Area by the Tiv militia in 10th October, 2001. The reaction by the government turned out to be fatal as the reprisal attacks by soldiers on the civilian population in Benue State led to wanton destruction in terms of lives and properties.²⁹³ By and large, this historical analysis shows that the quest for political offices and the ownership of the Wukari environs as well as the participation and representation of Wukari both at the state and federal levels, always caused ethnic tension between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups in the study area.

²⁹² Alubo op cit p114, also interview with Ada Dantani Retired civil servant 59 years, in Wukari 12/11/2014

²⁹³ Aluaigba T M op cit and also interview with Tiv elders Tseror John, Aged 55, Awua Samuel aged 70 farmers along Kente –Akwana area. Also see Iyortomba Ate, *Army Invasion of Tivland*, in *Vanguard Friday*, November 30, 2001, p35

4.9 Table 1: The Chronology of Events in Taraba State 2001-2003 Civil Disturbances the Tiv Account

13/06/2001	Fulani herdsman trespassed into a Tiv man's farm; the incident resulted in a fight and there was loss of life
05/09/2001	Ikaio was attacked and 14 people (12 Tiv, 2 Igbo) were killed
06/09/2001	Jootar was attacked and three people killed
07/09/2001	Gbogodoo was attacked and two people were killed
08/09/2001	Toho Abanyo was attacked and two people were killed
13/09/2001	Jandekura was attacked
14/09/2001	Gur Village near Jootar was attacked
15/09/2001	Jukun attacked Vaase and a lunatic was killed
07/10/2001	Abako was attacked
10/10/2001	Soldiers were captured at Vaase by the Tiv militia group. The soldiers were later moved to Zaki Biam where they were killed
13/10/2001	Dan-Anacha in Gassol Local Government was attacked
22/10/2001	Soldiers attacked defenseless civilians at Gbeji and killed over one hundred and fifty civilians
23-24/10/2001	Zaki-Biam was razed; properties were destroyed and over a hundred people killed; thousands fled to the hinterland
07/03/2002	Refugees from Ibi Local Government were repatriated back to Ibi
14,15,16-03-2002	Refugees from Gassol Local Government were repatriated
21/03/2002	Refugees from Wukari Local Government were repatriated

Source: Adapted from Alubo, O, Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region. PEFS, University of Ibadan 2006

4.9 Table II: The Chronology of Events in Taraba State 2001-2003 Civil Disturbances the Jukun Account

13/06/2001	Fulani herd trespassed into a Tiv man's farm; the incident resulted in some loss of life
21/06/2001	Aku Uka called for a meeting to calm the tension between Tiv and Fulani
2/7/2001	Fulani attacked Tor Damusa village, Donga LGA.
3/7/2001	A staff of PHC Construction Company was shot (Donga LGA) by Tiv
6/7/2001	Meeting with DCP on Tiv/Fulani crisis
13/8/2001	One Fulani man was killed, another injured by the Tiv at cattle market, in Katsina-Ala Road, Wukari
5/9/2001	Chonku village was attacked by the Tiv
8/9/2001	3 vehicles were burnt at Jootar along with the passengers
9/9/2001	Governor Akume visited Jootar and ordered the military men to leave the area
12/9/2001	Jendekura (Tiv village) was attacked by the Fulanis
12/9/2001	The Police reported that the Tiv killed one of their officers at Jendekura
13/9/2001	Sondi was attacked by the Tiv
14/9/2001	Fyayi village was destroyed by the Tiv

15/9/2001	Vaase village was attacked by the Fulani
17/9/2001	Rafin Kada was attacked by the Tiv
20/9/2001	Arufu. Ikwe and Akwana were reported to have been burnt down by the Tiv
25/9/03	Chinkai was attacked by the Tiv, one killed four injured

Source: Ibid

The tables above present the number of some communities affected both in the Jukun and the Tiv dominated area as a result of crises perpetrated by both militias in the Wukari Area. It should be noted that while there was consensus among my informants about the happening in these communities or villages above, there were divergent opinions as regard the number of casualties from both sides, and the causes of the crisis as a result of blame game factor among them the (informants).

4.10 Conclusion

From the above analysis, the historical and the political antecedents that happened between 1959/60, 1964 and 1979/83 reveal the need for national integration and unity in the post-colonial development in the Wukari Area and Nigeria at large. For instance, the Tiv in the Wukari Area agitated for the right to vote and be voted for as well as their representation in the Wukari traditional council. On the other hand, the Jukun were engulfed with the issues of self-determination in the area considered to be their ancestral headquarters. These factors among others, were responsible for the Jukun–Tiv conflicts. These conflicts in the area inevitably encouraged the development of ethnic militia among these groups. The effect of the development was that, the hitherto strained relationship between the Jukun and the Tiv in the colonial era became worse.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNIC MILITIA ACTIVITIES ON THE SOCIO – ECONOMIC STABILITY OF THE WUKARI AREA 1960-2005

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher will unravel the implications of the activities of ethnic militia on the socio – economic activities in the former Wukari Division. It appeared that in the Wukari Division, one of the fundamental problems threatening its development was how to fully integrate the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups. One can adduce from previous chapters that, the emergence of ethnic militia in the area was a product of the colonial policies especially the ‘Ring Fence Policy’ of 1918, which was meant to halt the Tiv migratory exercise into Wukari Division. This policy increased suspicion and hatred among the Jukun and Tiv ethnic groups, leading to the difficulties in their integration in the Middle Benue Valley.

Consequently, the Tiv struggled for self-recognition in the Wukari Area which was characterized by a long history of confrontation, beginning from the 1959/60, and in recent times 2000–2002. This historical trend in the Wukari area has created a sense of insecurity and fear in the minds of inhabitants. It is against this background that the researcher examines the implications of the activities of ethnic militia on the socio–economic landscape of Wukari Area.

5.1 Effects on the Economy Activities

It is interesting to note that, no city or community can ever develop through the input of her indigenes alone. From the previous chapter, it has been revealed that the entire inhabitants of Wukari Division had in one way or the other contributed their quota in the development of the

local economy. Commenting on the Abakwariga, Olayemi observes that they dominated the Blacksmithing industries and commercial activities and had contributed to the growth and development of Jukun polity, particularly from the height of its power in the 16th and 17th centuries.²⁹⁴ In a similar vein, Akombo opines that Tiv contributed more to the revenue base of Wukari District and the Division at large during the colonial era.²⁹⁵

However, as a result of the militia activities beginning from 1959, most migrant settlers that came into the area as a result of the colonial business left the districts; they did so with their funds, skills and experience. The services rendered by such people were lost and so were their contributions to the social and economic development of their host community²⁹⁶ in the Wukari Division. In a similar vein, there is consensus among my informants that 2000/2001 conflict perpetrated by ethnic militia from both groups left the entire Wukari Area in what was described as poverty trough. The manifestations of poverty in the area were as a result of people's dependence on agricultural activities for food and income. The disruption of this normal life by the militia activities therefore, had pervasive impact on the economy. According to Alubo, the following aspects of the economy were affected:

- i. Labor–availability and distribution as youths who were mostly engaged in the war efforts and women and other adults fled.
- ii. Food security as farm produce were looted, destroyed or otherwise left un-harvested as villagers were too scared to go to their farms.
- iii. Agricultural production and productivity declined for reasons of insecurity.

²⁹⁴ Akinwumi Olayemi 'The Abakwariga and the Economic Transformation of the Jukun Kingdom of Wukari, c1650-1900 in *Nordic journal of Africa Studies*, vol:7,1 , 1998 pp93-102,

²⁹⁵ Akombo op cit p145. Also oral interview Awua Samuel age 70 along Kente –Akwana area , a farmer confirmed this statement

²⁹⁶ Azalahu F and Charles A ' Counting the Cost: Ethnic Violence Versus Human and Capital flight from Wukari LGA of Taraba state, Nigeria in *International Journal of Research in Applied, Natural and Social Science*, vol 2:11, 2014

- iv. Markets and other economic activities were disrupted because sellers, buyers and traders were scared.²⁹⁷

The Commissioner of Education in Adamawa State, Hajiya Salamatu Bala, had once reported that yam meal disappeared from the food supplied to most of the schools following a sudden jump in prices as a result of the Jukun-Tiv crisis in Taraba State. She claimed that the bulk of yam consumed in the state were said to be brought in from Taraba State.²⁹⁸ Consequently, in yam markets in the Wukari District, the number of daily Lorries that loaded yams to the eastern and northern Nigeria declined drastically from over 80 to less than 30 in a day²⁹⁹. Thus, with low income levels among peoples, access to safe water and good health services was equally limited. The long term effects of these ethnic militia activities were that more people were either thrown out of jobs and therefore, became ready-made tools for the militia groups and other related criminal gangs in the Wukari Area.

5.2 Effects on the Educational Activities

It is expedient to note that it was the colonial administration's desire to produce indigenous manpower to run the day-to-day affairs in the native authority that necessitated the introduction of schools in the Wukari Division. Akombo notes that this colonial policy unconsciously promoted Jukun-Tiv relations in Wukari districts and with the main Tivland.³⁰⁰ Interestingly, the hospitable attitude of the Jukun people that lived in the town encouraged the Tiv parents to willingly give out their children and wards to live with the Jukun in town while attending schools. Also in the post-colonial era, data from the National Primary Education

²⁹⁷ Alubo op cit p204

²⁹⁸ George Onah, Tiv-Jukun Crisis Force Yam Out of Students Menu, in *Punch*, 02/03/ 2002, p7

²⁹⁹ Group interview with the Jukun youths at Yam Market (Angwan Kasuwa Doya) along Wukari-Jalingo Road led by Elder Ada Sobo Agyo (74 years), 10.30am, on 20th January, 2017

³⁰⁰ Akombo op cit p178

Commission showed that the central region was part of the area of high school enrollment in the Northern Nigeria.³⁰¹

Consequently, school activities in the Wukari Area were drastically thwarted as a result of a series of ethnic crises perpetrated by Jukun-Tiv ethnic militia. Thus, every person including the pupils/students and teachers fled the area to safety zone. As a result, some of the schools in Wukari metropolitan were used as refugee camps for internally displaced people.³⁰² Schools in rural areas were either turned into military camps by the militia or became targets to be attacked and demolished and the militia gangs inscribed graffiti about their motives for fighting³⁰³ on the walls left behind.

5.3.1 Table III; Table Showing Tiv Settlements whose Schools Were Affected in 1991-1992 Disturbances

S/No	Name of Schools	Enrollment	Number of Streams	Average Number of Students
1	Gborbegha	755	19	40
2	Atsaga- Atsaga	393	10	40
3	Nyamhina	320	8	40
4	Ikyernum	416	10	42
5	Tor- ruam	398	10	40
6	Ukande	391	10	39
7	Deke	445	11	40
8	Abiem	402	10	40

³⁰¹ Francis *et al* 1998 and in Alubo op cit p203

³⁰² Oral interview with Jukun Youths led by TankoNagu, aged 45 and Ada Tanko, aged 48 both Civil Servants; at Angwan Pwazu Ward in Wukari Town, 13/04/2016

³⁰³ Ibid p203

9	Abako	1,144	29	39
10	Begha Nyam	594	15	42
11	Igbogodo	343	9	38
12	Kwaor	558	14	40
13	Ndo Daa	520	13	40

Source: Adapted from Al-Amin S. Survey of Primary Schools: A consultant's Report and Estimates, sponsored by the Taraba State Government Primary Education Board, Jalingo, October, 1995, vol.4, also see Akombo op cit.

5.3.2 Table IV; Table Showing Jukun Settlements whose Schools Were Affected in 1991-1992 Disturbances

S/No	Name of Schools	Enrolment	Number of Streams	Average Number of Students
1	Jebwanji	503	13	39
2	Jato Wutsu	558	14	40
3	Chudan	412	10	41
4	Gidan Hamidu	474	12	40
5	Gidan Ikwe	385	10	39
6	Tsiken	562	14	41

Source: Al-amin S Ibid

The tables above reveal some primary schools in the Jukun and the Tiv settlements³⁰⁴ that were destroyed as a result of the activities of Jukun–Tiv militia in the 1991-92 conflict. It should be noted that these primary schools bore the name of the various communities affected both in the Jukun and the Tiv settlements. It is obvious that thousands of primary school pupils alongside

³⁰⁴It should be noted that the fifth (5) Column in the table above was introduced by the author in order to add more meaning to the work

their teachers were denied access to educational activities as a result of the wanton destruction of educational facilities in the Former Wukari Division due to the militia activities.

5.4 Effects on Political Activities in Wukari Area

It should be noted that party politics as earlier discussed, always caused distress time for groups relation in the Wukari Area particularly between the Jukun and the Tiv.³⁰⁵ Since the creation of Wukari Local Government in 1976, the Tiv had once produced a Chairman in person of Hon. Iyotyer Tor Musa 1979–1983³⁰⁶, the era was aptly considered to be the golden age of the Tiv because of their wider participation in the local political process.³⁰⁷

The massive migration of the Tiv people from Wukari to Tivland proper as a result of Jukun–Tiv crises of 1990/92 and 2000/2001 perpetrated by ethnic militia pave way for the Jukun to hold their elections without the demographic threat from the Tiv and a Jukun chairman and representatives would emerge in the State and at the national level. Hence, the Jukun politically dominated the affairs of Wukari area while some of the returnee Tiv peoples could not participate in the electoral process. However, the Tiv people in the Wukari Area were not officially sanctioned not to vote or be voted for, but chose to engage themselves in the rehabilitation process in their various communities,³⁰⁸ thus, allowing the Jukun to dominate the political affairs in the state.

³⁰⁵ Best *p*100

³⁰⁶ Terkura John, aged 75, retired civil servant and farmer, 4:00pm on 19/01/2017 in Tsukundi community

³⁰⁷ Aluaigba T M op cit

³⁰⁸ Elder Ada Sobo Agyo, aged 74, 10.30am, on 20th January, 2017, retired civil servant and farmer, in his resident behind Yam Market (Angwan Kasuwa Doya) along Wukari-Jalingo Road

5.5 Effects on Trade and Commerce in Wukari Area

The Wukari Area located in the Middle Benue Valley had a lot of features which attracted a large population of people from different ethnic groups and as well supported various economic activities. The discovery of salt and antimony in Akwana and Arufa in the north-western part of the Wukari Area together with the advent of colonial merchants (company) in Ibi led to the influx of laborers from all contiguous districts into this mining commercial centre to work either as a miner in the mining sector (salt and Antimony) or serve as carriers of goods along the colonial trade routes which criss-crossed the Wukari District. Apart from these rich mineral resources, the area was also endowed with massive fertile land for farming and grazing activities, which also explained the reason for the massive influx of the Tiv into the area. There were numerous smaller industries including dying and weaving, breweries and blacksmithing, which also added value to the commercial viability of region. According to Mallam Abu Isa, the spokesman for the Borno State Cattle Traders Association, the number of cows being transported southwards from Maiduguri via Taraba and Benue States had reduced drastically from about 200 trailers weekly to just about 50 trailers as a result of the lingering crises in the States³⁰⁹ perpetrated by Jukun-Tiv ethnic militia.

Consequently, all these commercial activities were at one point or the other brought to a standstill as a result of ethnic militia activities beginning from the 1959/60 Tiv uprising. It should be noted that each phase of the conflict seemed to grow more intense and ferocious when compared to the previous. Roadblocks were mounted by the warring militia, and travelers

³⁰⁹News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) in *Punch* 12/12/2001, Also see Tiv-Jukun Crises Hampers Cattle Trade in *Vanguard* Wednesday, December 12, 2001

considered enemies were pulled out of the passing vehicles and summarily executed.³¹⁰ This practice was very common along the Wukari Akwana–Arufu area where the salt Antimony industries were located:

*In addition, some Tiv villages located within areas of high Jukun concentration, especially along Ibi–Wukari road and, around Wukari-Tsokundi area, and Jukun Villages in predominantly Tiv area such as, the villages of Akwana, Arufu and Kente who are literally walled in by Tiv communities.... peoples in this kind of villages took more battering, both in term of demolition and burning of houses, as well as number of lives lost. In both cases, there was no escape as the only road passes through enemy territory.*³¹¹

As a result, most of the miners deserted the areas and the mining industries were brought to a halt. The incessant killings in roadblocks were widely reported with lurid details and this act scared traders and merchants away from the Wukari Area.

5.6 Effects on Agricultural Production in Wukari Area

The geographical location of Wukari in the Middle Benue Valley and its climatic conditions made it conducive for the domestication and cultivation of a large variety of agricultural products. This was made possible by the availability of abundant fertile land crucial for any form of intensive agricultural production, an aspect that formed the basis of the Wukari economy. Each of the communities surrounding Wukari metropolis was known for a variety of crops produced. Even though, root and tuber crops were virtually cultivated across the entire area, individual or communities could choose to cultivate one or more crops as a result of demand or availability of buyers and their proximity to major markets. Akwana, Arufu and Kwanta-Sule communities were best known for the cultivation of onion, pepper and dry season farming

³¹⁰This statement was confirmed by Tiv elders Tseror John Aged 55 and Awua Samuel aged 70 along Kente – Akwana area farmer confirmed this statement and as well Oral interview with Jukun Youths led by TankoNagu, aged 45 and Ada Tanko, aged 48 both Civil Servants; at Angwan Pwazu Ward in Wukari Town, 13/04/2016

³¹¹Alubo op cit p120

through irrigation, they produced mostly perishable farm produce. Consequently, the activities of the ethnic militia in the area made the agricultural activities in the Wukari area very precarious. This hence jeopardized food security in the Middle Benue Valley as farmers were scared of growing crops, or had to migrate to safe places far away from their farms.³¹²

Alubo observes that most of the crises occurred after the crops had been planted, but as the farmer were forced to flee, there were no people left to tend the farms, thereby encouraging wide scale looting of farm produces especially Tiv farms when the crops ripened.³¹³ Consequently, there was an upsurge in the prices of food stuff because of disruption in farm production. There were other smaller trades that depended on agricultural activities such as farm laborers, traders in farm chemicals, and those who process farm produce, especially cassava and rice. All of these suffered greatly whenever there was crisis in the Wukari Area.

5.7 Renaming of the Jukun Settlements by the Tiv

Another significant development as a result of the long Jukun–Tiv militia activities in the area of study can be viewed from the names given to some communities by Tiv even if, the Jukun dominated the communities. As earlier revealed, the Tiv being the largest ethnic groups in the Middle Benue Valley had some cultural influence on the neighboring communities. Best *et al* observes that the Tiv language and culture permeated many other cultures, altering the sociology of most settlements; this was possible since the Tiv hardly spoke any language other than theirs.³¹⁴ In a similar vein, Shawulu stresses that:

The earlier the Tiv stopped bragging of and counting on their population size in other people's area, the more they will continue to be given second class citizens in

³¹² Danladi Adamu, Jukun as Refugee in *Sunday Punch*, December /09/2001, p17

³¹³ Op cit p205

³¹⁴ Best *et al* op cit 107

*any place which they do not belong (sic). Finally, may we now tell the Tiv in our division in clear and unequivocal terms that they are strangers and have no right in the administration of our domain, which we very much cherish as our supreme territorial interest and right... numerical strength is not synonymous to legitimate right over a territory in modern government.*³¹⁵

Consequently, the Tiv militias are accused of renaming Jukun settlements and this attitude was intensified particularly from the 1959-60 onward. The Tiv increasingly became aware of their population in the Wukari Division, following the defeat of the Jukun candidate in the 1959 federal election,³¹⁶ and the ensuing ethnic militia activities that followed in the 1959-60 Tiv uprising. For instance, my Jukun informants claimed that the Tiv renamed the Jukun settlements in their language, thus, claimed to be the aboriginal founders of these communities using their population to justify their claims.³¹⁷ It is on this note that the Jukun settlements of Wukari was renamed *Waka*, Tsukundi renamed *Ayu*, Kwararafa renamed *Dan-Anacha*, Rafinkada renamed *Genyi*, Chanchanji renamed *Peve*, Bako renamed *Abako*, Choku renamed *Chonku*, kufai-Amadu renamed *Adamu*, and Kente renamed *Santyo*. Perhaps, even more provocative to the Jukun was the fact that in the central part of present Taraba State, the Tiv would rename a Jukun settlement/community in Tiv language, on the sign post with an inscription Benue State,³¹⁸ portraying a way of showing their allegiance to the Tor Tiv (King of Tiv) in Tivland of Benue State.³¹⁹ The Jukun regarded this action a deliberate Tiv attempt to completely colonize and take over their ancestral territories. Also, a Tiv document titled; “A Short History of the Tiv” shows that these efforts were premeditated. It states that:

³¹⁵ Shawulu Rima, “The Politics of Ethnic Religious Conflicts of Taraba State. In Okoye Festus (ed), *Ethnic and Religious Rights in Nigeria*. Kaduna, HRM, 1998

³¹⁶ Ibid p93

³¹⁷ Ibid

³¹⁸ Oral interview with Jukun Youths led by Tanko Nagu, aged 45 and Ada Tanko, aged 48 both Civil Servants; at Angwan Pwazu Ward in Wukari Town, 13/04/2016

³¹⁹ Terkura John, Aged 75, Tsukundi community, on 21/01/2016 5.00pm

The main economic pursuit of the people, for example, farming seems to have dictated the political decision to acquire more lands. The people are basically farmers. They normally require plenty of land to till and grow different crops...there was apparently no group capable of threatening their existence as group or halting their colonization for more lands. Colonization for instance, was carefully and systematically planned and brilliantly executed.³²⁰

Consequently, the Jukun people embarked on a conscious “*rejukunisation*” process of these settlements³²¹ and entire territories considered to be their ancestral homeland. This factor explained why land had remained a fundamental subject of controversy among the Jukun–Tiv ethnic groups in the Middle Benue Valley. It is against this background that both groups with enough manpower, particularly their ex-service men, and the sophisticated military maneuvering skills together with the proliferation of small light weapons into the country embarked on the violence they unleashed on each other in the Wukari area.

5.8 Assessment of Losses and Properties Suffered

In an attempt to examine the possible figures of losses both in human and properties as a result of the ethnic militia activities beginning from the 1959/60, the researcher encountered serious challenges as a result of the conduct of the ethnic militia which revealed that each phase of violence was triggered by different factors, which equally influenced the execution. Thus, each succeeding phase of the ethnic militia activities seemed to grow more intense and ferocious and in each is characterized by assault on opponent ethnic group members, murder, burning of house, intense looting and destruction of properties as well as reprisal attacks. Also roadblocks

³²⁰ Ibid p105

³²¹ Ibid

were mounted where travelers from the opposing ethnic group were pulled out from passing vehicles and executed.³²²

Consequently, on this note, it is very difficult to ascertain the number of death from both sides. Besides, given the fact that the majority of the Jukun–Tiv people lived in villages/rural areas as a result of their agrarian activities, it was difficult to report any incident (attack) in these areas to the security agencies in Wukari metropolis. However, there were heavy losses on both sides as secret killings, and burning and looting of properties continued even after the signing of truce by both ethnic groups. There was no accurate data on the number of people killed, or injured, there were consensus from both my Jukun and Tiv informants that thousands were killed and thousands more were displaced as a result of the ethnic militia activities in the Wukari Area. The Jukun predominant villages of Akwara, Arufu, and Kente, which were literally surrounded by Tiv communities, were completely demolished. In a similar vein, Tiv settlements along Wukari–Ibi Road, Wukari–Tsokundi, and Wukari–Rafin Kada roads were completely destroyed. This led Alubo to conclude that it was not possible to confirm the exact figure of “death and casualties” because of the apparent exaggeration by the respondents on the one hand and the obvious government under reporting on the other.

³²²Interview with AngyuWunuki at Mission Quarter Wukari, and Random interview Jukun elders in Akwana and Kente District, April, 2015 also confirmed by Tiv elders Tseror John Aged 55 and Awua Samuel aged 70 along Kente –Akwana area farmer confirmed this statement

5.9.1: Table V: Records of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) in Taraba State, May, 2002

S/ N	Location Town Village	Year	LGA	No. Displaced (Approx .	Causes of displacement	Remarks	Ethnic group
1	Akwana	2001	Wukari	1,936	Communal Clash	In the process of being resettled by the State Government and Relief Materials donated	
2	Arufu	2001	Wukari	3,116	Communal Clash	“	Jukun
3	Sondi	2001	Wukari	1,021	Communal Clash	“	Jukun
4	Other villages	2001	Ibi	4,650	Communal Clash	“	Jukun
5	Doorshima I and II	2001	Ibi	1,720	Communal Clash	“	Jukun/Ti v
6	Ibua	2001	Ibi	852	Communal Clash	“	Tiv

7	Sarkin Kudu	2001	Ibi	1,630	Communal Clash	“	Tiv, Jukunand Hausa
8	Other Villages	2001	Ibi	3,980	Communal Clash	“	Jukun
9	Tor- Damisa	2001	Donga	2,775	Communal Clash	“	Tiv/Juku n
10	Akate	2001	Donga	630	Communal Clash	“	Tiv/Juku n and Kabawa
11	Chanchanji	2001	Takun	3,720	Communal Clash	“	Jukun
12	Mayo- Ndaga	2001	Sardauna	1,111	Communal Clash	“	Jukun
13	Kente	2001	Wukari	2,600	Communal Clash	“	Jukun
14	Kwararafa	2001	Gassol	3,230	Communal Clash	“	Jukun and Tiv
15	Yerima	2001	Gassol	912	Communal Clash	“	Tiv/Juku n
16	Mararaba Gassol	2001	Gassol	640	Communal Clash	“	Tiv/Juku n
17	Other	2001	Gassol	3,011	Communal	“	Tiv/Juku

	Villages				Clash		n
18	Jatau	2001	Bali	914	Communal Clash	“	Tiv/Juku n
19	Kungana	2001	Bali	580	Communal Clash	“	Tiv/Juku n
20	Takalafiya	2001	Bali	1,200	Communal Clash	“	Tiv/Juku n

Source: Adapted from Profile on Internally Displaced Nigerians July, 2002, also see Alubo.O, Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region. PEFS, University of Ibadan 2006

The table above unravels the approximate numbers of people internally displaced from their communities as a result of the activities of the ethnic militia in the course of Jukun-Tiv conflict in the Wukari Area. Other ethnic groups in contiguous communities to the Wukari Area were also victims of the menace of ethnic militia recorded in the above table.

5.10 Social Implications of Ethnic Militia Activities

The social consequences of the activities of ethnic militia over the years were enormous and could not be easily quantified, given the pattern of residence in the Wukari area, where there were several ethnically mixed Jukun–Tiv villages which seemed to enhance the operations of the youth militia on both sides. Most of the victims from rural areas were left homeless, landless and destitute. This created insecurity in the clash prone areas. Also, the activities of ethnic militia had led to breakdown of inter-ethnic marriage, families and social life. Marriage partners from a

perceived (enemy) ethnic group were often divorced as a result of mistrust and the fear of prejudice that might lead to betrayal.³²³

As a result of the activities of ethnic militia, thousands of pupils, students and their teachers were displaced. Some of the refugees dropped out of school due to the financial and socio-economic constraints associated with the activities of ethnic militia.³²⁴ As noted earlier, schools in the crisis prone areas in the villages were either burnt down completely or its aluminum roofs were looted by the militia of both ethnic groups. Thus, in the urban neighboring communities that hosted the refugees from the Wukari Area, schools were converted into a shelter. As a result, there was wide disruption of educational activities in those centres.

As noted earlier, several marriages broke down irretrievably as a result of the activities of ethnic militia, particularly in the Wukari Area. This trend of militia activities among the ethnic groups in the area of study created a new dimension in societal life where Jukun–Tiv children (potential marriage partners) were totally discouraged from engaging in any affairs which could lead to marital union with the perceived enemy of each opposing ethnic group.³²⁵

5.11 Government Reactions to Ethnic Militia Activities

The government response to the ethnic militia menace in the Wukari Area clearly revealed the weakness of compulsory social institutions in Nigeria. As earlier noted, by March, 1960, violence were imminent in Wukari and Lafiya Divisions, which shared border with the Tiv Division. Contrary to the expectation, Anifowose observes that the then Northern

³²³ Interview with Aji Sabo, retired civil servants (police officer), aged 76, in Wukari, the interviewed was conducted in Gindin Doruwa on 21/04/2015

³²⁴ Shavea John and Tavershima Mathew, aged 52 and 78 in Tor-Musa community along Wukari-Takum Rd, on 25th/02/2016, 5:pm, Teacher/ Farmer. Also Elder Ada Sobo Agyo aged 78, in Wukari, on 21th /01/2016, 11: am, Retired civil servant, farmer

³²⁵ Interview with Aondon John, retired civil servants (mobile police officer), aged 65, in Wukari, the interviewed was conducted in Va'ase on 21/04/2016

Regional Government did not give full attention to the Tiv situation and did not as many people expected, appoint a commission of inquiry.³²⁶ In a similar vein, Mustapha's comparison of Jukun-Tiv crisis in Taraba State and that of Zangon Kataf in Kaduna State provided an obvious nonchalant attitude of the government, which he aptly captured thus:

The federal government response to the mayhem in Taraba was slow in coming suggesting that the area being a minority area; no real stakes were directly involved. ...In Zango Kataf where Hausa interests were directly involved, government resources were poured into rehabilitate the area and prison sentences were handed out to alleged instigators and perpetrators of the killings mostly Kataf. In Wukari and Takum, however, no trials were held despite virtually three years of carnage. And no government resources were made available for reconstruction³²⁷.

According to Adamu, in the 1991/92 crisis, the Tiv and the Jukun engaged themselves in a death duel for over six months before the federal governments belatedly intervene to broker peace.³²⁸ Given this circumstance of the government's lukewarm attitude to addressing militia activities in the Wukari Area, the militia were free to perpetrate their acts. The cases of violence were spontaneous and did not take any formal form, hence, making the availability of any reliable data, on casualty level (those killed and wounded), arrests and convictions and damage to properties, quite hard.³²⁹

The late government intervention by sending the Nigeria Police riot squads and Nigeria Army was instrumental in stopping the brutal activities of the ethnic militia and restoration of peace. This effort was however considered too late. In similar vein, the Jukun-Tiv 1990-93 conflict perpetrated by the ethnic militia witnessed the same government response to the

³²⁶ Anifowose op cit p123

³²⁷ Mustapha, A "Transformation of Minority Identities in Post-Colonial Nigeria" In Jega A. (ed) 2000 *Identity Transformation* op cit. Also cited in Hussaini, A, Ethnic and Religious Crises in Northern Nigeria; Issues In Informer Repression, Department Of Political Science And Defence Studies, Nigerian Defence Academy Kaduna, Unpublished 2002

³²⁸ Adamu D, Myth and Reality of the 1992 Tiv 10-points agenda in *Vanguard*, Thursday, January/ 01/2002, p35

³²⁹ Ibid p123

violence. Aluaigba stresses that the attempts to restore law and order in Wukari and its environs by the Nigerian Police and the detachment of the Nigeria Army throughout 1992 failed as minor skirmishes continued to happen.³³⁰ Furthermore, the security agencies were often accused of taking side by both ethnic groups.³³¹

Thus, peace was brokered when soldiers were deployed and by a commission of inquiry which developed a ten-point programmed of peace.³³² The militia was halted without resolving the burning issues of ownership of land in the Wukari Area. Given this circumstance, the area enjoyed a decade truce and the ethnic militia activities bounced back in 2001 with enormous catastrophe and consequence. The capture and execution of 19 Nigerian soldiers on peace mission by Tiv ethnic militia and subsequent reprisal attacks exacerbated the intensity of the crisis. However, the government stoutly defended the reprisal attacks necessary for maintaining law and order.³³³ Therefore, the levity exhibited by the government for not taking pre-emptive actions to stop a mere misunderstanding between the dominant ethnic groups in the area invariably resulted in an overt activities of ethnic militia among the Jukun and the Tiv, ethnic groups.

5.12 Conclusion

It is arguable that ethnicity in a heterogeneous society like Wukari, if carefully managed can be a good strategy for promoting sustainable nationhood and development in Wukari and Nigeria at large. However, because of ineffective and bad leadership in Nigerian post-colonial era, both in the national, state and local levels, ethnic rivalry has become a trend in the past few

³³⁰ Aluaigba op cit

³³¹ Interview with Aondon John, retired civil servants (mobile police officer), aged 65, in Wukari, the interviewed was conducted in Va'ase on 21/04/2016

³³² Alubo op cit p106

³³³ Ibid 134

years in Nigeria and in the Wukari Area in particular, thus, posing the danger of possible ethnic militia activities on a large scale in Nigeria. Also, ethnic militia activities in the Wukari Area revealed the weakness of both federal and state governments in rapidly preventing the eruption of militia activities in Wukari Area and Nigeria at large.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0

General Conclusion

The study focused on the origin and development of ethnic militia in the Wukari Area of Taraba State during the period 1945-2005. The main objective of the study was to analyze the major factors that encouraged the emergence of ethnic militia in the area of study. The first chapter of the study stated the problem of the study, the aim and objectives, the methodology employed in the course of the research and, scope and delimitations of the study. Equally examined was theoretical framework as well as review of related literature. The second chapter covered the historical background of the study area on the eve of colonial domination. Thus, the geographical location and the relief features of the area were examined. Also, the peopling and the settlement pattern together with the economic activities were equally discussed.

In the third chapter, the study covered the British colonial conquest, domination and policies in the study area. Moreover, an attempt was made to identify the links between the British colonial policies in the study area and the emergence of ethnic rivalries and suspicion which later resulted into overt activities of ethnic militia among the Jukun the Tiv ethnic groups. The fourth chapter examined the evolution and growth of the ethnic militia in Nigeria and the Wukari area in particular. It also covered the structure of the militia and their roles in the Jukun-Tiv crises of 1990-92 and 2001-2002.

The fifth chapter contained the implications of the activities of ethnic militia on the socio-economic stability of the study area. The study discusses loss of lives and properties in the study area. Also, the reactions of government in the course and aftermath of each phase of these crises were examined. The last chapter (chapter six) covered the general conclusion and

recommendations aim at enhancing ethnic integration in Nigeria and in the Wukari Area in particular.

The study revealed that the relationship between the Jukun and the Tiv ethnic groups emanated as a result of their contact in the Middle Benue Valley prior to the advent of imperial domination, particularly in what is today called the Wukari Local Government Area in the present day Taraba State. One of the dominant features of this integration was the cordial intercourse between the two groups in the area. This relationship can best be expressed as symbiotic socio-economic alliance. However, with the advent of colonial domination in the 1900, these ethnic groups witnessed a negative change in the trend of their cordial relations. Hence, they gradually became rivals characterized by daily contest for the realization of full ownership of the Wukari Area particularly from the second decade of the 20th century.

The study also revealed that the 'Ring Fence Policy' introduced by the colonial officials in the Wukari Division, led to the ejection of the Tiv ethnic group from the area in question and its subsequent abolition led to a long contest for claim of ownership between the two ethnic groups. Thus, this claim and counter-claim led to the question of settlers or indigenship between the Jukun and the Tiv in the Wukari metropolis and its environs. This contest only needed a factor to ignite militia conflict among them. The introduction of party politics in the area and the incidence of the 1959/60 and 64 of the Tiv uprising provided a fertile ground for the evolution of ethnic militia activities in the area of study.

In addition, the study showed that in each succeeding phase of the ethnic militia activities in Wukari beginning from the 1959/60, the militia activities seemed to grow more intense and ferocious. This was possible as a result of the unmindful acts from the leadership of the then

NPC ruling party in the 1960s³³⁴ who to used excessive force to crush a rebellion from an ethnic group considered to be largely in support of the opposition parties in Nigeria. This attitude was equally repeated by the government³³⁵ in the 2001 crisis and appeared to have added more impetus to the activities of ethnic militia among the Jukun and Tiv groups in the area of study. The ethnic militia activities among these two groups had negative implications on their live, properties and inter-ethnic relations.

It is evident from this study that the colonial and post-colonial governments had failed to address the question of land ownership and settlers in the Wukari Area. This factor was the most cogent during democratic era in relation to ethnic militia activities among the Jukun and the Tiv in the Wukari area. As noted earlier, Wukari area is undoubtedly a community characterized by diversity of languages, religion and cultural activities. These diversities, if effectively managed, can result to cohesive socio-economic and political atmosphere that will enhance development in Nigeria at large. Given this circumstance in the Wukari area, the main challenge ahead is how to harmonize or integrate these ethnic groups in the area of study in order to overcome the problems the recurrent ethnic militia activities. Achieving this goal will be the first step in a long march into the realm of trust, harmony and stability among the ethnic groups in the study area. In this regard, the menace of communal and ethnic conflicts and the use of ethnic militia may be much reduced or become a thing of past when the long-term solutions of re-designing Nigeria's federalism has been effected.³³⁶

³³⁴ Anifowose R, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria, The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*. Nok Pub, Enugu 2006, p112-119

³³⁵ AdamuD, "Myth and Reality of the 1992 Tiv 10-points agenda" in *Vanguard*, Thursday, January/ 01/2002, p35

³³⁶ Agbu O, op cit p40

6.1 Recommendations

The focus of this study was to examine the origin and development of ethnic militia in the Wukari Area during the period 1945-2005. From the finding of the study the following recommendations have been proffered in order to ameliorate the recurrent ethnic militia activities in the Wukari Area.

- i. There is need for mass adoption of political sensitizations in order to achieve peaceful and harmonious political culture in the area of study. Politics should not be used as a tool for division and hatred among the diverse ethnic groups in the Wukari Area and Nigeria at large. It should be used as a melting point of diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria. Thus, it should help in thwarting any form of ethnic alliances aimed at setting one group against the other during political activities.
- ii. It has been noted that the government always abandoned the completion of the rehabilitation programmes in the affected communities after ethnic militia activities in the Wukari area. This nonchalant attitude from the government often aggravated tension and violence between the warring parties. The government should be sincere in this regard, which should include provision of relief materials, with which people could rebuild their burnt or demolished homes, provisions of domestic items such as mats and mattresses and in some cases food stuff and seedling to the farmers to start off their post conflict activities where grossly inadequate in supply.
- iii. Both ethnic groups (the Jukun and the Tiv) should be encouraged to accommodate each other in spite of their differences. This practice if sincerely carried out will help in identifying those cultural shocks that served as obstacles to the co-existence of the Jukun and the Tiv in the Wukari Area.

- iv. Religion played a vital role in both the Jukun and the Tiv socio-political activities particularly traditional religion. This is not to undermine the influence of Christianity and Islam on them. Thus, leaders of these religious affiliations should inculcate in their members the general needs to seek for peaceful medium or ways to addresses their grievance not to resort to militia.
- v. For an enduring stability of the Wukari Area and Nigeria at large, the Federal Government should embark on a programme of ethnic reconciliation in Nigeria as a panacea to correcting the colonial legacies of discord, hatred and suspicion responsible for inter-ethnic fracas. This proposed dialogue, convened by the leaders of ethnic nationalities will aid the government to formulate policies and programme that can result in managing ethnic differences in Nigeria.

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NAK/MAK/PROF/4/24/AR/INT/W/1; Wukari District, Report on Reorganization by Dewar

Makprof:2402, Administration of the Tiv in Wukari Division; 07th August,1948.

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NAK/533/MAPROF, Roads-Wukari Division- General, 1931-51 and 1952.

MAKPROF; 4377 Improvement of Condition of Tivs in Wukari Division, Provincial Office, 27th August, 1953

Oral interview

Name	Age	Place	Date	Time	Profession Occupation
Shavea John	52	Tor-Musa along Wukari-Takum Rd	25/02/2016	5:pm	Teacher/ Farmer
Tseror John	55	Kente– Akwana	22/02/2016	2:00pm	Farmer
Ada Dantani	59	Wukari	22/01/2016	8:am	Retired civil servant/farmer
Elder Ada SoboAgyo	78	Wukari	21/01/2016	11:am	Retired civil servant, farmer
ModakaiDansonka	45	Wukariand Zaria	11/03/2015 and 21/02/2016	1:00PMand 10:00AM	Lecturer in F.U.Wukari and PG Student in ABU Zaria.
Justice Daniel Angyu	45	Zaria	25/02/ 2016	8:00am	Lecturer in F.C.E, Zaria
Ada Bulus	80	Matanfada	24/01/2016	11:am	Retired civil servant, farmer
Audu Maikasuwa	67	Wukari	21/01/2016	5:pm	Business man, farmer
Terkura John	75	Tsukundi	21/01/2016	1:00pm	Farmer
Samaila Dantala	70	Rafin Kada	27/01/2016	11:00am	Retired civil servant, farmer
Davis Bawa	65	Wukari	27/01/2016	4:00pm	Farmer
Tavershima Mathew	78	Tor-Musa along Wukari-Takum Rd	25/02/2016	5:pm	Teacher/ Farmer
Awua Samuel	70	Kente– Akwana	22/02/2016	2:00pm	Farmer
Aondon John	65	Va’ase	21/04/2016	4.20pm	Retired civil servants (mobile

					police officer
Mallam Aken Aji Samuel	80	Tsokundi	22/03/2015	2.35pm	Retired civil servants /farmer
Wunuki Nathaniel	57	Sondi	25/03/2015	1.20pm	Civil servants /farmer
Jacob Nevkaa,	40	Ihugh Ward Benue State	07/09/2016	3.25pm	Teacher/farmer
Samuel Aondon	56	Gboko	02/09/2016	2.45pm	Civil servants /farmer
Tanko Nagu,	45	Angwan Pwazu Ward in Wukari	13/04/2016	1.25pm	Civil servant
Ada Tanko,	54	Wukari town	13/03/2016	5.30pm	Civil servant
Angyu Wunuki	67	Kente District,	10/04/ 2015	4.15pm	Retired civil servant /farmer
Mr Edward Ajibauka Adi,	75	Wukari	21/07/2014	5.35am	Retired civil servant /farmer
Mr Jibri Amfani,	80	Angwan Pwazu Ward in Wukari	21/07/2014	2.15pm	Retired civil servant /farmer
Mr Michiel Ahula	47	Gyellesu ward in Zaria	20/08/2016	1.10pm	Civil servant
Prof. Jonathan D. Ndera	51	In the Archaeology Department, ABU, Zaria	12/08/2016	10.25am	Lecturer in the Archaeology Department, ABU, Zaria
Mr Samuel, Terumu	76	Chediya Village	12/07/2015	11.35am	Farmer/Teacher