

Transport Institutions in Nigeria's Livestock Trade: A case study of Bodija Cattle Market, Ibadan

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Using a qualitative method, this paper analyses the institutions in Nigeria's livestock trade which enable an understanding of the actors and the nature of their interactions in the transportation of cattle from centres of production to the final consumers, using the Bodija cattle market in Ibadan as the case study. This paper is viewed within Alonso's General Theory of Movement, and by extension, Ullman's bases for spatial interaction. Fixed routes are followed in a north-south direction, with extraneous time consuming and quite often risky overland coverage of the earliest stages of movement, through railway carriage, though not without hitches. The road transport has dominated the movement of cattle in Nigeria, often by the private sector, not without its attendant problems though. Information was collected from the leaders in cattle marketing and transportation, noting especially the ethnicity and gender relations. The data collection involved group interviews, direct observations and extraction of relevant information from published sources. The findings show that formal and informal actors are involved in cattle transportation business. The movement of cattle to Akinyele was from the northern states. The choice of the market by cattle dealers largely depends on prices at various source markets, easy availability of transport, and varieties of cattle species in demand. The availability of mobile phones has facilitated the exchange of information. Transportation is largely arranged through Yan Kwammission (commissioned agents), and transport costs vary in proportion to the distance travelled.

Key words: kraal, livestock trade, rail, cattle market, security

Introduction

Transportation constitutes a crucial function and a significant cost item in the cattle trade in Nigeria. Over the years, a pattern of transportation has emerged by which cattle is moved from sources in the northern states to the southern cattle markets. Three major methods of movement, which have been and are still being used are movement on hoofs (animal), by rail, and by road transport.

Movement on hoofs is the oldest means of cattle transport and it now accounts for a very small

proportion of the total cattle transport market. There are two major cattle routes to the southern markets. The first starts from Sokoto in the northwest and ends in Lagos in the southwest through Jebba. The second route starts from Maiduguri in the northeast and ends in Calabar in the southeast passing through Kano and Zaria (Iro, 1994). The Fulani herdsman follow these fixed routes. The northwest to southwest route takes an average of twenty-four to twenty-seven days, while that of the northeast to southeast takes between fifty to fifty-four days. This overland movement is

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extraneous, time consuming, and quite often, risky. The dwindling use of the movement on hoofs can be ascribed to the harsh environment en route and the transit animals' mortalities. The animals are subjected to whipping and traumata by the drovers and they are made to walk up to twenty-five kilometres a day with little time to graze or drink water. Iro (1994), noted that a crude estimate showed that the animals loose up to 40% of their original weight during the more than the 1000km journey from the northern to the western markets. In Acida Market in Sokoto for example, cattle is moved to the market on hoof from the villages.

Railway carriage was first experimented in 1992 when the Shehu of Bornu, with the help of the then British Resident, exported cattle and sheep to Lagos by the then newly-completed rail lines (Iro, 1994). It was reported that the Shehu made a 90% profit on the trip. Thus, the railway became the main mode of cattle movement until the 1960s when road transport overtook the railway as a major mode of movement in Nigeria. However, poor rail connections have adversely affected the use of railways for cattle movement. For example, the rail lines do not provide sufficient stock feeds, water sources, resting places and veterinary facilities for the cows in transit and also housing for livestock freighters to rail termini. To compound the problems, cattle trains and wagons were grossly inadequate, resulting in delays, overloading and the spread of diseases among animals waiting to be evacuated at the railway stations. Railway officials and veterinary inspectors were said to have engaged in unscrupulous deals, demanding bribes from herd-owners before allocating wagon spaces. These malpractices undermined the effectiveness of the rail services and caused needless suffering to herds on the waiting lists at rail stations. Today, the operation of the railways in Nigeria has been quite epileptic, erratic and frustrating to say the least.

Although, more costly than the railway, road transportation has dominated the movement of cattle in Nigeria. Road truckage is dominated by the private sector and, therefore, it is more efficiently run than the publicly-owned and operated railways. The cattle

traders who do not own vehicles rely on road transporters to haul their herds to the southern markets. Cattle movement by road is not without its own problems. For example, the cattle are kept standing and in some cases laying in the vehicles throughout the long journey without food or water (Ademosu, 1976). Most rural roads are seasonal and inoperable during the rainy season. Vehicles are prone to accidents and cattle and/or freight insurance is nonexistent. This study which focuses mainly on transportation of cattle mostly produced in the northern states of Nigeria and consumed in the south, examines the various facets of cattle movement by road from the north to Bodija market, the main cattle market in Ibadan, Oyo State in southwestern Nigeria. The rest of the paper is in six sections. Section two provides the conceptual basis for the paper while section three provides the methodology. Section four provides the location of Bodija market and transport chain context, while section five discusses the main actors in cattle transportation, movement of cattle from the northern states to the final consumers in Ibadan, and cattle transport security and insurance issues. Section six gives general comments, while section seven provides the conclusions.

Conceptual underpinning

The paper is conceived within the General Interaction Theory (GIT) with specific reference to Ullman's triad. Spatial Interaction Model proposed by Alonso as "Theory of Movements" offers a new specification of spatial origin-destination flow models. Alonso (1973, 1978) proposed a generalized spatial interaction model from which the four members of the traditional family of the gravity models (Wilson, 1967) can be derived as special cases. These models offer specification of spatial origin-destination flow models (de Vries et al., 2000).

By extension, Ullman (1956) postulated three conditions facilitating spatial interaction between places. These are complementarity, intervening opportunity, and transferability. Traditionally, geographers are of the view that interaction between places develop because of areal differentiation. This is because places differ from one another. This is true

to some extent, but mere differentiation never produces interaction by itself (Abler et al., 1971). Therefore, for two places to interact there must be a demand in one place and a supply at another, and demand and supply must be complimentary. For a given demand, there may be alternative for sources of supply, this alternative supply is called the intervening opportunity. No matter the absence of intervening opportunity and how complimentary two areas are, the items to be moved must be transferable. It is only then that interaction can take place. In this case, the cattle produced in the northern parts of Nigeria are demanded in the southern part, especially Ibadan, hence, the interaction in cattle trade between the two places.

Methodology

The methodology used for the study is largely qualitative. This method enables us to understand the actors and the nature of their interactions in the series of activities connected with the transportation of cattle from centres of production to the final consumer. Most of the informants were selected from among those occupying leadership positions in cattle marketing and transportation. Other relevant characteristics such as ethnicity and gender were considered in sampling.

Three major methods were adopted in data collection namely:

- (i) Group interviews of various actors (see table 1) followed by informal conversations with some members of each group;
- (ii) Direct observation of the various actors in the process of understanding their roles in cattle movement within the Bodija market; (there was a note taker for the interview, which were also tape-recorded); and
- (iii) Extraction of relevant information from publications – journal articles, theses written by students in the Faculty of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine, University of Ibadan and the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) in Ibadan.

The analysis that follows is based mainly on data collected through the first two sources and supported by some information from the third source. Group interviews were conducted between January 4 and 5, 2005 at Akinyele Kraal, and between January 13 and 14 at Bodija market. The timing of the interviews was made to avoid the hectic festive periods, particularly at Christmas and New Year. Arrangements for the different groups were made through a main meat seller at Sango market in Ibadan. The main meat seller, a Yoruba man, and an experienced cattle trader, was introduced by the lead researcher's wife, his major customer. He made contacts and arranged the groups as requested. A check-list of questions was prepared for the interviews with the various groups. The questions dealt with various issues including: the organization of the existing transport system for cattle movement; the main actors and their various roles; the type of formal and informal associations that exist, and how the actors/associations are organized and what roles they perform in the movement of cattle (live and/or slaughtered). Others are the people determining the transport modal choices for cattle movement at different levels; the actors' modes of operation; the laws and regulations guiding their operations; ethnic composition, and the sources of capital. In addition, the check-list of questions pertain to types of vehicles and other equipments used in cattle movement; positioning of live cattle in vehicles during transportation at various levels; cost of movement and the various charges/levies (authorized and unauthorized); trust issues in cattle movement, and storage of cattle and space allocation at both Akinyele Kraal and Bodija markets.

Location of Bodija Market and Transport Chain Context

Bodija market is located in the Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State, Nigeria. It is about one kilometre from the University of Ibadan along the road to the State Secretariat which is also about one kilometre away (Fig.1). It is the main recipient and distributor of cattle moved from different parts of northern states to Ibadan metropolis and some parts of the Yoruba south west.

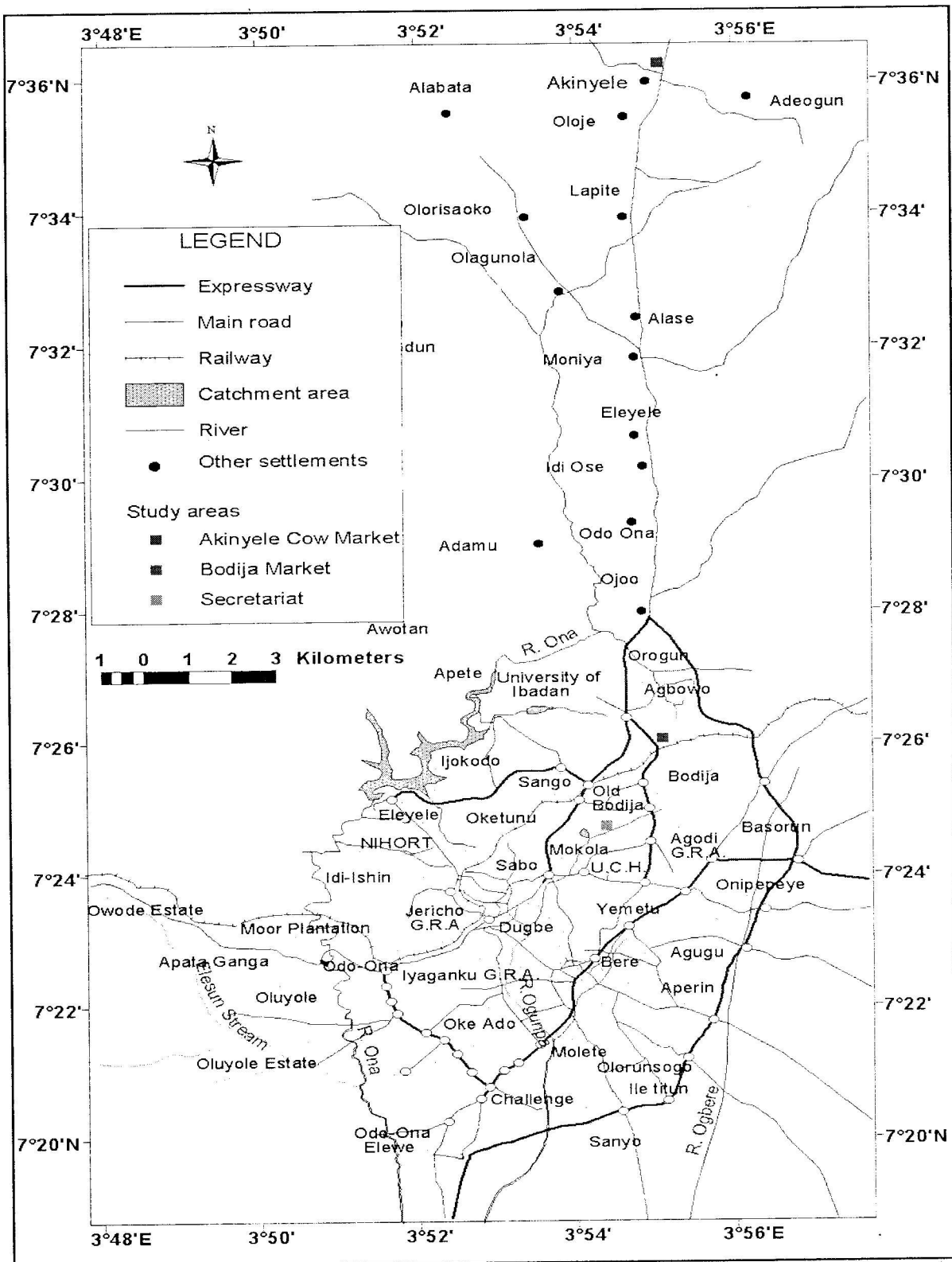


Fig. 1: The Setting

Although Bodija remains the main cattle market in Ibadan, the main Kraal for initially receiving cattle from the northern states was moved to Akinyele about 19 kilometres north along the Ibadan – Oyo road after the 1999 Bodija ethnic conflict. The Bodija inter-ethnic conflict between the Hausa cattle traders and the Yoruba marketers started from a dispute between a goat trader and some market women. A trailer, which off-loaded cattle at the then Bodija Kraal, also brought 10 goats. As the Hausa owner of the goats was moving them to the section of the market for goat sellers, the goats left some faeces along the route. This caused an argument between the marketers along the route and the Hausa man who, in the process, stabbed one of the marketers with his knife. A fracas then ensued and the Hausa trader was taken to the Police Station at Sango, about two kilometres from the market. The arrest of the Hausa trader and the subsequent rumour about the beating of some Yoruba marketers, who went to the police station the following day to inquire about the case, sparked off further trouble at the Bodija market between Hausa cattle traders and Yoruba non-cattle traders.

It is worth noting that there was no disturbance/fighting among the Hausa and Yoruba cattle traders. The main reason for this can only be attributed to the mutual understanding and friendship which trading in the same commodity has created over the years. Also many of the traders interact socially. They attend one another's ceremonies such as children's weddings, burials and religious festivities. It is common for Yoruba traders who are Christians to attend Muslim festivals (*Eid el Fitri and Eid el Kabir-Ileya*) and for Hausa Muslim traders to visit their Yoruba counterparts, at Christmas and Easter festivals. However, upon further inquiry, one old Yoruba cattle trader opined that, although the mutual understanding might have had some influence in preventing the fight between Hausa and Yoruba traders, the quick intervention of the police and the State Governor contributed in preventing the escalation of the disturbance. To him, had the disturbance continued for more days, the influence of the mutual understanding might have disappeared (Filani, 2005).

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

Today, Akinyele is the main Kraal for initially receiving cattle from the northern states while Bodija remains the main market for the slaughtering and marketing of cattle in the Ibadan metropolis and some parts of the Yoruba south west. Therefore, the transport chain for the cattle market at Bodija is considered at four levels of movement, namely, transportation from:

- I. sources in the northern states to Akinyele Kraal
- ii. from Akinyele to Bodija market
- iii. within Bodija market; and
- iv. from Bodija market after sale of whole/slaughtered cows to other markets in Ibadan and to the final consumer

Analysis of Findings

Main actors in cattle transportation

Formal and informal actors are involved in the cattle transportation business. The formal actors include vehicle inspectors who normally check vehicle road worthiness, drivers and vehicle licenses. Police are supposed to provide security through check points but as will be shown later, most of the check points have been turned into 'toll gates' where the police collect bribes. Many other semi-formal and non-formal transport actors involved include the various cattle dealers' associations, the National Union of Road Transporters Workers (NURTW), the Association of Cart Pushers and the loaders who perform the regular role by ensuring good behaviour among their members, controlling their activities and settling petty quarrels which might ensue in the process of

transacting business. Many of these associations have no formal constitution but they rely on norms which they have developed after long years of existence and which they enforce with relative ease. Table 1 shows the various actors and such characteristics as the local terminologies for them, their main functions, gender, ethnicity and relative wealth or poverty status.

Movement of Cattle from the Northern States to Akinyele Kraal

The cattle at Akinyele market came from 10 northern states which constitute the main market (see Table 2). The days of occurrences of the markets vary. For instance in Bauchi State, Alkaleri is the main market and it operates on Sundays. In Kaduna, Birni-Gwari and Kawo are the main markets and operates on Tuesdays and Thursdays. For Yobe, Gari-Alkali and Guru are the markets, which operate on Sundays and Tuesdays, etc.

It should be noted that of the 19 market days mentioned; only two operate on Fridays, while four operate on Sundays and the remaining 13 operate on weekdays. This pattern may have been due to devotees' attending mosques and engaging in other religious activities and some of the southern cattle traders are Christians who would not market on Sundays. The choice of the market by cattle dealers' depends on information they receive about prices at various markets before embarking on their journeys, easy availability of transport and the varieties of cattle species in demand at any point in time. Information on prices and markets is got from dealers on fresh arrival. The advent of mobile phones has facilitated such information exchange in recent times. Some of the drivers now have phones which they use en route to inform others about happenings on the route (e.g., where police check points are encountered). The cattle traders at Akinyele have phones and those without have access to public mobile phones through which they contact their counterparts in the northern markets. Through such contacts they exchange information on prevailing prices and the cattle market situation both in the south and the north. They also collect information on the

date of departure of drivers bringing cattle to the south.

Transporting livestock from the northern states to the south is a costly and risky business. The main mode of transport used in transporting cattle from the north to Akinyele is by road. Vehicles used include the long articulated trailers, lorry trucks and Mitsubishi Canter, with respective capacities of 33, 15 and 10 cattle per load. Although Ibadan is connected by rail, none of the cattle dealers use this mode. This may be due to the factors enumerated above and in addition, include the absence of rail link to most of the originating markets and from the rail station in Ibadan to the Akinyele Kraal about 25 kilometres from the station. The necessity for transfer of cattle from the road to the train and vice-versa together with all that this will entail in terms of loading and unloading and time, could be too cumbersome for the cattle dealers. In Acida Market, Sokoto, after a cattle purchase, transportation is arranged through the *Yan Kwammission* (commissioned agents) who arrange the price, date and time that the cattle are to be transported (Adamu, 2005).

Usually, the choice of vehicle depends on the number of cattle purchased and how many of the cattle traders could provide enough load for the trailer, the truck or the canter. In certain situations, 5 or 6 dealers join together to hire a vehicle and the cost of hire is shared according to the number of cattle owned. Each trader marks his own cattle with a special sign. A cattle dealer need not accompany the vehicle since others are always willing to take care of his cattle in transit on his behalf. There is an element of mutual trust among the dealers in the transportation of cattle. Transportation costs vary on proportion to distance covered. The costs range from as high as ₦3,000.00 per head of cattle from Gombe, Bauchi State (above 1000km) to ₦1,300.00 in Birni-Gwari, Kaduna State (6000km) and ₦700.00 in Mariga, Niger State (400kms) to Ibadan (Illiassou, 2005). Thus, a trailer load of 33 cows would then cost a total sum of ₦99,000.00 from Gombe, ₦42,900.00 from Birni-Gwari, and ₦23,100.00 from Mariga.

Table 1. Key Actors in Bodija Market Cattle Trade: Traders and Transporters

| S/No | Key Actor | Local Term | Role | Gender | Ethnic Group | Relative Wealth/Poverty |
|------|--|------------------------|--|--------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Cattle Trader | Eleran | Moving cattle from northern markets to Akinyele Kraal | Male | Mainly Fulanis | Wealthy |
| | Cattle Trader/ Landlords | Eleran | Selling cattle from Akinyele Kraal to Bodija | Male | Hausa & Yoruba | Wealthy |
| 2 | Wholesalers | Eleran | Moving of cattle from Akinyele Kraal to Bodija; selling cattle at Bodija market | Mainly male, few female | Yoruba | Averagely wealthy |
| | Retailers | Eleran | Selling slaughtered cows | Male | Yoruba | Averagely wealthy |
| | Middlemen | Lawos/ barandas | Arranging sales and credit sales for buyers | Male | Yoruba | Averagely wealthy |
| 3 | Transporters | Onimoto | Moving cattle at all stages | Male | Hausa/Yoruba | Averagely wealthy |
| | Trailers | Awako/ Olomolanke | Moving cattle from northern markets to Akinyele | Male | Hausa/Yoruba | Averagely wealthy |
| | Truckers | | Moving cattle from northern markets to Akinyele | Male | Yoruba | Averagely wealthy |
| | Canterers | | Moving cattle from Akinyele to Bodija market | Male | Yoruba | Relatively poor |
| | Taxis | | Moving slaughtered cows from Bodija to other submarkets in Ibadan | Male | Yoruba | Poor |
| | Drivers | | Drawing of vehicles at all levels Moving tired/ailing cows from Akinyele Kraal to vehicles | Male | Hausa/Yoruba | Poor |
| | Cart Pushers | | Moving cattle from Bodija after offloading to the abattoir | Mainly female; some male | Mainly Yoruba; few Hausa men | Poor |
| | Loaders/Porters | | Loading and unloading of vehicles at source: Akinyele and Bodija | | | |
| 4 | Associations | Egbe Eleran | Regulating and controlling cattle dealers' activities at Akinyele Kraal | Mainly male, some female | Mainly Hausa, few Yoruba | Relatively wealthy |
| | Akinyele | Egbe Eleran | Regulating and controlling cattle dealers' activities at Akinyele | Mainly male, some female | Yoruba male, some female | Wealthy |
| | Duraju Kanta Hore (headquarter at Abuja; branch at Akinyele) | | | Male, few female | | Members - A combination of averagely wealthy & poor people |
| | Owolowo Cattle Dealers (umbrella association for executives of all associations in the cattle trade) | Egbe Eleran Owolowo | Regulating and controlling cattle dealers' activities at Akinyele; liaison role with local government on matters relating to the Kraal | Male | Yoruba | Members - A combination of relatively wealthy & poor people |
| | National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) | Egbe Onimoto | Regulating and controlling cattle dealers at Bodija market | Male | Yoruba | |
| | National Association of Butchers | Egbe Alapata | Regulating and controlling cattle traders at Bodija market | Male | Yoruba | Member - A combination of averagely wealthy & poor people |
| | Association of Cart Pushers | Olomolanke | Regulating and controlling the activities of cart pushers | | Yoruba/few Hausa | |
| | Association of Loaders | Egbe Alaaru | Informal meetings to settle petty quarrels among members | | | |

Table 2. Main sources of cattle to Akinyele and Bodija markets

| Source (State) | Main Markets | Market Days |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Bauchi | Alkaleri | Sundays |
| Bornu | Gombe | Thursdays |
| Jigawa | Miagatiri | Thursdays |
| Kano | Wudil | Fridays |
| Kaduna | Birni-Gwari Kawo | Thursdays |
| Kebbi | Kamba Gonki Amagoro | Mondays Tuesdays Wednesdays |
| Katsina | Zabuwa Sherri | Tuesdays Wednesdays |
| Sokoto | Acida Ilela | Wednesdays Sundays |
| Yobe | Gari-Alkali Guru | Sundays Tuesdays |
| Niger | Mariga Kao | Saturdays Sundays |
| Zamfara | Talata Mafara Gunu | Tuesdays Fridays |

For a lorry-load of 15, the costs are ₦45,000.00, ₦19,500.00, and ₦10,500.00 from Gombe, Birni-Gwari and Mairiga, respectively. This is much higher than the ₦15,000.00 per lorry load given by Iro for movement from Kano to Lagos in 1993. Other factors which can influence the transport costs include the size of cattle, the number carried by each vehicle and season of movement. Usually transport costs are slightly higher during the high-demand periods of festivities by Christians (Christmas and Easter) and Muslims (Eid el Fitri and Ileya). When there is petrol scarcity, prices also rise or frequency of movement is reduced. In the last nine months there has not been any petrol scarcity in Nigeria because of the effect of deregulation in the petroleum industry. The cattle traders show sign of relief.

Usually, it takes an average of between 1 and a half and 3 days to move cattle from the various northern sources to Ibadan. Other costs are incurred

in the transportation of cattle. For instance, loaders charge between ₦100 and ₦200 per cow, depending on the size of the cows. Also, cost of loading varies with the positioning of the cows in the vehicles. Positioning could be by standing (₦100.00 per cow) or by laying (₦250.00 per cow). This difference is said to be due to the fact that it is more difficult to load cattle by laying them in the vehicles. The offloading at Ibadan attracts only ₦50.00 per head of cattle whether the positioning is standing or laying. Certain charges are also paid on each head of cattle during transit. This, on the average, is ₦50.00 but it could vary from one state to another. While in Sokoto, Niger, Kebbi and Kwara states, the amount is ₦50.00, the Oyo State Government collects ₦100.00 per cattle in transit within the state before reaching the Akinyele Kraal. Payment made in transit is borne by the cattle owners and not the vehicle owner/driver. However, the owner/driver pays the police who collect illegal fees at various check points en route. The drivers encounter an average of fifteen to twenty check points on a single journey.

The legal check points are the 5 interstate junctions where the charges earlier referred to are collected. Others manned mainly by the police are illegal. Payment on each occasion also varies between ₦100.00 and ₦200.00. In other words, a driver can pay between ₦1000.00 to ₦2000.00 on a journey. Such charges are passed on to the cattle dealers in the charges originally paid to the vehicle owner.

The Akinyele Kraal can accommodate more than 1000 heads of cattle at a time. Each cow has a mark for identification of ownership. The space in the Kraal is allocated by the Akinyele Local Government to the various associations present in Akinyele Kraal (see Table 1). There are about 20 landlords who control the space allocations in the various associations. These landlords are the main recipients and custodians of the cattle from the north. Each landlord is allocated space and he, in turn, allocates the spaces to individual members of the various associations. Sometimes, such allocations to individuals are made on the basis of group affinity. This group affinity could derive from people who come from the same town or those who serve as

apprentices under the landlords. Consequently, new entrants could easily locate their cattle in spaces belonging to individuals on friendship and affinity basis. Some of the landlords also provide free accommodation for those traders who bring cattle to them.

Movement from Akinyele Kraal to Bodija Market

Three types of vehicle are involved in the movement of cattle from Akinyele Kraal to the Bodija market, the long articulated trailers, Mitsubishi (Canter) trucks and pick-up vans. The canter has a capacity for 8 or 10 cows. It costs ₦500.00 per cow from Akinyele to Bodija in any of the vehicles. Unlike at the source in the north, the cattle dealers at Akinyele are not free to choose their vehicles because the vehicles are arranged to move in turns depending on their time of arrival at the Kraal. As stated earlier, the cattle traders in the northern markets arrange their own vehicles after purchase. They then have the freedom of choice which is lacking in Akinyele market. The National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) is responsible for maintaining discipline and ensuring that the drivers obey their turns.

Before leaving Akinyele, the cattle dealers pay a tax of ₦100.00 to the Akinyele Local Government and another ₦100.00 to the Oyo State Government. The cows are moved to the vehicles at the Akinyele Kraal park in either of two ways. These are by ropes used to drag the cows to the vehicles at ₦100.00 per cow and by cart pushers (*omolankes*) at ₦150.00 per cow. The loaders take ₦100.00 per cow. All the cows are laid in the vehicles during the movement from Akinyele to Bodija market. The Association of Cart Pushers and Loaders organize the movement to and loading of the vehicles. Each member of the association has his own regular dealer and they stick to them on a daily basis. Cattle dealers at Bodija market (mainly Yorubas) leave Ibadan for Akinyele as early as 6am everyday and the journey now takes between 30 and 35 minutes from what it used to be (1hour to 1½ hour) before the repairs on the Ibadan-Oyo-Ilorin road started. Usually, the dealers return to Bodija between 8.30am and 9.00am everyday. About

50 vehicles move cattle from Akinyele to Bodija market daily.

Movement within Bodija Market

At Bodija market, the old pre-1999 Kraal is still used to accommodate the cows on arrival. A section of this old Kraal is now fenced where cows that are not sold in a day are kept overnight for a fee of ₦50.00 per cow. The off-loaders take only ₦50.00 per cattle in Bodija and are responsible for moving the cattle by rope to the abattoir in the market. The rope used costs ₦50.00 per piece. The association of cart pushers are made up of about 40 members. All of them are male and of the same Yoruba ethnic origin. Although, there is no restriction to entry on ethnic basis, only Yorubas engage in cart pushing at Bodija market. Cart pushing is also not a woman's job. Most of the cart owners own one cart, while a few own two. It costs about ₦15,000.00 to build a cart. The owners rent out the carts at ₦20.00 per trip from the Kraal to the abattoir.

The cart pushers carry only ailing or tired cows (due to exhaustion during transit) to the slaughter house at ₦150.00 per cow. In essence, the pusher makes an average profit of ₦130.00 per trip. The average daily proceeds for a cart pusher is put at between ₦750 - ₦1,000.00. The cart owners have to do other jobs in addition to renting their carts in order to make ends meet.

Although, the association of cart pushers has no written constitution, there are certain norms which members must not violate. For example, each regular cart pusher has his own customers among the cattle dealers and no one can move cows belonging to others' customers. They hold their weekly meetings on Mondays at 1.00pm. A weekly payment of ₦100.00 is made by each member for the maintenance and development of the association. An additional ₦20.00 is paid and put in a separate account for purposes of assisting members who may be engaged in any form of ceremonies ranging from naming of a new baby to burying parents or relations.

Another set of transporters within the Bodija market are the head porters (*alaarus*). These are all women, who carry parts of slaughtered cows for

themselves (if they are meat sellers) or for others at a cost of ₦30.00, from the abattoir to the vehicles on the Bodija-University of Ibadan main road. Each porter could make an average of ₦450 - ₦600.00 per day, depending on the market situation. At Akinyele, only live cattle is sold, while at the Bodija market, both live and slaughtered cows are sold. Those who buy live cows at Bodija are mainly individuals who want to use them for one ceremony or the other. A majority of the dealers are retailers who buy different parts of the slaughtered cows from the cattle traders for transportation to other markets in Ibadan metropolis. Such markets include Sango, Gege, Bode, Oranyan, Alesinloye, Ode-Oolo, Oja'ba, Apete and Gbaremu (Sango), all of which are sub-markets for cattle marketing in Ibadan.

Movement from Bodija to other Markets in Ibadan

The movement of slaughtered cows (whole or parts) is done mainly by taxi cabs and to some extent by 'danfo' buses and pick-up vans. The taxi cabs are parked near the abattoir inside the market while the pick-up and 'danfo' buses are parked along the University of Ibadan and the secretariat road. The cost of transportation varies proportionately with increasing distance from the Bodija market to the various sub-markets mentioned earlier. For example, while it costs ₦250.00 to transport cow parts from Bodija to Sango market about 2 kilometres away, between ₦400.00 and ₦500.00 is paid for same to Dugbe market about 8 kilometres away. The highest transportation cost for the most distant market from Bodija is ₦600.00. Women head porters carry slaughtered parts to the vehicles either at the park near the abattoir or on the main road at a cost of ₦30.00 per trip load. There are a few male Hausa head porters also but they operate more in the non-cattle trading section of Bodija market. The alaaus are not organized and entry is free and uncontrolled. Their ages ranges from about 18 to 45 years especially for the women.

Cattle Transport Security and Insurance Issues

Transporting cattle between the north and south west is not secure. All the informants in Acida market

have a story to tell about their experiences or other people's experiences with armed robbers on the road. One of the informants explains the problem of insecurity in livestock long distance trading:

We have robbers on our roads, two months ago, we were stopped by robbers around 8.00am along Zuru road. I lost ₦480,000. We were 8 in number and we all lost money to the robbers. We use to take 20 cattle every market to the south, now we can hardly afford 5 cows. If not because of the 'sutura' (protection) of this business we would not have been able to have 5 animals to trade today. (Adamu, 2005)

Since the traders carry a lot of cash on return journeys from the south, they risk attacks by armed robbers. Unfortunately, cattle in transit are not formally insured. Freight insurance is available from a few companies for freight transporters, especially of export produce (cocoa, palm oil and formerly groundnut traders), and imported goods moving from the coastal parts to factories and individuals in the hinterlands. Nigerians, especially cattle traders are usually suspicious of insurance companies, which are perceived as quick at collecting premiums but always reluctant to pay claims. They may be willing to go through the usually long and difficult process of making claims in case of losses (Filani, 2005). Once traders incur some loss or misfortune in their trade, they seek solace in God. On what they do if they are duped or robbed of their capital or animals, they said that they search, if they do not find their animal or money, they resign to fate and seek for Allah's protection against future occurrences.

When we asked who is responsible for any loss if vehicles break down or are involved in accidents during transit, we were told that the cattle dealers take responsibility for their cattle. However, informal means are used to serve as insurance for losses incurred through trading. Social networks and support from fellow traders and 'dillalai' have pulled a number of the respondents from the brink of ruin. One of the informants described such kind of support from fellow traders as 'sutura' (cloth), signifying the

protection, care, and status their network provides to one another (Adamu, 2005). All the market associations have the practice of helping one another in the period of crisis or calamity. If a member incurs any loss, he is assisted by his fellow colleagues possibly through a fixed amount charged to all members. The total amount raised is handed over to the affected person. If what is raised is inadequate; the association may lend the affected person some money to continue with the business. Although the majority of the cattle traders and drivers do not utilize formal insurance services, they have nonetheless been able to utilize and benefit from informal insurance services from family, friends and importantly, association and its membership.

General Comments

Transportation inputs are efforts and activities engaged in to overcome the barrier of distance between producers of commodities. In the case of cattle trade, transportation plays an important role, and is a significant cost item in the marketing of cattle in Bodija market and, in fact, in the marketing of foodstuffs in Nigeria. According to Olayide (1965), the percentage of physical transportation costs of total marketing in foodstuff trade varied between 30% and 65% of the delivery cost. Such high costs of transportation in the 1960s could be explained by an inefficient and uncoordinated transport system coupled with poor roads and poor connectivity between the producing and consuming regions of different foodstuffs. Since the 1960s, a significant improvement has occurred in the country's transportation system. Although, the cost of transportation is still high, it does not constitute more than 15% of the delivery cost of a head of cattle at Bodija market.

It must be noted that the task of estimating transportation cost in the cattle trade has become more complicated due to the various legal and illegal fees now paid in transit when cattle is moved from the northern markets to Ibadan. Also, some of such actors in the transport chain, such as the cart pushers and head loaders have not been reflected in previous studies on cattle marketing. Generally, the

transportation cost of moving cattle to the Bodija market is now made up of fees charged by the vehicle owners/drivers and the loaders at the northern markets, the fees paid to the state, and illegal collections by the police during transit. There are also the fees charged by transporters at the Akinyele market, by the loaders and off loaders at both the Akinyele and Bodija markets, and the charges by head porters. The total transport rates for moving cattle from the northern states to Bodija market, therefore, include the vehicle hiring costs (at the northern markets and Akinyele Kraal) plus the loading and off-loading costs, costs of attendants that accompany the vehicles, taxes paid to states en route from the north, illegal fees collected by the police at check points, costs for cart pushers and porters at different levels before the cow reaches the abattoir at Bodija market. For the final consumer, the transport costs also include the cost of moving from the sub-markets to the consumer's home.

Conclusion

In Nigeria, the demand for transport is high and still growing. The recently-completed National Transport Policy recognizes this fact and the need to support the country's social and economic growth through the provision of adequate, safe, efficient and environmentally sound transport system. In the cattle market, the improved transportation system has widened the scope of operators. Since the 1960s, transport has consistently ranked highest in the magnitude of public investment in infrastructures. In road transport, which is currently the most relevant to cattle marketing, the kilometrage progressed in quality and quantity, and today, Nigeria has a total of 193,000 kilometres of roads, made up of 34,125 kilometres of federal roads, 30,500 kilometres of state roads, and 129,577 kilometres of local government roads (Bureau of Public Enterprises, 2003). Government policy objective in the road sub-sector is to maintain the existing assets through efficient road maintenance and rehabilitation and the introduction of measures to protect the roads from deterioration.

The current rehabilitation of the road from Kano to Ibadan through Kaduna, Kontagora, Jebba and Ilorin will shorten the number of days spent in moving cows from the northern markets to the Bodija market. Apart from roads, there is the need to improve and expand the railways in such a way as to enhance the movement of cattle through this cheaper mode. It is, however, encouraging that the Federal Government has set in motion the process of conceding the railway operations to the private sector. This may lead to more efficient running of the railways and expansion of its network in such a way that would benefit the transportation of cattle from the northern sources to the southern markets in general and Bodija market in particular.

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