

**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN INDIGENOUS BEER
ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY OF WOMEN IN JOS METROPOLIS,
NIGERIA: 1909-1995**

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DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God and my angel mother, Rebecca Danjuma Nimlan, my children, Shelter Ponfa Zingbon and Avery Hanan Zingbon.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AG	Action Group
BKT	Burkutu
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross National Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
LGA	Local Government Area.
MSEs	Micro and Small Size Enterprise
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NAS	Native Authority System
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon
NGN	Currency Code for the Nigerian Naira
NPC	National People's Congress
NPCN	National Population Commission of Nigeria
OI	Oral Interview
PO	Participant Observation
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SMEDAN	Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria
UIS	Urban Informal Sector

GLOSSARY (Glossary of Hausa words)

Acha	Traditional staple food of Berom people of Jos
Adashe	Savings
Ajon	Traditional name of Ugandan indigenous beer
Akpeteshie	The name of an indigenous beer in Ghana Barki Town
Bashi	Credit
Burkutu	Traditional name of brewed alcoholic beverage of Jos
Chicha	The name of the indigenous beer in Peru
Dan Doka	Colonial Police of Jos
Dawadawa	Local spice of Jos Gaya
Hausa	Regional language of Northern Nigeria
Igbo	An ethnic group in Eastern Nigeria
Kweethe	Traditional beer in Uganda
Magajiya	The name of burkutu seller
Magajiyos	Plural of Magajiya
Mageu	Indigenous beer in South Africa
Maho	Free drink of burkutu given to the consumer by the seller
Maka	When two people drink burkutu from the same calabash at the same time in the same place
Mandyen	Traditional festival of Berom people in Jos
Marula	Name of the traditional beer in South Africa
Omuramba	Traditional beer in Uganda
Pito	Indigenous beer in Ghana and Nigeria.
Sabon gari	New Town

Sarki	King
Sclerocaryabirrea	Fruit used to brew beer in South Africa
Sojugi	Soldier in Hausa language
Tchoukoutou	Name of traditional beer in Benin
Tonto	Traditional beer in Uganda
Tsafi	Rite performed for twins in Jos
Tulu	Calabash for burkutu storage
Waragi	Traditional beer of Uganda
Yaki iyamare	Nigerian Civil War (Biafra War)

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Employment: means to engage in indigenous beer enterprise that provided a livelihood.

Entrepreneurship: refers to participation in the production and marketing of indigenous beer by women for profit.

Indigenous beer: the name for traditionally brewed intoxicating beverage of Jos, Nigeria, known as burkutu.

Informal sector: Universally, there is no acceptable definition of the informal sector. This is because the term informal sector means different things to researchers, policymakers and international organizations. Scholars like Becker (2004) and ILO (2002) describe it as small-scale economic activities which are unrecognized and unregulated by the state. In this study, the term informal sector is used in reference to micro and small-scale economic activity like the production and trade in indigenous beer which is associated with ease of entry, unregistered, reliance on indigenous resources, labour intensive, resilient and self-employed accompanied by mostly unpaid family members' labour.

Microenterprises: In Nigeria, the National Policy on MSME (2006) defined microenterprise as an enterprise employing between one to nine persons with assets base from one naira to less than five million naira excluding landed properties. Therefore, this study adopts the aforementioned definition, to refer to micro enterprise as an indigenous beer enterprise that employs between one to nine people with the capital base from one Naira to less than five million.

Poverty: refers to the lack of or inadequate access to the basic necessities of life such as shelter, clothing, food, healthcare, and education. It could be absolute or relative.

Small enterprises: Small enterprise means different things to different people, countries, and organizations. Nevertheless, some parameters used in defining the term are turnover, asset base, type of industry and numbers of employees (Oppong et al, 2014). In Nigeria, two criteria are used in defining small enterprise which are the number of employees which is between 10-45 and capital base of five million naira to less than fifty million naira (SMEDAN, 2007). In this study, the term is used to refer to burkutu enterprises that employ between 10 and above employees including the owner with the capital base of less than five million naira.

Women entrepreneurs: the term is used to describe women that used their indigenous knowledge of brewing beer to engage in indigenous beer trade, who bear the risk and profit associated with its trade.

ABSTRACT

Studies on women entrepreneurship in Jos focused on women in tomatoes enterprise and on the challenges of women entrepreneurs. Therefore, there is little knowledge on women in indigenous beer enterprise. This study examined the continuity and change that occurred in indigenous beer enterprise of women in Jos metropolis from 1909 to 1995. The study discussed the factors that led to the entry of women in burkutu enterprise and its transformation during the colonial period. It also focused on how developments like Nigeria's independence, Biafra war, United Nations Women Conference of 1975 and Structural Adjustment Programme, influenced continuity and change in burkutu enterprise during the post-independence period. The changes that happened in the process of brewing and marketing burkutu by women in Jos were examined. The theories used in this study were the Women Agency and Social Capital theory. Qualitative design based on historical approach was adopted for this study. The data was collected from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included archival materials and oral-interviews. Secondary sources comprised articles, books, and theses. The data was analysed qualitatively. It was presented based on themes and chronology according to the objectives of the study. This study revealed that burkutu was an indigenous beer that was brewed by women mainly for socio-cultural purposes during the pre-colonial period. However, during the colonial era, it was transformed to an article of trade due to monetization of the economy. Burkutu which was used for religious rite became a source of relaxation for tin labourers. Restriction on the consumption of burkutu diminished. This was because burkutu consumption was tied to purchasing power. In the post-independence period, it continued to thrive because it was a source of employment and income for women that participated in it. It also provided inexpensive alcohol for the urban low income earner particularly during the Structural Adjustment Programme era in Nigeria. The traditional brewing tools were replaced by grinding machine and aluminum pots for efficiency.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

In many cultures of the world, women entrepreneurship in indigenous traditional beverages has played key roles in cultural and economic activities. Orlove and Schmidt (1995) study indigenous and industrial beer in Peru and Bolivia, where alcoholic drink is a central component of many social gatherings. The local drink known as chicha is an indigenous beer made from maize, brewed and sold exclusively by women. A similar study was conducted by Mwesigye and Okurut(1994) on the women entrepreneurship in indigenous beer in Uganda Using five different traditional alcoholic beverages produced by women from local plant like banana. These beverages which include Tonto, Ajon, Omuramba, Kweethe, and Waragi were produced for trade, thus providing income for families involved. It is only Ugandan waragi which had entered international markets successfully. A study on the economic empowerment of women through indigenous enterprises like traditional beer Pito, Dawadawa and groundnut in Nadowli District (rural area) of Northern Ghana was done by Abankwah and Abebe (2011). The writers recognised the role of women in traditional beer (,pito') enterprise and its sustenance of livelihood.

African women entrepreneurship in indigenous beer has been in existence since the colonial era but the existence of the indigenous beer pre-dates the colonial era. Heinrich Barth and Mungo Park, earliest explorers of West Africa, affirmed the existence of indigenous beers in the areas they visited in the 1800s (Haggblade and

Holzapfel, 1996). It was relevant for socio-cultural reasons like weddings, cooperative work, and rituals. The imposition of colonial rule on Africa led to the introduction of money economy during the nineteenth century. Consequently, the indigenous beer became an article of trade. Women continued to brew and sell beer for profit.

Although industrially manufactured goods have gradually taken over many indigenous traditional enterprises like pottery, food, and beverages that women undertook in Africa, indigenous brewing of beer however continued to thrive (Dauda, 2002). The continuity in indigenous beer industry is partly due to the fact that it serves as a source of calories, proteins, and vitamin B (Kubo, 2014). Joseph (1979) argue that indigenous African sorghum beers are rich in calories, vitamin B as well as thiamine, folic acid, riboflavin, and nicotinic acid.

Apart from the medicinal and nutritional value, the product promoted women entrepreneurship because of the high cost of factory brewed and refined beer which ranged between NGN300.00 to NGN400.00 (2 to 2.5 US dollar), (Ibrahim & Aondover 2013). Moreover, Ellison (2005) corroborates that indigenous home brewed alcohol was cheaper than factory made branded alcohol, thus guaranteeing their continuing popularity, especially among low income earning groups. Traditional alcoholic beverages were steadily acquiring a label as beer for low income earners (Achi, 2005). It should be noted that the factory beer is more expensive than the indigenous home-made beer which paved way for its continuity among the low-income groups of Africa.

The major occupation of the people of Jos, Nigeria, in the past was agriculture which was supplemented by cottage industry such as blacksmithing, mining, hunting and trade during the nineteenth century. At the turn of the twentieth century, tin mining industry became a major employer of labour with its expansion by the European colonialists. This attracted different ethnic groups from Nigeria like the Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba who, to date inhabit the Jos city, North-Central Nigeria (Fwatshak, 2011). The presence of tin, railway, cool weather, and arable land made Jos a cosmopolitan city with people from different parts of the world living in it. While majority of the urban dwellers were traders and civil servants, a few living on the fringe of the metropolis practiced agriculture (Bonkat, 2015). The women in Jos metropolis engaged in different entrepreneurial activities like agriculture, handicraft industry, trade, and services. Women were also known for brewing and marketing of burkutu, which was one of the most popular alcoholic drinks in the area of study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

All societies across the world have for centuries had one or many forms of traditional indigenous alcoholic beverages. The traditional beverages serve varied purposes like rituals, marriage negotiation and festivities. At the same time, in these societies, it was the prerogative of the elders to drink alcoholic beverage. The women were mostly responsible for brewing the alcoholic beverage on the instructions of the men. In Jos Nigeria, like elsewhere in Africa, such was the situation until the advent of colonial rule which introduced money economy which in turn brought many challenges in the society. The traditional alcoholic drink burkutu that was mainly ceremonious took a new dimension of an item of trade and income generation. This study examines the continuity and change in indigenous beer in Jos metropolis, Nigeria. The central

players are women who took up active control of indigenous beverage at the beginning of the colonial rule and used it as an item of economic empowerment to make ends meet for themselves and their families in the course of the twentieth century.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- i. To examine the factors that led to the entry of women in burkutu enterprise in Jos metropolis from 1909 to 1959.
- ii. To investigate how developments during the post-independence period (1960 to 1981) influenced continuity and change in women burkutu enterprise of Jos metropolis.
- iii. To analyse the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programme on burkutu enterprise of women in Jos metropolis from 1982 to 1995.

1.4 Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

- i. What factors led to the entry of women in burkutu enterprise in Jos metropolis from 1909 to 1959?
- ii. How did various developments in post-independence Nigeria lead to continuity and change in burkutu enterprise of women in Jos metropolis from 1960 to 1981?
- iii. In what ways did the Structural Adjustment Programme impact on the burkutu enterprise of women in Jos metropolis from 1982 to 1995?

1.5 Research Premises

This study is guided by the following premises:

- i. The monetization of the Jos economy from 1909 to 1959 led to the entry of women in burkutu enterprise.
- ii. Certain salient developments in post-independence Nigeria ignited continuity and change in burkutu enterprise of women in Jos metropolis from 1960 to 1981.
- iii. The Structural Adjustment Programme led to resilience and expansion of burkutu enterprise by women in Jos metropolis from 1982 to 1995.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

Existing literature on women entrepreneurship in Nigeria either focused on a country-level or regional viewpoint as well as major states like Lagos, Oyo, Imo and Kano (Akporbaro, 2012; Garba, 2011). Similarly, studies on women entrepreneurship in Jos focus on the general (entire) entrepreneurial activities of women. For instance, the impact of SAP on women in the informal sector (Nnazor; 1999) and impact of violent conflict on women in the tomato markets (Bonkat; 2014) were carried out by a sociologist and a political scientist, none of which considered women entrepreneurship in indigenous beer from a historical perspective. Fwatshak (2011) studied African entrepreneurship in Jos from 1902-1985, but his study focuses on the entrepreneurial activities of men while female entrepreneurial activities were mentioned only in passing. This leaves a research gap on women entrepreneurship in Jos Nigeria.

The context of most studies on indigenous beer entrepreneurship of women in Africa particularly Nigeria had a rural setting (Abankwah and Abebe, 2011). Therefore, this study is significant based on the adoption of Jos city as its context. Jos is an urban area in North Central Nigeria to show that the brewing and marketing of traditional beer was not just a rural activity but an urban one too.

This study is further justified based on the adoption of women agency approach by highlighting how women displayed their agency in indigenous beer enterprise by translating their traditional skill of brewing into a livelihood strategy. The income they generated from the burkutu enterprise was used for household maintenance such as feeding, clothing, healthcare, payment of school fee and feeding for their immediate family as well as extended family welfare. It also provided low income earners with inexpensive and affordable alcoholic beer. Women were agents of economic growth and development.

This study is also significant due to the fact that it will serve as a reference material for researchers that are interested in gender studies and entrepreneurship. The findings of this research will enable governmental and non-governmental organizations to formulate appropriate policy regarding women entrepreneurs in traditional industries.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study in its thematic scope is basically on continuity and change in entrepreneurial activity of women of Jos metropolis from 1909 to 1995. The choice of 1909 as the starting point of this study is based on the fact that there was an increment in the number of mining companies from one to thirty-five (NAK; 1910). The increase in the number of mining companies led to the establishment of mining

camps in Jos where the labourers resided. The mining companies encouraged women to sell burkutu in their camps in order to stabilise their labour force. In addition to that, the economy was monetized during the first decade of the twentieth century (Yandaki; 2012).

The study ends in 1995 because Sani Abacha's administration suspended the SAP era in Nigeria in 1994 in order to legitimize his government (Amuwo, 2001). A year after, the burkutu enterprise continued to thrive. The study is done in Jos metropolis which comprises Jos North and Jos South Local Government Areas of Plateau State. It has an area of 801km².

This study was limited by the poor educational background of the respondents resulting in difficulty in interpreting the questions for Focus Group Discussion and in-depth interviews, which were constructed in English Language. The researcher surmounted these limitations by interpreting the contents of the questions in the English language to the "Hausa" which is the common language of the informants.

The study was also limited because some of the informants were suspicious of the researcher as an agent of the government seeking information on their business to tax them. This problem was resolved through the letter of introduction that was issued to the researcher by Kenyatta University. Frequent visitation and drinking of the burkutu by the researcher created rapport and confidence

1.8 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Introduction

This section is a review of the existing related literature on women entrepreneurship with an emphasis on indigenous beer in Jos Metropolis from 1909•1994 as well as the theoretical framework that is considered appropriate for the study. It also an examination of works conducted in other countries and Jos Nigeria, to appreciate their contributions to this study and to identify the knowledge gaps in the existing works. This literature review is organized based on theme and chronology according to the objectives of the study.

1.8.2 Indigenous Beer Entrepreneurship of Women during the Colonial Period

Beverage Review, a research organization, in 2003, conducted a study on sorghum beer and mining industry in South Africa during the colonial period and was published in a sociological journal. It is shown that sorghum beer was linked to the mining industry in South Africa and the early urbanization of black workers. The study also revealed that sorghum beer was packaged in convenient cartons due to a growing demand by factory workers and the urban market. The work shares similarities with this current study due to the role of women in brewing sorghum beer and its role in the retention of workers in the mining sector. However, the work differs from the present effort because it was done from a sociological viewpoint while the current study is done from a historical perspective.

Justin (2002) analyzed the role of alcohol in facilitating power (power exercised by elders, colonial authority and African elites) in East Africa from 1850 to 1999. The author focused on historical dynamics like traditional elders, caravan trade, British

colonial government policy and the African elites on alcohol usage, as well as the authority exercised. The study areas were Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. The study revealed that alcohol facilitated exercise of power. For instance, traditional elders boosted their power by excluding the youth from drinking alcohol during the pre-colonial time. However, during the colonial era, the consumption of distilled liquors was preserved for the colonialists while during the post-independence period, African elites also ensured that industrial alcohol consumption was theirs. Justin's study is relevant to the present study due to the role of alcohol particularly indigenous brewed beer over a period of time. Nevertheless, Justin's study was on the link between alcohol and power whereas the current study is on women enterprise in indigenous beer in Jos, Nigeria.

Akyeampong (1996) examined drink, power and cultural change in Ghana from 1800 to recent time. The researcher focused on the culture and politics of drinking beer in Southern Ghana specifically among the Asante ethnic group. The study revealed that beer was central to the exercise of power. Palm wine was their traditional beer which was brewed by women and mostly drank by the elders. It was consumed for socio-cultural purposes. During the colonial period, the imported liquors substituted their traditional brewed beer named Akpeteshie due to high cost. Political parties particularly Convention People's Party used it to mobilize support. The work is central to this study due to the importance of the drinking culture. Nevertheless, it is different from this study since its focused was on the politics of alcohol while this study is on women entrepreneurial activity in an indigenous beer of Jos, Nigeria.

A study of the history of entrepreneurship in the oil palm in Mbano, Imo State, South-Eastern, Nigeria was done by Ibezim (2010). The researcher acknowledged the roles

of women in oil palm business specifically in the production and marketing of palm kernels, broom and palm oil in Mbano. The significance of Ibezim's work to this study is hinged on its gender sensitivity especially the entrepreneurial activities of women in Mbano which were addressed. He argued that the pre-colonial cottage industries continued to thrive during the colonial period despite the attempt by colonial officers to discourage it. burkutu's production also increased during this period. The work was however limited to Mbano, Southeast, Nigeria. Ibezim's work tested the findings of this study against what was obtainable in Jos.

A study of the role of Uzairhue women in science and technology in Benin Province, 1900-1960 was carried out by Ayokhai (2012).The work centered on the roles of Uzairhue women in the palm oil industry, specifically the production and trade in palm oil, palm kernel oil (paraffin) and broom. The study revealed that the production and trade in palm oil was exclusive to women.. The production involved different stages including the gathering of bunches of the palm fruits, cooking, milling, and filtration. Ayokhai's work is central to the current study. It was also an economic system which functioned as a source of livelihood. Nevertheless, the work was not on indigenous beer, and limited to 1960.

A study that focused on the role of women in the technology of Central Nigeria from the colonial to post-independence period was done by Lohor and Ijimbli (2010). It researched on salt-making, pottery, local beer, and food preservation. The study revealed that the factors that promoted the transfer and diffusion of technology were apprenticeship, marriage, migration, and cultural festivals. Central to this research is the technological practices which women engaged in, particularly local beer production. However, the work was on central Nigeria as a whole and not on Jos

women entrepreneurs who were engaged in indigenous beer enterprise. It is, therefore, important to investigate whether the concept of apprenticeship as used in Lohor and Ijimbli's study is applicable to women entrepreneurship in the production of traditional beer in Jos.

The changing socio-economic role of Tiv women in Nigeria has been documented by Ityavyar (1992). The author analyzed the socio-economic and political organization of traditional (pre-colonial) Tiv society as well as the changes that occurred due to colonialism. Ityavyar's work is central to this study because the role of Tiv women in the pre-colonial economic activities like food processing (indigenous beer) and trade was discussed and the changes that occurred as a result of colonialism had parallels to Jos metropolis. Colonialism through its policies of taxation, monetization of the economy, cash crop production, and missionary activities led to the changing socio-economic role of Tiv women. Women in Tiv society had more responsibility. However, the work was anchored on feminist perspective and focused on the socio-economic role of women in Benue State, Nigeria.

Nimlan (2014) conducted a research on the history of women entrepreneurs in Tarokland of Plateau State, Nigeria, from the pre-colonial to post-independence period. The writer established that women in Tarok land participated actively in agriculture, handicraft, and trade from the pre-colonial to the post-independence period. This was in addition to their domestic and biological roles. Agriculture was their primary economic activity while handicraft and trade were their part-time jobs which were carried out during the dry season.

They were engaged in these activities mainly for consumption and limited exchange purposes during the pre-colonial era. Entrepreneurship then was not an important preoccupation. During the colonial period, they were involved in these activities for consumption and for profit. Farm produce and crafts as well as the indigenous beer, burkutu, became trade items in a monetized economy where men were drawn out to the mine camps in Jos as labourers and to the war fronts as soldiers, leaving women with the responsibility of home and family upkeep. . Nimlan's work is relevant to this study because it touched on the entire women entrepreneurial activities including indigenous beer trade.

A study on African entrepreneurship in Jos, Central Nigeria, from 1902-1985 by Fwatshak (2011) discussed the role of Nigerian entrepreneurs, the nature and patterns of entrepreneurial activities from pre-colonial to the post-independence era as well as the changes that occurred. The writer also evaluated the various entrepreneurship theories. Fwatshak demonstrated that Nigerian entrepreneurship in Jos metropolis expressed both capitalist and non-capitalist forms. However, the non-capitalist form of entrepreneurship dominated private indigenous business. This, according to him, was due to lack of professionalism during the pre-colonial trade and the destructive role of colonialism. He argued that post-independence policies on indigenization and loans were factors that enhanced indigenous entrepreneurship. Fwatshak's work was basically a pioneer study in the area of entrepreneurship in Jos. Its importance to this research lies in the fact that he discussed entrepreneurial activities, both indigenous and foreign. Nevertheless, the work did not pay much attention to the role of women entrepreneurs.

The role of Berom women in the colonial economy of Jos Plateau from 1900 to 1960 was examined by Alahira (2014). The study was on the gender division of labour in the agriculture and tin mining segments respectively. It also examined the pre-colonial gender division of labour in the Berom economy. The data was gathered through interviews, archival materials, and articles. In addition to that, Marxist feminist perspective was adopted. The study showed that the gender division of labour was complementary in the pre-colonial period but became competitive during the colonial period due to colonial policies. Hence, the integration of the pre-colonial economic system into the capitalist economy during the colonial rule led to gender inequality. During the colonial period, Berom women became the main producers of food crops which did not empower them economically because it attracted little proceeds. In the tin industry, the Berom women did the unskilled, less menial jobs and lowest paid jobs like picking, washing and transporting tin while the men did the most menial jobs like digging. Alahira's work is important to this study because of the experience of Berom women in a colonial tin mining environment.

However, it differs from the present study in terms of focus: Alahira's work was on the gender division of labour in colonial agriculture and tin mining in Berom society from a feminist perspective, while this research focuses on women from diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds in Jos who participated in indigenous beer enterprise.

1.8.3 Indigenous Beer Entrepreneurship of Women from 1960 to 1981

A study on indigenous and industrial beer in Peru and Bolivia from 1960 to 1980 was done by Orlove and Schmidt (1995). They noted that alcoholic drink was a central component in many social gatherings of the study area. Their work focused on two

specific items, chicha, an indigenous beer made from maize, and western bottled beer, an industrial product made from barley and hops. Two theories were adopted in their work, namely, spatial contexts (geographical regions) and socio-cultural context. The findings of their study indicated that the two alcoholic beverages are distinct in terms of production, distribution, and consumption. Chicha was brewed from maize. The brewing involved many complex steps like sprouting, grinding, boiling and mixing which was conducted exclusively by women. Chicha was sold by women either in one-liter jugs or large glasses between 750 and 1000ml in size with a uniform price for these standard volumes. The tie between the Chicha vendor and the purchaser was often personal and vendors extend credit, the gift of Chicha, to their established clients. It was sold in marketplaces and restaurants. The work is relevant to this study based on its focus on indigenous beer, Chicha, which was produced and sold by women. It was an ancient art of women that continued to exist till date. However, the study is different from the current study in terms of the location of which the latter is Jos Nigeria, whereas the former was Peru and Bolivia.

The production and consumption of traditional alcoholic beverages in Uganda were considered by Mwesigye and Okurut (1994). The researchers identified five different traditional alcoholic beverages produced from local plant species like banana and their production by women. These beverages were Tonto, Ajon, Omuramba, Kweethe, and Waragi which were produced for trade, thus providing income for families involved. The research revealed that among these beverages, it was only Ugandan waragi which had successfully entered international markets. Their work is relevant to this study because of the involvement of women in the production and trade in indigenous beer.

However, the work is different from this present study in terms of theoretical framework.

A study on the role of technology in women's enterprise of Nigeria during the post-independence era was done by Soetan (1995). The researcher investigated the role of technological inputs like sewing machines and hairdressing equipment in women's businesses like dressmaking, hairdressing and food processing. Survey research procedure was employed for the study. The study which was on the urban informal sector showed that the majority of women were confined to the micro enterprise of the urban informal sector. Women's businesses were predominantly in the areas of dressmaking, hairdressing and food processing. Soetan's study is relevant to this study because of the types of businesses it examined, particularly the impact of machines on food processing which is also tested in the present study. It is however different from this study because it focused on the role of technological inputs in women enterprises but not on indigenous beer. This current study is on continuity and change in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos metropolis.

1.8.4 Indigenous Beer Entrepreneurship of Women from 1982 to 1995

The marketing of traditional alcoholic beverage brewed from the fruits of *Sclerocaryabirrea* (marula) commonly known as marula beer in Bushbuckridge, South Africa, was examined by Schackleton (2004). The study also assessed the roles of the trade in traditional beer particularly on household livelihoods and poverty reduction. The study has shown that the beer was rarely traded before 1998 due to customary taboos prohibiting its sale, but from 1998, the rural women of Bushbuckridge have been selling marula beer in the business centers of the district and along the roadside.

This was because of increasing economic hardship, the scourge of HIV/AIDS, unemployment and retrenchment. The people in the lower economic class in South Africa were increasingly turning to the natural resource base as a means of livelihood. The trade in local beer (marula) by women has grown from a few traders in 1998 to several hundred by 2002. Schackleton's work is relevant to this study in terms of focus which was on women entrepreneurship in indigenous beer. The findings of his work are tested in this study to see whether they are appropriate in the study area. Shackleton's work is different from this study in terms of its period of which the current study is from 1909 to 1994.

N'tcha, et al (2015) studied the indigenous knowledge associated with the production of starters culture used for the fermentation of opaque sorghum beers by women in Benin. The findings of the study revealed that women aged 19 to 65 years old produced the traditional opaque beer (tchoukoutou). The production of the beer was the main activity for more than 73% of the women whereas the others practiced this activity as a secondary job. Women's other jobs were tailoring and hairdressing. These women used calabashes, belts, and bags for the fermentation of the traditional beer. The research is relevant to the present study although the current study focused on Nigeria, while the former was on Benin, a neighbouring country.

A study on the economic empowerment of women through indigenous enterprises like traditional beer Pito, Dawadawa and groundnut in Nadowli District (rural area) of northern Ghana was done by Abankwah and Abebe (2011). The study revealed that most of the women in beer production were illiterate and as a result were not absorbed into formal employment. They earned income from indigenous rural enterprises. Pito

brewing was one of the most lucrative indigenous rural enterprises for women. However, their work was on women enterprise in a rural area in Ghana while the present study is on a particular women enterprise (traditional beer) in the urban area of Jos, Nigeria.

Akinwumi (2000) argued in a study that during the post-colonial period in Nigeria, there was a drop in the percentage of women that were engaged in business. This was due to government policy and the oil boom. However, in the 1980s, there was a reversal following the global oil glut and the downward trend in developing economies, including Nigeria. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) introduced by the then military government of Nigeria under General Ibrahim

Babangida led to the retrenchment of many people from the civil service. The need for survival led many women into business activities in order to support themselves and their families. Central to this study was the impact of Structural Adjustment Programme on women entrepreneurship in Nigeria. However, Akinwumi's research focused on women entrepreneurship in general while the present study focuses on women in traditional beer enterprise.

Adedokun, et al. (2004) examined the impact of liberalization on rural women that were engaged in micro-enterprises like cloth weaving and local textile in the informal sector of Nigeria, with a view to determining how this policy measures have shaped the pattern of production, consumption, employment, income, savings and investment. The study revealed that there was a decrease in purchasing power, and an increasing cultural reawakening in Nigeria which had led to growing appreciation and demand for locally produced goods. More women in cloth weaving and local textile

(tie and dye) production reported significant increases in their business. Women's domestic activities were reported to have intensified as a result of their efforts to compensate for the negative effects of the Structural Adjustment Programme. The profits that the women made were to meet household requirements in an economic environment worsened by adjustment policies. The work is central to this study because of its focus on the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programme on women's enterprises. It is however different from the present study in terms of location since the former was on rural women in south western Nigeria while this is on Jos Metropolis.

A study on the upgrading of traditional fermented foods was done by Achi (2004). A quantitative design was adopted in discussing the production processes of the traditional foods. The study revealed that women carried out fermented food processing activities. The production was craft-based despite the availability of science and technology. Central to Achi's study was the role of women in the production of traditional food, particularly the upgrading of traditional beverages while this study is on women entrepreneurial activity in indigenous beer.

Nnazor (1999) conducted a study on the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) on women in the informal sector like dressing, tailoring and food vending in Jos. The study indicated that the businesses were badly affected by the Structural Adjustment Programme and resulted in limited access to credit facilities, stalls and family upkeep. The research is relevant to our study because of its focus on the impact of SAP on women in the informal sector of Jos. However, the work is different from the present study due to the fact that it centered on women in the

informal sector in general and had a sociological orientation whereas this study is on women in indigenous beer entrepreneurship from a historical perspective.

The impact of conflict on the socio-economic relations of women in vegetable markets in Jos from 2001 to 2010 was analysed by Bonkat (2015). The study considered women that sold tomatoes, pepper, and cabbage in tomatoes market and Farin-gada market. Social Identity and Social Capital theories were employed for the study. The study revealed that the traders had diverse social identities, which were affected by the conflict, but they continued to coexist. The conflict also led to the establishment of new markets, which were patronized, by their associates and family members. Bonkat's work is significant to the present study because of the use of social capital theory, which is also tested, in the current study.

1.8.5 Gaps in Reviewed Literature

Based on the above review, it is clear that many scholars have studied women entrepreneurship in Nigeria. However, women entrepreneurship in Jos metropolis has been studied by few scholars notably Bonkat (2014), who examined the impact of violent conflict on the socio-economic relation of women in vegetable markets of Jos in central Nigeria. Furthermore, Nnazor (1999) analysed the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programme on women in the informal sector of Jos Nigeria from a sociological perspective. Alahira (2014) examined the gender division of labour in tin mining and agriculture of Berom society during the colonial period in Jos. It is imperative to note that the above scholars focused on aspects of women entrepreneurship other than indigenous beer enterprise. The observable gaps in the existing body of literature are as follows:

There is little knowledge of the history of women entrepreneurship particularly in the indigenous beer industry in Jos, Nigeria. Women agency approach to the study of women entrepreneurship in an indigenous beer in Jos has not been explored.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on Women's Agency theory and Social Capital theory. These theories are appropriate for interpreting the continuity and change in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos from 1909 to 1995.

1.9.1 Women's Agency Theory

The story of women domination is a known fact, which is not debatable, but it does not tell everything about women. The women's agency theory was popularized by Sen (1999). It was rooted in the work of Mary Wollstone, *A Vindication of the Right of Woman*, published in 1792. Her work encompassed beliefs in the rights of women to their well-being and rights aimed at the free agency of women. Commenting on the agency theory, Sen makes the following submission:

both these features in the agenda of women's movement, but it is, I think, fair to say that the agency aspects are beginning to receive some attention at last, in contrast to the earlier exclusive concentration on well-being aspect. Not long ago, the tasks these movements faced primarily involved working to achieve better treatment for women – a squarer deal. The concentration was mainly on women's well-being and it was a much needed corrective. The objectives have, however, gradually evolved and broadened from this „welfarist' focus to incorporate and emphasize the active role of women's agency. No longer the passive recipients of welfare-enhancing help, women are increasingly seen by men as well as women, as an active agent of change; the

dynamic promoters of social transformations that can alter the lives of both women and men (Sen, 1999; 11).

The women's agency theory is appropriate in interpreting women's agency in entrepreneurship with a focus on burkutu. This study posits that entrepreneurship in indigenous beer is another strategy through which women in Jos displayed their entrepreneurial capability. Women were the active and main participants in this entrepreneurial activity. They were responsible for its development and transmission of the traditional technology from one generation to another (Marian, 2016; OI). Women empowered themselves economically and supported their families and the society at large from the profit they realized from their burkutu enterprise. By this, women were key instruments of development, not mere victims of patriarchal society.

During the colonial era, the men (their husbands) were incapacitated by their tax obligation so their wives engaged in burkutu enterprise and assisted their husbands in paying their taxes to avoid being beaten by the agents of the colonial system (Yop, 2016; OI). For the period of the Nigerian Civil War, men from Jos were fighting in the war, leaving their wives and children behind (FGD, 2016; Angwan-Rukuba). Consequently, the women had to engage in indigenous beer enterprise to cater for their families due to the absence of their husbands. Their husbands were not irresponsible but circumstances pushed them to do so. Thus, the women agency theory is used to demonstrate how women that participated in burkutu enterprise empowered themselves economically and complemented their men's effort. However, the weakness of this theory is that it did not address how women were able to organise and manage their burkutu enterprise. Therefore, the women's agency theory is complemented by the social capital theory.

1.9.2 Social Capital theory

There is no single acceptable definition of social capital due to the divergent opinions among researchers as to what it constitutes. The Social Capital theory was developed by scholars for varied intentions like civil society and development (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000). However, this study adopted Coleman's definition stated thus:

Social capital was defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities with two elements in common. They all consist of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital was productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman, 1988, 94).

The components of social capital which are network, trust, and norm were very relevant to the interpretation of how women organized and managed their indigenous beer enterprise.

Social network and trust relation were essential in accessing credit facilities and beer spots. Most of the women depended on credit to produce beer and rent their shop. They often accessed credit facilities through their network and trust. They collected grains and firewood as well as ground the grains and rent shops on credit and after selling the beer, they would settle their debt and keep their profit.

Another element of trust and norm was what promoted co-operative behavior among the women. Precisely, if one of them was sick, the others helped her brew and sell her beer for her. The women also depended on their family particularly their daughters and female relatives who assisted them in brewing and marketing of burkutu. burkutu trade promoted economic and social relation of trust and reciprocity as well as networking which enabled them to source their goods, organize and manage their business as well as their profit through daily contribution (Adashe) among women in

Jos (FGD, Dadi-kowa; 2016).Therefore, it connected women from the diverse ethnic backgrounds.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Introduction

This section discusses the methods used in data collection as well as the analysis. It is structured under the following categories: research design, the location of the study, target population, sampling techniques, instrumentation, data analysis and ethical considerations which led to the actualization of this thesis.

1.10.2 Research Design

This study adopted qualitative design based on historical approach. This method enabled the researcher to collect in-depth information on continuity and change in indigenous beer enterprise of Jos from 1909 to 1995. It was also used to collect data from the archives, interviews, articles and theses that led to the realization of the objectives of the study.

1.10.3 Location of Study

This study is conducted in Jos metropolis which is a city, an urban area and the capital of Plateau State, North Central region of Nigeria. It was a colonial and post-independence administrative headquarters (Bingel, 1978). It comprised two local government areas namely: Jos North LGA and Jos South LGA. Prior to 1991 was one local government area recognized as Jos Local Government (Suberu, 2001).This study is done in Jos because it was well known for the production, marketing and consumption of the indigenous beer burkutu from the pre-colonial to the post-

independence period (NAK, 1914;; Makili, 2015, OI). Most of the studies on indigenous beer were conducted in rural areas (Abankwah and Abebe, 2011). This, therefore, makes Jos metropolis an ideal location for this current study. The map of the study area is attached to the appendix section.

Jos lies between latitudes 9.55 degrees north and longitudes 8.54 degrees east of the equator. It is characterized by rough terrain, rocky mountains, plains, rivers, and streams (Ames, 1934). It is located on the northern edge of the plateau and lies about 4000 feet above sea level. The area is bound by Kaduna State to the North West, Bauchi State to the East and North-East, Barakin Ladi Local Government Area to the South and South-East respectively. The area (Jos) covers a total of about 5832.75 square kilometers (Amango, 2001). Jos is located at the centre of Nigeria, connecting the northern and southern parts of the country.

1.10.4 Target Population

The informants comprised of active and retired women in burkutu enterprise, clients (men and women), retired tin miners (mostly men), and local government officials namely revenue officers and environmental health workers. The informants were chosen because of their knowledge on the burkutu enterprise through participation, experience and observation. They resided in Jos and were inclined to participate in the study. The age bracket of the informants was from thirty (30) to hundred (100) years. Persons from thirty years were interviewed because younger women were helping their parents in burkutu business. Persons above 101 years were not interviewed because of lack of coherence (due to advancement in age).

1.10.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The population of the study area is 237,408 (NPC, 1991) but this study was not focusing on the entire people residing in Jos but rather specifically on women that were associated with brewing and marketing of burkutu, their clients and government officials that were responsible for them. Therefore, the dearth of figures on the aforementioned group of people from 1909 to 1995 led to the adoption of 100 informants as the sample size for this study. The 100 respondents were sixty (60) women and forty (40) men. The informants were active women entrepreneurs, retired women entrepreneurs, leaders of the women entrepreneurs, women and men who drink burkutu, tin miners, revenue officers, and environmental health workers.

This study used non-probability sampling method, namely, purposive method. Knowledgeable informants were identified through snowballing technique. Purposive sampling allowed the study to select respondents who provided the required information with respect to the objectives of the study (Mugenda, 2013). This technique was adopted because it allowed the study to purposively choose the major burkutu markets in the study area namely Kugiya, Gyel, Angwan- Rukuba, Dadin-Kowa, and Tudun-Wada. The aforementioned were popular burkutu markets where beer was sold every day throughout the year. The purposive sampling was also used based on its effectiveness in enabling the study to intentionally choose women who participated in brewing and marketing of indigenous beer; people who drank burkutu and were well knowledgeable about burkutu enterprise. It helped the study to identify government officials like revenue officers and environmental health workers who were involved in inspecting as well as collecting revenue from the women.

Snowballing usually begins with the study identifying one subject who displayed the characteristics of interest. After obtaining the information from the respondent, the researcher would request the respondent to help in locating another respondent who would provide similar information (Mugenda, 2013). This method enabled the researcher to locate informants who were knowledgeable about historical dynamics during the colonial period and the early phase of political independence through referencing. The informants were women who have retired from burkutu enterprise, clients and retired tin miners. This technique assisted the researcher in gaining the confidence of the informants.

1.10.6 Data Collection

A letter of introduction from Kenyatta University was presented to the informants, the National Archive in Kaduna and University of Jos to clarify the intention of the study. This granted the researcher access to collect data on continuity and change in indigenous beer enterprise of women in Jos from 1909 to 1994. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Primary source comprised of Focus Group Discussion, semi-structured interviews, and archival materials.

1.10.6.1 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is used to collect views from a group of individuals with similar characteristics. It also provides an in-depth understanding of the attitudes, motivations, and perceptions of a specific group of people (Mugenda, 2013). This method was appropriate for collecting detailed information on continuity and changes that characterized the indigenous beer enterprise of women. The researcher was aided by one research assistant, Mr. Bulu Danladi, who was fluent in the Hausa language

which was used to interview the participants. A structured focus group discussion guide was used to probe informants for information. This is attached to the appendix. The researcher divided fifty (50) participants into five groups in five different locations namely Kugiya, Angwan- Rukuba, Dadin-Kowa, Gyel, and Tudun-Wada. Each group had ten (10) participants. This is because Mugenda (2013) asserts that the focus group discussion usually takes place with eight to ten participants. The interview involved women who were engaged in the production and marketing of indigenous beer, women leaders, and men and women who consumed beer.

The researcher introduced herself to the participants to create rapport. The participants were informed about the purpose of the study. A tape recorder was used for recording the information during the FGD with the consent of the participants. The participants were informed that the voice recording would be discarded after transcribing without making reference to their names. The FGD was conducted in the Hausa language. Nevertheless, these group discussions usually do not reveal how the individual's opinions or behaviour deviate from the norm. For this reason, it was supplemented by in-depth interviews.

1.10.6.2 Oral Interview

Oral interviews are based on the use of an interview guide. The interview guide is a written list of questions or topics that need to be covered by the interviewer (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). This enabled the researcher to collect in-depth information on women who engaged in indigenous beer enterprise in Jos through structured interview guide that is attached to the appendix. The structured interview guide covered the indigenous beer enterprise during the pre-colonial, colonial and post- independence

period in the light of the objectives of this study. Out of the fifty (50) respondents interviewed, twenty (20) were women (active women, women who have retired from the enterprise and women leaders) while the rest thirty(30) were tin mining workers, burkutu consumers, environmental health workers and revenue officers in Jos. The interviews were conducted with a tape-recorder and researcher's handwritten notes. The tape recorder was used with the consent of the informants. But in situations when they rejected the use of the tape recorder because of suspicion, the researcher relied on note taking. The information obtained from the interviews supplemented those from the Focus Group Discussion and archival materials.

Archival materials in the National Archives in Kaduna, Nigeria, and archival materials on Central Nigerian history in the University of Jos were consulted. The documents that were consulted included annual reports compiled by the Provincial Residents and District Officers on the tin mining industry as well as taxation and surveys of the tin fields. There was also the account of the Mines Department and the Labour Department, compiled by the colonial officers in-charge of those departments. The documents were valuable data in explaining colonial policies which led to the understanding of the reasons why women participated in burkutu enterprise. However, they did not discuss those issues in-depth. Thus, they were complemented and corroborated with data collected from the oral interviews and secondary sources.

The study also made use of secondary sources which were obtained from the National Library of Nigeria, Jos, University of Jos (Nigeria) library and Kenyatta University's Post-modern Library. The secondary data obtained were relevant and enriched this study; from theses, books, newspapers, and journals. In addition, the internet was used to get up-to-date information on women's entrepreneurship. The main intention of

using these procedures was to prevent duplication of studies and corroborate information that was obtained from other methods and findings.

1.10.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Content analysis based on qualitative approach was used to analyze the primary and secondary data collected. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2012), qualitative content analysis refers to a technique used to understand and interpret the content and internal features of the written text. It was adopted because it enabled the study to understand and interpret the continuity and change in women's indigenous beer enterprise. The study translated and transcribed the data collected from the interview and Focus Group Discussion from Hausa to the English language. After transcribing the data, the study reread the text and categorized it based on theme and chronology. The study scrutinized and identified themes with similar meaning from the primary data which were classified based on the objectives of the study. The validity of the primary data was established through interrogation, evaluation, and corroboration with the secondary source. This was done to eliminate propaganda and biases. The data is presented based on themes and chronology in accordance with the study objectives.

1.10.8 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The study sought the consent of women entrepreneurs and clients of women entrepreneurs by signing a consent form (provided as an appendix) before conducting the interviews. The researcher informed the informants that the study was for academic purpose. Participation was voluntary and respondents had rights to withdraw from the study at any stage if they wished to do so. Privacy and anonymity

of the participants were assured and ensured. The researcher also used the letter of introduction obtained from the Post Graduate School of Kenyatta University to seek and receive permission from the Nigerian government officials in the National Archives in Kaduna which is also attached to the thesis as an appendix. All the sources (primary and secondary) collected and consulted by the researcher in the course of this study were duly acknowledged.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ENTRY OF WOMEN IN BURKUTU ENTERPRISE AND ITS TRANSFORMATION IN JOS METROPOLIS FROM 1909-1959

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examined the factors that led to the entry of women in burkutu enterprise and the transformation of burkutu during the colonial era. Prior to the colonial conquest of Jos, women brewed indigenous beer mainly for socio-cultural reasons. The imposition of colonial rule on Jos led to unprecedented changes due to colonial policies like native authority institution, monetization of the economy and alienation of land, leading to the entry of women into burkutu enterprise. The colonial policies also transformed the role of indigenous beer from a socio-cultural item to an article of trade for cash.

To comprehend and appreciate the emergence of women in burkutu enterprise and the transformation of burkutu in Jos, brief background knowledge of the people and climate condition is imperative. This discussion is situated within women agency and social capital theories respectively. The women agency theory was used to examine the agency of women in burkutu enterprise while social capital theory analysed the manner of organization and management of the burkutu enterprise.

2.2 Background of the People of Jos and Economy

The origin of the name „Jos’ is still vague due to the existing conflicting accounts. Fwatshak (2002) argues that the origin of the word „Jos’ is traced to Col. Laws, a colonial officer. Col. Laws stated that the word „Jos’ was derived from the Afizere pre-colonial settlement known as Guash. Another version based on Berom sources

claimed that the origin of the word „Jos’ was traceable to the Berom word called „jot’ which meant „spring water’ (Ibezim, 1998). Although the origin of the term „Jos’ is uncertain, there is certainty regarding the indigenous inhabitants of the area who were referred to as the Afizere, Berom, and Anaguta (Fwatshak, 2011; Larab, 2010).

During the pre-colonial period, the study area was inhabited by the Berom, Afizere, and Anaguta who lived in scattered villages (Best, 2007; Maina, 2015; OI). Similarly, Best categorically refutes the existence of an urban centre in Jos-Plateau in the following words:

Prior to 1900, there was no urban center, as understood today, in Jos or anywhere on the Plateau. The groups that inhabited the Plateau lived in small communities of clans and villages, and had their political leadership based on clans or tribes, with varying degrees of functions and different levels of development. The settlements were scattered across the land. The lands were divided into settlements, farmlands both far and near, sacred religious lands for rituals and sacrifices, hunting grounds (Best, 2007; 11).

From the above, it is clear that there was no urban centre then and the inhabitants lived as independent communities with no centralized system of government like in the Caliphate system in Northern Nigeria. The major economic activity of those societies was agriculture, which was supplemented with other economic activities such as hunting and cottage industry like pottery and traditional beer. It was subsistence economy which was based on trade by barter system for their other needs (Maina, 2015; OI). Hunting and cottage industries were their part-time jobs during the dry season while farming was a fulltime job and carried out during the rainy season. Men and women participated in the farming activity.

Women did the lighter jobs like farm clearing and sowing while the men did the most strenuous work like the clearing of farmland, and making of ridges. In addition, women farmed soup ingredients (pepper and spinach) because it was exclusively

women's duty to provide soup ingredients while the men provided food (millet and acha. Acha is the Hausa word for *digitaria exillis*, a cereal crop variously known as white fonio, fonio millet or hungry rice. The men participated in hunting while the women engaged in food preservation, food processing (burkutu and food spices) and pottery, apart from women's domestic roles (Kande, 2015;OI). It is therefore clear that women were active agents of development by participating in agriculture and cottage industries for the maintenance of households.

The climatic condition of the area of study is imperative to understanding the environs, kinds of crops grown and the entrepreneurial activity of the people because all economic activities take place in an environment and not in a vacuum. Jos Metropolis is sited within the tropical savannah region. It is an area where there is an interaction between two contrasting air masses. The dry tropical continental air mass flows in a north-easterly direction and the wet tropical marine blows in a south-westerly direction (Alahira, 2001). The temperature average a monthly mean of 70° throughout the year.

The highest temperature is recorded in March/April (77.50) and the lowest in December (69.0) (Ames, 1932). Jos metropolis is characterized by two seasons namely dry and rainy respectively. The rainy season starts in April and ends in October. It has an average rainfall of 60 cm per annum usually accompanied by thunderstorms. The dry season commences in November and ends in March which is frequently characterized by dust and dry harmattan wind (Nyam, 1985). This climatic condition of Jos favours the growth of crops like maize, sweet potatoes, and sorghum. Sorghum was used to brew the indigenous beer.

2.3 The Burkutu Industry during the Pre-colonial Era (Late 1800)

To comprehend the reasons for the emergence of women in burkutu enterprise and the transformation of burkutu during the colonial period, it is important to discuss the origin of the indigenous knowledge of brewing, brewing procedures and its role during the pre-colonial period. Indigenous traditional technologies and knowledge systems included agriculture, construction, medicine and processing of agricultural products like indigenous beer. These were practiced for the sustainability of the pre-literate community. This study focuses on the technology of brewing indigenous beer.

According to Chundung (2016, OI), the technology of brewing indigenous beer was transferred to the practitioners by their foremothers. The knowledge was indigenous to the people because each ethnic group had its own unique way of brewing that was acquired from their foremothers who used the available cereals and agricultural produce in their immediate environment. This view is collaborated by Manyaka (2006) who states that the indigenous knowledge, which enabled our predecessors to live and flourish, was passed down from one generation to another through practice. It is indicated that the origin of indigenous beer brewing was a very old human practice since it was passed on to this generation by practitioners' foremothers.

To support the above argument, Haggblade and Holzapfel (1996) state that Heinrich Barth and Mungo Park were two of the earliest explorers of Western Africa who commented on the existence of indigenous beer in the areas they visited in the 1800s. To buttress the aforementioned spectrum, Marx (1959) asserts that the fundamental factor that determined human history was the economy. The human development from being a wandering to a sedentary life was not motivated by magnificent ideas but material needs like food (survival). In addition, Baishiya & Krishina (2013) in their

study of the ethnomedicinal value of various plants used in the preparation of traditional rice beer by different tribes in Assam, India, confirmed that the brewing of indigenous ancient rice beer was discovered as a result of exploiting environmental natural resources. Therefore, the art of brewing burkutu was part of indigenous knowledge, which has been passed down from one generation to another, from the pre-colonial era to date. It is not a colonial creation.

2.4 The Process of Brewing Indigenous Beer during the Late 1800s

The art of brewing indigenous beer was the preserve of women, especially elderly women, who were sometimes assisted by their daughters or female dependents. In the course of brewing burkutu, two types of porridge were produced, namely, a sweet porridge and fermented porridge. The two were mixed together to create burkutu (Mopogy, 2016, OI). According to Marian (2015, OI), brewing burkutu was labour intensive and time demanding. It had multi-step procedures which were as follows:

Women soaked sorghum in a pot of water, the bad particles were removed. They used small calabash to remove the stones that were present in the sorghum and allowed the grain to soak for hours. For example, they soak it in the evening of a particular day, and then removed it from the water the next day. They used baskets to drain the water from the sorghum which they put inside a thicker basket and covered for 2-3 days in order to germinate. They sprinkled water on it on a daily basis. The sprouting sorghum was dried for one or two days depending on the season or the intensity of the sun. The dry sprouting sorghum was milled either by stone or wooden mortar and wooden pestle. Most women used grinding stones to mill and few used mortar and pestle. The women did organized cooperative labour known as gaya to grind it. They shared the grains among them. Alternatively, they ground it in rounds by allocating the grinding of the first round to the first set of women, second round to the second set of women and third round to the third set of women until it was well ground into flour. The women used matakadi (a circular hand sieve) to sift the flour to ensure it was well ground and they put the flour inside a big calabash (Yop, 2016, OI; FGD, Kugiya 2017).

Both porridges were prepared through the same aforementioned procedure but it was the cooking that differed. The sweet porridge was cooked extensively for two days. After mixing the flour with water, women used a clay pot to cook it briefly for the

first time. Before re-cooking it the next day, the women tasted it to be sure it had a sour taste before cooking it. The women cooked it for two days. The fermented porridge was cooked once for some hours only within a day. The sweet porridge and the fermented porridge were then mixed together in a pot to ferment and the next day it would be full of bubbles ready for consumption (Yop, 2016, OI).

During the pre-colonial period, the women used their traditional technological tools to brew burkutu. Haggblade and Holzapfel (1996) confirmed the above processes of brewing beer in Jos in their study of African indigenous beer brewing in Southern Africa. They acknowledged the subsequent stages for indigenous beer brewing: malting, souring, boiling, mashing, straining and alcoholic fermentation. The difference between the two was the grains and time.

Women brewed burkutu for non-commercial purposes which were for their family consumption, traditional festivals, ancestral worship, and labour mobilization during the pre-colonial period (Rwang, 2015; OI). Indigenous beer played pivotal roles in the society and culture of African people in general and the people of Jos Plateau in particular during the pre-colonial era. A colonial report described the indigenous beer industry in the following words:

The beer was consumed in enormous quantities among the Berom people of Jos. It further recorded that children of two months old were usually given beer. The men spend most of their time when not engaged on farms in beer drinking (NAK, 1914; 5).

From the aforementioned, the people in Jos viewed indigenous beer as food for both adults and infants (children) as well as drink for relaxation.

The people have a tradition of consuming burkutu and they valued the sense of happy relaxation which accompanied its consumption. All occasions and events like

festivals, ancestral worship (ritual), corporate labour (gaya), wedding and naming ceremonies involved the use of brewed beer. This was due to the fact that such occasions were incomplete without beer. Most of these events occurred during the dry season, after harvest, which was usually a period of rest.

The people of Jos Plateau traditionally presented beer to their friends, guests, and in-laws during the ceremonies. This was done as a mark of respect, value and affection. According to an informant, Marian (2015.OI), women brewed beer for their husbands to drink in the evening with their friends as they relaxed to discuss affairs after a hard day's job on the farm. Men of means brewed beer and called their friends and neighbours to join them to drink and have fun. In addition, an informant Gwahan (2015,OI) asserted that maka was the act of two people drinking brewed beer from the same calabash at the same time with one holding the left side and the other holding the right side. The people could be friends, lovers, and relatives. Most ethnic groups in Jos Plateau practiced Maka during the pre-colonial period.

Netting (1964) corroborates the point that burkutu enhanced hospitality among people in a community. Two people could drink together from the same calabash simultaneously among the Kofya people of Plateau. The "maka" act had social-cultural significances to the people. It promoted unity and their communal way of life. The act was performed by people who were either intimate or those that were not intimate (FGD, Dadin-Kowa; 2016). Hence, the culture of drinking burkutu promoted hospitality among friends, neighbours and families. (See caption of maka act, plate 3, p.181).

The beer was taken during cooperative farming, popularly known as gaya, which was practiced by the ethnic groups in the area of study during the pre-colonial era (Bingel; 2016: OI). It was a voluntary and reciprocal labour. The host would invite his household, friends, neighbours and fellow villagers to work on his farm, like hoeing, planting, weeding, and harvesting. The host would also slaughter a goat, cook food, and brew large quantities of beer for them. They drank the beer on the farm and in the host's house after farm work (Dakun, 2015.OI). An archival material, NAK (1921: 2), mentioned that the young men did gaya for the village head, cleared his farm for him and were given a large amount of native beer as a reward. The economic relevance of burkutu is described here not as a form of payment but reward for labour.

The indigenous beer was also consumed during bridal-farming where the would-be son-in-law would go with his people to farm for his in-law-to-be as part of bride price (Bingel; 2016, OI). The indigenous beer was also used for mobilization of labour for building mud houses, gathering of thatching grass and house roofing (Nyam, 2015, OI). Its economic importance is further highlighted here with regards to organized labour for different economic activities as long as large quantity of burkutu was guaranteed.

Other events like festivals, rituals and weddings were accompanied by beer drinking. According to Gangmicit (2015,OI) traditional beer was consumed during the yearly festival of ancestral worship. The preparation for this ancestral worship involved brewing of local beer, and only elderly women who were in their menopause were responsible for processing it. This was because it was taboo for women within the menstrual cycle to brew beer. The worshippers gathered in a grove where the chief priest led his people by invoking the names of his dead predecessors with libations of

beer, seeking good health and harvest. After that, the worshippers would consume the beer. Thus, beer was a medium of communication between people and their ancestors.

When the navel sore on twin infants had healed, the tsafi (rite ceremony) was performed to appease the gods to make them calm to ensure that they walked at the same time. If the tsafi was not performed, one of the twins could stop the other from walking. Hence, most of the ethnic groups in Jos Plateau looked at twins with fear, because they believed twins were gifted with power but it has never been the custom to kill them (Marian; 2015.OI). This event involved brewing of beer for elders and masquerades (ancestral spirits). Also, food was cooked for children and people around (Marian, 2015.OI). In addition, children that have six fingers were considered unique children and a source of blessing. The priest put two pots behind their room with burkutu inside and performed the ritual to appease the gods. Also, when a pregnant woman was due, she brewed burkutu and shared it out to people to appease the gods for safe delivery (Lanyi, 2015 OI).

There were several festivals celebrated by the ethnic groups in Jos Plateau which could not take place without drinking beer. These included the acha wedding and mandyen of the Berom (Peter, 2015.OI). But burkutu was the cultural heritage of the people and the pillar that held the various structures of the pre-colonial society to enable it to function effectively. Its consumption was controlled by customs and traditions. Burkutu was the cultural heritage of the people in the area of study because it performed religious, cultural, social and economic functions for the people in Jos Plateau. In a way, their life then revolved around burkutu.

Kalafeng (2008) also corroborated this view in her study of microbiota and mycotoxins in traditional beer associated with brewing and consumption practices in the city of Kimberley in the Northern Cape province of South Africa. She asserted that:

The traditional beer was brewed for festivities, rituals, marriage ceremonies, funerals and cleansing ceremonies, coronations, harvest gatherings, cattle-slaughtering occasions, gatherings for the chopping of firewood, pre- and post-circumcision ceremonies, and births.

From the aforementioned, it is obvious that burkutu was brewed and taken for non-commercial purposes; for socio-cultural reasons. All events, rituals, marriages, and births were accompanied by burkutu in Jos Plateau during the pre-colonial period.

2.5 Women before the Commercialization of Burkutu (Pre-colonial era)

To appreciate the agency of women in burkutu enterprise from the colonial period to 1995, it is necessary to discuss the contributions of women in pre-colonial society. Women in Jos Plateau, like other women in Nigeria, were participating in agriculture, food preservation, food processing (burkutu and food spices) and craftwork mainly for consumption. However, surpluses existed and were bartered for their other needs (Nyam, 2016: OI).

Agriculture was the major economic activity of the society and women played a pivotal role in crop farming and animal husbandry. Kande (2015,OR) states that in terms of crop farming, Women did the lighter job like farm clearing and sowing while the men did the most strenuous work like clearing of farmland and making of ridges. In addition, women farmed soup ingredients (pepper and spinach) because it was women's exclusive duty to provide soup ingredients while the men provided food (millet and acha). During harvest, women were actively involved in the harvest of

farm products and its transportation home. They were responsible for processing, preservation and storage of these farm products.

After harvest in October, the women would begin to collect firewood that would last from October to April of the following year. There was availability of varieties of trees such as neem (dogon yaro), mahogany, locust beans and baobab which were used as sources of firewood. Men usually cut down the tall trees while the women were responsible for collecting and transporting them from the bush to the house. They also reared animals like chicken and goats.

Cottage industries/handicrafts were pottery, house building, brewing of local beer (burkutu), and making of gruel and local spice. With the exception of house building, the aforementioned were practiced exclusively by women. In terms of building of house, women fetched water for wetting the mud. Unlike agriculture, house building was a part time engagement. Apart from agriculture and craftwork, they had domestic chores and biological roles such as child bearing and nurturing.

2.6 The Colonial Political Economy: its Impact on Women and Burkutu

Enterprise during the Colonial Period

The colonial political economy of Jos comprised the conquest of Jos, Native Authority System, land alienation, forced labour, taxation, and monetization. The main motive behind the British colonization of Nigeria was economic, particularly the appropriation of her natural resources. The other motives were to „civilize’ the indigenous people and suppress slave trade (Goshit, 1995). In the southern part of Nigeria, missionary activities prepared the way for colonialism but in northern

Nigeria, Jos Plateau inclusive, colonial conquest predated missionary activities (Mangvwat, 2013).

In 1900, after Lugard declared northern Nigeria as a British Protectorate, major wars of conquest were carried out against Sokoto Caliphate and its emirates. After the imposition of the British rule on the Sokoto Caliphate and the Borno, the British began to conquer the communities in central Nigeria, Jos inclusive. The quick victory the British had with the emirate was not replicated in Central Nigeria as a result of the resistance they encountered in some areas in the region up to the 1930s (Ayuba, 2012). However, the focus of this study is not on the account of the colonization of central Nigeria as the detail discussion of the colonization of Jos has been addressed by scholars like Mangvwat (2013). A brief knowledge of the conquest of Jos, however, is necessary to put in context the colonization of the study area and establishment of Jos.

The economic frontier of British colonialism got to Jos Plateau first before the political (Alahira, 2001). The Royal Niger Company saw tin artifacts during their trading activities in the local market in Ibi along the Benue River in 1885 and thought that it was from Bauchi (Dung, 1992). Based on the aforementioned information, the Royal Niger Company decided to sign a treaty with the emir in

1888 to give the company rights over the mineral resources (tin) in the region for an annual fee of 100 pounds which was paid in exchange with salt (NAK; 1916, 9). The charter that was granted to the Royal Niger Company in 1886 was withdrawn in 1900 but the British Government granted the company the right to mineral resources (tin) in Northern Nigeria (Bill, 1981). Thus, the official conquest of Jos Plateau area started

in 1902 after the conquest of Bauchi. In April 1902, C.L. Temple, the first Resident of Bauchi province, Col. H. W. Laws, a mining engineer, and G. Nicolas led a detachment of forty soldiers from Bauchi to Kiriwarin Dalma which was centre for tin-smelting industry in the area (Goshit, 1995). After conquering this area, the British discovered that they had a tin of a lower quality in Kiriwarin Dalma. The British got a report of rich tin deposits on the Jos Plateau. Thus, the official conquest of Jos Plateau area started in 1902 after the conquest of Bauchi.

The British troops established their first station at Naraguta, from where they launched an attack on the Jengre people. In this encounter, sixty-five Jengre people were killed and their livestock was looted by the British (Dung, 1992). Another encounter was witnessed in Shere, an Afizere village, which refused to accept the British rule; instead, they killed the British messenger. This action made the British to attack this village in May 1902 which led to the death of one hundred and thirty (130) people (Bukar, 2013). However, Vwang (Vom) peacefully accepted the British rule without a battle (Mangwat, 2012). From the above, the British had conquered one community after another through the war in some communities while others were conquered through a peaceful medium. The communities did not unite to face their common enemy and the British conquered them due to their military superiority.

After the imposition of the British colonial rule on Jos, the colonialists embarked on implementing colonial policies like Native Authority System, alienation of land, taxation, monetization and forced labour which ensured the exploitation of human and mineral resources (tin) for the benefit of the British colonialists. The study focuses on colonial policies and its impact on women in burkutu enterprise.

The people in Jos Plateau had been mining tin since the pre-colonial period and had advanced to the stage of division of labour and specialization in the tin mining industry then. It was divided into tin prospectors, mining prospectors, and tin smelters. Tin prospecting was performed by experts based on experience and performance of a specific set of laws of the gods. During the pre-colonial era, the specialization in the tin mining industry was by the entire village, groups, and individuals (Freund, 1981). Tin was processed into household tools, ornaments, and vessels. It was marketed within and outside Jos Plateau. Consequently, the Royal Niger Company saw tin artifact during their trading activities in the local market in Ibi, along the Benue River in 1885 and thought that it was from Bauchi (Dung, 1992). Therefore, from Bauchi, Britain continued with their quest and traced tin to Jos Plateau. Armed escort accompanied the colonial government through the Niger Company sent mining engineer, Mr. Laws, to tin areas in Jos. Mr. Laws. The British colonial mining company faced three challenges, namely hostility from the indigenous people, competition from the native tin miners, and accessibility to land and labour. The British colonialists overcame the native hostility through the use of superior weapons to conquer Jos violently. This led to the loss of lives and political and economic independence.

Large-scale expatriate mining in Jos was initiated by the Royal Niger Company which started operating at Naraguta from 1902 to 1908. In 1909, the number of mining companies increased from one (1) to thirty-five (35) (NAK, 1910: 3). The first mining camp was established at Naraguta in 1903 which remained the only camp until 1909 when other mining camps emerged between 1909 and 1911, namely, Jos Tin Areas in Jos, Gold and Base Metal Group at Delimi, Lucky Chance Mines at Bukuru (Kums,

2002). By 1911, about seventy (70) mining firms were participating in Jos tin mining. In 1912, the number of companies operating in Jos tin mining had risen to 85 (NAK; 1912, 7). As more foreign companies were trooping into Jos, so was more land alienated for mining at the expense of agriculture.

European capital in mining grew from 2.5 million pounds belonging to more than 50 companies in 1910 to 6.8 million belonging to 120 companies in 1913(NAK, 1926: 23). For the year 1919, the names and capital base of each company in the mining enterprise are presented as appendices. From the numbers, names and individual capital base of foreign companies that were operating in Jos, it is shown that it was a big business. However, in 1937, nine companies amalgamated to form a bigger firm known as the Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria with its Headquarters at Bukuru (Kums, 2002). This was done due to financial crises and competition posed by other firms.

Railway was constructed in 1912 to make it possible for the transportation of labour from other areas like Kano to Jos mining camps as well as for transporting tin from Jos to Europe for the production of finished goods (Bingel, 1978). Transportation was a major challenge to the tin industry. But the construction of railway eased the exportation of tin and made it easy for the transportation of labour, food, and machines to the mining sites. This implies that the railway was not constructed for the benefit of Jos residents or Nigerians at large but rather for the exploitation of human and natural resources.

The tin industry depended on manual labour since the pre-colonial and the early phase of the colonial periods respectively. It was labour intensive, mining the alluvial

deposits from the earth with simple tools like head pans and digger. Therefore the introduction of heavy machinery transformed the tin industry. Machines like draglines, hydraulic monitors, jig plants, dredges, and gravel pump were used. These machines were able to function because of the introduction of hydroelectric power on the Jos Plateau. A hydro-electric power station was erected at Kwall in the 1920s and another one at Kurra-falls in the 1930s (Dung, 1992).

From the above, the construction of the railway that made it possible for the introduction of heavy machines powered by electricity led to large-scale tin mining in the area of study. Large-scale tin production by different companies had an adverse effect on the land and indigenous people's livelihood.

The tin mining industry was the preserve of European firms and Nigerians were labourers. In the 1950s, a new law was enacted that allowed Nigerians to hold mining leases. This led to the emergence of indigenous private miners in Jos like D. B. Zang from Gyel, A. M. Dung from Zawan and Babuje Bot from Du. The most prominent among them was D.B, Zang who rose from being a labourer in the European tin mining firms to a private indigenous tin miner (Gonyok, 1986:112). They owned camps. For example, D. B. Zang owned camps in Gyel, Ropp, Foron, and Gashish. T. J. Davou and Company Limited had his at Giring near old Jos Airport and Chuwang Gyang had his own camp at Shen (Chundung, 2016; OI). An informant Rwang (2016:OI) asserted that these camps had trading sections where buying and selling activities took place. Women brewed and sold burkutu there and most of them were from Jos Plateau.

2.7 Colonial Native Authority System

After the conquest of Jos by the British forces to achieve the British economic interest, Britain started strengthening its political and administrative power in the area through Indirect Rule. This was because of a shortage of British personnel, insufficient funds and the success that this system accomplished in Uganda. Lugard introduced this system of government in Nigeria, particularly Jos. However, there were no paramount chiefs and centralized system of government in Jos Plateau like that of the Sokoto Caliphate in Northern Nigeria which facilitated Indirect Rule (Goshit, 1995).

The British administration, therefore, needed agents to serve as chiefs for effective administration (Mangvwat, 2013). Hence, in Jos Plateau, a different scheme of Native Authority System (NAS) based on the indirect rule structure was attempted from 1908 to 1934 (NAK, 1924: 4). The first trial encompassed the creation of paramount chiefs with full colonial powers under bigger chiefdoms based on ethnicity. It was the formative years of indirect rule in Nigeria, specifically Jos Plateau (NAK, 1915: 6). This system of indirect rule came to an end with Lord Lugard's exit from Nigeria in 1918 (NAK, 1915: 6). This system of indirect rule failed in the area because of the establishment and imposition of chiefdoms in the area.

The second scheme was introduced by Lugard's successor, Lord Clifford, who attempted to address the weakness of the indirect rule regarding the establishment of paramount chiefs where none had previously existed. He amended the factor for the creation of paramount chiefs in those areas to focus on creating bigger chiefdoms by federating the many sovereign chiefs of the areas concerned under a chairman-chief (Ballard, 1972). This system ended with the exit of Clifford in 1925. This version of indirect rule as amended by Clifford failed due to his inability to acknowledge that

those areas were autonomous communities which had never been united with other communities.

The third phase was under Palmer's leadership who followed Lugard's prescribed indirect rule system. In 1926, Plateau province was carved out of the Bauchi emirate and divided into five divisions namely Jos, Pankshin, the Lowland, the Southern and Jemmaa (Ames, 1934). Jos division was the largest in the province. The NAS was made up of selected chiefs whose verdicts were subject to British endorsement. The British officials dictated and supervised the Jos indigenous rulers. The Native Authority of Jos Division comprised numerous districts, traditional chiefs, native treasury, native courts, and native policemen (yandoka) as well as native prison (Goshit, 1995). For example, in Jos, a Divisional Officer was a British official. Jos Division was made up of many districts headed by District Heads and each district comprised many villages which were administered by the village heads (Mangyvat, 2013).

The headmen ensured that there were effective tax collections, maintained law and order in their respective village areas and recruited labour to serve the transportation needs of the colonial administration. Native Authority institution performed the legislative, judicial, executive and administrative functions in Jos, therefore, fusion of power among chiefs that formed the Native Authority System in Jos, Nigeria. The native rulers were permitted to have guards and messengers referred to as "dogarai" who executed the police work (Lar, 2015).

Palmer's reign ended in 1929. The fourth phase witnessed the rise of Donald Cameron as the Governor General of Nigeria in 1931. He amended the indirect rule system in

tune with the knowledge he acquired from instituting a stable local government system in Tanganyika, now known as Tanzania. Like in Nigeria, he had centralized and non-centralized politics as well as Muslim and non-Muslim people (Mangvat, 2013). He gave an order for research into the structure of the pre-colonial political institutions of all the people that constituted Nigeria. The findings of these studies led to the reorganization of the colonial local administration of Nigeria in 1934 (Lar, 2015). He abolished the uniform Native Authority for the entire province. In Jos Plateau, the pre-colonial sources of political authority in all the chiefdoms within each division were organized to create federations of chiefdoms with some paramount chiefs (Mangvwat, 2013: 41).

The Native Authority organization was the pillar of the colonial administration in Jos Plateau who carried out their duties brutally and became unpopular among their people. The Native Authority institution imposed the colonial policies like land alienation, taxation, monetization of the economy and forced labour, which in turn became the agents that transformed burkutu from cultural drink to an item of trade.

2.8 Colonial Land Alienation

It was the responsibility of the Native Authority System to ensure the alienation of land from the indigenous people in Jos to the British colonizers. The British colonial government established and implemented different land schemes that enabled them to achieve their political and economic objectives. This section analyzed the colonial land policies and their effect on the people, particularly women.

The Land Proclamation Act of 1903 vested the ownership of all the land in the colony to the Crown (Bukar, 2013). This implied that all the land then belonged to the British

colonial government who alienated it from the indigenous people for tin mining. For instance, in Berom land, between 1903 and 1912, of the total land area of 1,020 square miles, 375 square miles were appropriated by the colonial state for the British miners (NAK, 1939:; 9).

By 1915, 702 of the 1,434 square miles that constituted Jos Division were covered by mining licenses (Bukar,1986).This also encouraged the influx of many companies like Niger Company, Nigerian Tin Corporation and Nigerian Stannaries to Jos who were busy grabbing land for their tin mining activities at the expense of the indigenous people (Alahira, 2001). Mining licensees turned the indigenous populations into “temporary tenants” who could be evicted at will during mining.

By 1931, Jos Division was described as treeless and dotted with wide and deep ponds left behind by mining firms. Apart from the land lost to mining activities, an additional three square miles of land were taken to create Jos Township which serviced the colonial mining society and colonial government (Dung, 1992).

The people of Jos Plateau lost most of its fertile land to British tin miners. By 1939, the British miners had acquired 458 (46%) of the total land area of 1,020 square miles inhabited by the Beroms for tin mining (NAK, 1939). This implied that about 46% of the total land of the Jos people particularly the Berom had been alienated by the state for mining. Gurum community in Buji district had 28 of their 30 square miles obtained for mining by Messrs Law and Rumbold and Company, acquiring 8.22 square miles and also licensed to divert the Gurum River to its mining field (Nengel, 1982).These communities were left with only two square miles for dwelling and agricultural activities. This also encouraged the influx of many companies like Nigerian

Stannaries to Jos who were busy grabbing land for their tin mining activities at the expense of the indigenous people (Alahira, 2001).

Table 2.1: Land that was used for Tin Mining in Gel of Jos Nigeria

Name of the Area	Name of the company	Estimate of the arable land usage	Estimate of the Non-arable land usage
Sabon-Gida	Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria (A.T. M. N)	1,3000acres	-
Gero	A.T. M. N	540 acres	-
Barankin-Akwu	N.C. M. LTD	80 “	-
Barakin-Acha	Mr A.Jones	24 “	36 acres
Bukuru	A.T. M. N.	50 “	-
North of Barakin Acha	A.T. M. N.	10 “	-
		2,004 acres	36 acres

Source: NAK (1944), Land Survey Report of Gyel Community of the Berom Ethnic Group in Jos Division by Davies.

From the table, based on Davies’ (1944) land survey report, mining accounted for about three-quarter of the total land alienation in Gyel. He states that of the 2,7592.7 acres alienated from agriculture, 2,033.9 acres were used for mining activities (NAK, 1944: 14). Mining activities destroyed land meant for agricultural purposes. The total land alienated from Berom land rose from 46% in 1939 to 590 square miles which was about 54% in 1955 for tin mining. The remaining land was rocky and not fertile (NAK, 1939: 9).

Alienation of Berom land by the colonial state for the extraction of tin without compensation awakened their consciousness. The severe effect of tin mining activities

on Berom land after the Second World War created economic crises. This was because there was massive destruction of their land by tin mining which escalated due to the Second World War, leading to the establishment of the Berom Progressive Union (B.P.U) around 1946 (Gonyok,1986). The founding fathers were Stephen Ajani, a school teacher from Du, Choji Tyos from Zawan who was a treasurer with the Native Authority and Moses Nyan Rwang who was an ex- serviceman. The main objectives of the organization were to enlighten the Berom on their right to their land and to defend their interests on land compensation. Initially, the colonial authorities thought that it was just a cultural organization but in 1947, the organization teamed up with the elders in Gyel and prevented the destruction of crops in the farm by miners. The organization's activities made the colonial government give due attention to their land question by implementing land compensation (Dung, 1992).

The land acquired for tin mining constituted the most fertile land in the area; the unfertile and rocky areas were left for agriculture (Marian, 2015: OI). The people were deprived of their major source of livelihood which was crop farming and animal husbandry. Jos People were forced to become wage labourers on the tin mining fields to pay their tax obligation. Women had to search for an alternative livelihood which they found in traditional beer enterprise. Women demonstrated their agency in indigenous beer.

2.9 Colonial Forced Labour

During the colonial period, forced labour was drafted by the Native Authority Officials for varied purposes like tin mining, road construction and building residential houses for British colonial officials (Musa, 2016: OI). There was a flux of different foreign mining companies like the Royal Niger Company into Jos in their

numbers to exploit the human and natural resources, particularly tin. The British colonial government mobilized and imported labour from the northern emirate to work for the British mining companies in Jos through coercive instruments of state (Gonyok, 1986). The first set of labourers that were imported to Jos was the Hausa, followed by the Yoruba and the Igbo (Fwatshak, 2002). Therefore, in 1903, the first batch of 600 labourers arrived at Naraguta, accompanied by Mr. Laws, the Niger company chief mining engineer. Two types of labour were engaged in the extraction of tin which were skilled and unskilled labour (Gonyok, 1986).

The labour procured could not meet the need for the extraction of tin which was manual and labour intensive, especially as the mining industry was witnessing an increment in the number of companies beginning from 1909. In 1910, with the destruction of the indigenous furnaces located at Ririwain Dalma, about 600 labourers at Ririwai, together with indigenous miners, whose mines had been confiscated, formed the skilled and unskilled labourer for the foreign mining companies (Gonyok, 1986). Furthermore, the people of Jos Plateau were unwilling to work in the mines. This was not due to laziness but because they were used to their subsistence economy of the pre-colonial era (NAK, 1920: 4).

From foregoing, it has been shown that there was shortage and challenges that the foreign mining companies were confronted with as they extracted tin in Jos. The foreign companies turned to the colonial state for intervention. Hence, in 1911, the colonial administration turned to the emirates of Bauchi, Kano and Zazau (Zaria in Kaduna state) for the conscription of labour for tin mining at the expense of food production (Goshit, 1995). The Residents of these emirates were directed by the

colonial government to raise labourers for the mines through the then emirate system and its coercive machinery for labour mobilization. This led to the recruitment of one thousand (1000) labourers from Bauchi and four hundred (400) labourers from Kano (NAK, 1911: 2 & NAK, 1912: 4). The foreign companies were investing their capital in Jos tin industry to extract tin for Europe. Labour was diverted from agriculture, handicraft and hunting to the extraction of tin. This was at a pittance and on the term of the British investors.

Table 2.2: African Employers, Wages, Prices of Tin Metal, Out-put, Value (pounds) that Accrued to British Tin Mining Industry, 1910-1938

Year	Number of African Labourers	Average Wages per week	Average Price of Tin Metal Per Ton	Approx. Output Of Tin Ore in Tons	Approx Value of Tin Ore Exported
1910	1500	4/6	Nil	772	nil
1911	5,832	4/6	189	1,809	294,481
1912	12,037	4/6	207	2,885	418,036
1913	16,883	4/6	207	5,531	801,441
1914	17,883	4/6	154	6,143	657,915
1915	14,316	4/6	160	6,910	773,700
1916	19,250	4/6	179	8,187	1,022,975
1917	21,817	4/6	221	8,314	1,273,115
1918	21,568	4/6	313	8,434	1,032,033
1919	22,976	4/6	242	8,169	1,391,801
1920	22,976	4/6	305	7,382	1,566,969
1921	14,982	4/6	171	7,239	868,367
1922	13,481	4/6	157	7,319	864,998
1923	19,124	4/6	195	8,372	1,141,601
1924	22,702	4/6	240	8,857	1,481,029
1925	24,727	4/6	259	8,937	1,626,700
1926	31,375	6/6	291	10,595	2,172,201
1927	37,115	6/6	295	11,509	2,365,324
1928	39,757	6/6	236	13,041	2,143,837
1929	38,678	6/6	203	15,335	2,143,551
1930	30,072	4/6	163	11,905	1,206,816
1931	20,763	1/6	114	9,800	782,040
1932	18,089	1/6	131	6,000	569,314
1933	20,710	1/6	176	4,956	610,729
1934	34,720	1/6	229	7,528	1,148,949
1935	40,053	4/6	226	9,044	1,421,775
1936	45,120	4/6	205	13,432	2,011,000
1937	49,509	4/6	242	14,873	2,592,192
1938	43,388	4/6	187	12,382	1,357,947
Total				245,660	35,740,836

SOURCE: NAK, 1938; 7 Annual Reports of the Mines Department for the Years 1910 to 1938

The outbreak of the First World War created demand for more labourers who served as soldiers, porters and worked in the mines. It also increased the demand for tin ore, which was needed for the production of ammunition. Therefore, there was an increase in demand for tin which forces the price of tin to increase from £150 to £200 per ton in 1913 and 1915 (NAK, 1915: 3). There was high demand for labour which was essential for the extraction of tin by the mining companies to meet the market demand created by the First World War. This was because tin was used to manufacture tin cans used for canning foods for soldiers and sailors (Kums, 2002).

To resolve the need for more labourers, the companies turned to the colonial government who used state apparatus, namely the Native Authority System of District heads and village heads through coercion and taxation to increase labour supply. For instance, in 1916, the labour supplied to the companies was 19,250. By 1917, it was 21,817. It rose to 22,289 in 1919 (NAK, 1915: 5). The tin miners did a lot of innovation to stabilise their labour and increase tin production. The tin miners realised that the labourers were coming from a culture that was centred on drinking burkutu, so they adopted it as a mechanism for labour retention. The first category of women that sold indigenous brewed beer in the mining camps came from Hausa land (Dung, 2015: OI; Gonyok, 1986: 101). This was because Jos Plateau women then were used to their subsistence economy unlike those women who had been exposed to trade since the pre-colonial era Gwaha (2015: OI). Instead of drinking it as a ritual item, it was now taken as a relaxation item after a hard day's job in the mines. Beer drinking was no longer restricted by tradition but labourers took beer as long as they had money. According to Dung (2015, OI), burkutu was a distraction, where the labourers would

go and spend the money they worked for after being taxed. This prolonged their stay in camps and some labourers preferred the camp to their home because it was lively.

Charles (1978) also corroborated the aforementioned point in his study of South and Southern African mines; how alcohol was employed as a strategy for prolonging and stabilizing migrant labour force within the tin industry. Like in Southern Africa, the Jos tin miners adopted the indigenous beer for the retention of labour.

The demand for labour by the mining companies kept on rising steadily even after the First World War in 1918. This was in response to the high demand for tin in the world market. This was due to the fact that European countries, Britain inclusive, had to restock their reserve of tin metal which had dwindled during the war period. Hence, the price of tin metal increased from £200 in 1917 to £300 per ton in 1918 in the world market (NAK, 1915: 6).

During the Second World War, the colonial state resorted to the conscription of labour for the mining of tin and columbite. This raised questions in Britain between the liberals and socialists in the House of Commons, who challenged the British Government over the conscription programme on the ground that it was being undertaken for the private profit of the mining companies on the Jos Plateau. The British Government defended the conscription, maintaining that it had become necessary to do so to meet war demand (Freund, 1981).

The Ministry of Supplies in Britain urged the British Colonial Government in Nigeria to implement measures that increased the production of tin and columbite. The British Government promised to absorb all the quantity of tin and columbite the mine owners produced (NAK, 1939: 10). To increase production, the miners had to increase the

supply of labour. The alternative source of production, which was the importation of machinery, was not possible because of the restriction imposed on the export of machinery during the war (Freund, 1981). This embargo imposed on machines importation forced the miners to rely on manual labour. Colonial state Secretariat in Lagos directed the Resident of Plateau Province, Mr. Pembleton, to raise the required labour force by mine owners in Jos Plateau for tin production (NAK, 1940). The Resident in turn, directed his Divisional Officers to mobilize the peasants for the mines, stating that:

The need for recruits was urgent and I rely on you to carry out an intensive recruiting as possible. The people concerned have long been accustomed to seek employment on the mines for short period during the dry season; therefore, it will be easy to satisfy the demand. (NAK, 1941: 3)

The chiefs and ward heads were called to a meeting with colonial officers where they were told to mobilize their subjects for mine work as their contribution to the war effort (Bukar, 2013).

Table 2.3: The Names of Areas that Supplied Labour for Tin Mining Industry from Northern Province in 1939

Names of the areas in Northern Province	Number of labourers' supplied
Bauchi	5,262
Benue	970
Ilorin	1,251
Kabba	1,042
Kano	2,541
Niger	3,348
Plateau	24,269
Sokoto	3,773
Zaria	3,616
Total	46,072

Source: NAK (1939), Annual Report of the Mines Department, SNP AR1/27

From the table, in 1939, conscripted forced labour was drawn from Bauchi, Benue, Ilorin, Kabba, Kano, Niger, Plateau, Sokoto and Zaria provinces respectively. Therefore, Plateau supplied the highest number of labourers for mining tin and columbite that was needed to execute the war (Pam, 2016; OI).

According to Bello (1962), in the Emirates, the Emirs and their District Heads, assisted by the Native Authority Staff, searched the urban centers and the villages for recruits to be enlisted to the mines. Those who were enlisted were dispatched to the tin fields guarded by the representatives of the district heads. In the non-emirate division, the Native Authority Staff, assisted by the District Heads and community leaders, carried out joint operations to force peasants from the villages to serve as conscripts in the mines. In Plateau Province from where the highest number of conscripts was drawn, Mr. Sator was specifically assigned to help the Divisional Officers and the NA staff to coordinate the recruitment drive in the five divisions (Bello, 1962).

In February 1942, Britain lost Malaysia to Japan, her major source of tin. This forced her to intensify tin production in Jos. Britain's demand for the tin ore of Jos Nigeria to execute the war led to the imposition of forced labour on the Plateau areas and other Northern provinces of Nigeria (NAK, 1945:3). This increase in demand for tin made Britain to set a new agenda for the Jos Plateau tin mines, then their biggest source of tin. This was due to the significance of tin metal which was used to produce tanks, airplanes, engines, radio-sets, armored cars and a range of other instruments of war. The enlistment of labourers continued and in 1942, for successful coercion of the labourers, the Native Authorities in each province in Northern Nigeria were assigned

a specific number of labourers to supply to mining fields (NAK, 1944: 4). The District Heads were charged with the responsibility of supplying the numbers required.

Table 2.4: Provincial Allocation of Conscript Labour for Tin Mining from 1942-1944

Name of the Provincial Areas	Quarterly Labour Supply
Bauchi	4,000
Benue	3,900
Borno	3000
Kano	2000
Katsina	3,200
Niger	2,500
Plateau	15,000
Sokoto	2,900
Zaria	2,850
Total	39,350

Source: NAK (1944)

From the table, 39,350 were recruited in the period 1942-1944. And at the end of every sixteen weeks, they were required to replace the earlier supply. The programme lasted for twenty-seven months, which was from February 1942 to April 1944. About 217,800 labourers took their turns as forced labourers for tin and columbite mining (NAK, 1944: 5). Therefore, the highest figure of labourers came from Plateau due to the fact that they were used to the cold weather, know-how and labour reserved area.

This colonial policy of labour made Jos men, like men from other parts of Nigeria, to migrate to mining camps to form the bulk of labour force for the colonial tin mines. Forced labour pulled out a large number of able-bodied men from farming which was the mainstream of the economy, thereby reducing farm outputs and increasing hardship for the people. An informant Joseph (2015; OI) stated that burkutu enterprise served as a livelihood strategy for women who were left behind after the men's migration. Women frequently had many dependants, children and older people to

cater for. This gave rise to female-headed households. Women in Jos demonstrated their agency in traditional beer by becoming the heads of household due to the absence of their men who were working in the colonial tin fields (Yop, 2016: OI). According to Musa (2015: OI), even when the men returned home, they had very little to support the family. This was due to the fact that a large share of their earning went to tax and purchase of consumables in the camps (Yop, 2016: OI). Therefore, women were agents of development.

By 1952, there was a general census in Northern Nigeria and the figures showed that Jos Township had by far the greatest population of the Northern townships with a total of 7,070 (Bingel, 1978). In 1953, a significant political event happened in Northern Nigeria which led to the migration of people to Jos Town. There was a political riot in Kano which led to clashes, murder, and destruction of property in Sabon Gari, Kano. It made many southerners who left Kano and other Northern townships relocate to Jos where they were safe (Bingel, 1978). An informant Banko, (2016, OI) observed that many people from other parts of the Plateau rural areas were migrating to Jos in search of new opportunities, the prospect of wage labour, modern infrastructure and consumer choices ranging from indigenous and imported goods. The immigrants promoted the indigenous beer enterprise by patronizing it.

2.10 Taxation and Monetization during the Colonial Period

Prior to the colonial conquest of Jos, the different groups of people were organized based on their communities (villages). There was no centralized system of governance like the ones in the Sokoto Caliphate and there was no tax system there. NAK (1921, 10) also corroborated the above view, stating that the pagans (people of Jos

Plateau) who were not conquered by the Fulani rulers and who were independent when the British Government took over the Northern Provinces made no payment annually or otherwise to their village head.

Many reasons have been put forward for the imposition of tax. The colonial policy on the development of her colony was that the colonies must pay the cost of their own administration and development (Bawa, 1995). According to Lugard (1922) however, the major purpose of taxation did not lie in the revenue collected but in the political education which it afforded the people. He declared:

Among unorganized communities, the tax affords a means of creating and enforcing native authority, curbing lawlessness and assisting in tribal evolution and hence it becomes a moral benefit and is justified by the immunity from slave raids which the people now enjoy.

From the above, the colonial administration imposed a tax on the people for the purpose of pushing the people to work on mines and to cater for the cost of running the colonial administration. It also served as a sign of acceptance of British authority. Contrary to that, taxation did not benefit the people of Jos, instead it benefited the British colonizer by facilitating the exploitation of natural (tin) and human resources. Consequently, it led to the development of Britain on the one hand and the underdevelopment of Jos on the other hand.

Initially, taxes in communities in Jos were paid in tribute form with grains and livestock (Dung, 2016: OI). This was necessary due to the absence of currency among the people but was later rationalized into one payable in British currency. Hence, the economy was monetized during the first decade of the twentieth century (Yandaki, 2012). The British colonial government forced the people of Jos Plateau to make payment in British currency not in kind. The tax was used by the colonialists to force

the people to work on the minefields to procure money in meeting their tax obligation. It was instrumental to the exploitation of the natural and human resources in Jos Plateau for the development of the industrial countries while under-developing the economy of Jos Nigeria.

Tax was paid in British currency which was obtainable in the mines and marketplaces. In addition to that, in 1917 and 1918, the Bank of British West Africa, now First Bank of Nigeria, Barclays Bank Dominion, Colonial and Overseas (presently Union Bank) had branches in Jos town respectively (Ames, 1934). The presence of these banks aided the imposition of the British currency (Pound Sterling and Pence) which facilitated the integration of the Jos pre-capitalist economy like other societies in Nigeria into the world capitalist economy (Ake, 1981). The introduction of the money economy transformed burkutu from socio-cultural item to an item of trade and income generation. Burkutu was sold by Jos women in boarder markets and nearby village markets in Jos.

The instrumentation for the collection of taxes was the Native Authorities such as district head, village head and dan doka (police). Tax assessment, imposition, collection, and delivery were done by the Native Authority System. Tax defaulters were thoroughly tortured, disgraced and their belongings were auctioned. Areas located closer to the mines paid higher taxes than those further away (Goshit, 1995). Tax rate per adult male ranged between 6d and 1/- in 1910 and 1919, and witnessed an increment in the 1920s to between 3/- and 3/6d (Gonyok, 1986).

Forced labour that was practiced in Plateau Province from 1939 was abolished in 1945 but the demand for labour in colonial tin mining continued. Therefore, the colonial

state and its apparatus had to adopt the policy of a continuous increase in tax to indirectly force the peasants to work on the mine fields (Goshit, 1995). For instance, tax rates ranged between 7/- to 11/ in 1939, there was a 125% increase which placed it to between 15/- to 24/- in 1945. It also increased in the period 1950 to 1959 to about 30/- to 40 in Jos (Goyok, 1986). Therefore, the 1940s to 1950s witnessed the emergence of Jos women in burkutu enterprise in mining camps. This was because the continued increased in tax brought challenges like family upkeep as men were engrossed with their tax obligation. Seeing how the burkutu enterprise in the mining camps empowered the Hausa women made Jos women to participate in it too.

According to Marian (2016, OI), women were involved in burkutu enterprise in order to provide income for their family up-keep. The income women realized from this business was used for household maintenance like feeding, supporting their husbands in paying their tax obligation to prevent them from being beaten, and buying house utensils. Women showed that they were agents of development by catering for their family needs in the absence of their husbands and assisting their husbands in paying their tax obligation. Therefore, women were not objects of development but subjects of development

2.11 The Entry of Women in Burkutu Enterprise and Its Transformation from 1909-1959

The colonial authority, particularly the Native Authority Institution, enforced colonial policies such as land alienation, taxation and forced labour which deprived agriculture of land and labour which were the main factors of production in an agrarian society like Jos. Those were diverted for colonial tin mining. It created economic hardship for women who were left behind at home with their children and dependents (old people)

to cater for while the men and the able-bodied youth were mining tin at the expense of agriculture. Hence, women had to look for alternative revenue generating activities and indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity came in handy to support their family.

Women demonstrated their agency in indigenous beer enterprise by selling burkutu in generating wealth to pay their husbands' tax (gando) because tax defaulters were beaten and locked up. Their household grains and livestock were also confiscated and auctioned by the headmen (Marian, 2015: OI). Women that were brewing for non-commercial purposes such as for their family's consumption and rituals during the pre-colonial era, transformed it into an article of trade during the colonial period.

Women were brewing and selling burkutu in different mining camps, border markets or nearby village markets in Jos. Examples of the Mining camps were Niger Company (NC) , Naraguta Extended, Jos Tin Areas in Jos, and Lucky Chance mines at Bukuru, Mai-Adiko in Rayfield, Gold and Base Metal Group at Dilimi among others (Sha, 2015: OI). An archival material, NAK, (1939, 3) also describes the marketing of indigenous brewed beer of Jos as follows:

the brewed beer was permitted in the pagan areas (Jos) and native beer was sold in all mining camps and in particular at one or two points east and North-East of Jos town.

Attached to each mining labour camp was a trading section, often not clearly defined, where the traders supplied foodstuffs, native beer and other necessities for the labourers residing in the camp (NAK, 1939: 3). In the trading area, the traders settled as squatters to the company or private lease-holders. Trading areas were adjacent to or forming part of labour camps but conspicuously separated from the labourers' quarters and mining sites were known as „barki' (town) (NAK, 1940: 9). Mars (1947)

also corroborated the aforementioned point that the informal sector, particularly indigenous brewed beer, provided cheap consumption needs of the labour force that was created for the colonial tin industry.

Working hours were from 6 am until 6 pm from Mondays to Fridays with an hour break at 12noon each day. The labourers were not allowed to drink during the break period because the mine owners did not want anything to interfere with the working period of producing tin. Some camp administrators went as far as assigning days for the sale of beer in their camps to ensure discipline among their labourers. The women that brewed and sold beer were known as magajiya (Laraba, 2015: OI).

Women used guinea corn in brewing the indigenous beer known as „burkutu’. The drinking spot was referred to as „kanti’ or „gidan magajiya’. There could be one or more magajiya in a camp depending on its size. The magajiya was assisted by two or more women who assisted in brewing and selling the burkutu. The women were either divorcees or single girls. They were always gorgeously dressed to attract customers (labourers) to the magajiya’s kanti (Daboyi, 2016: OI). The above is a clear evidence of tenets (network and trust) of the social capital theory. The magajiya was assisted by divorcees and single girls in brewing and marketing of burkutu.

Women agency in burkutu enterprise was used as a medium for stabilizing the labour force in the tin mining sector. The mining managers paid them for selling beer in their camps and supplied them with grains at a subsidized rate (Hassah,2015: OI).This was because they realized that most of their labourers had a culture of drinking indigenous beer. From the aforementioned, the colonial authority and the tin mining industry did not ban the selling of burkutu in camps. The profit the women realized from the sale

of burkutu was theirs. The magagiyas became so rich due to the income generated from the burkutu enterprise (Davou, 2015: OI).

The labourers usually borrowed cash from the magagiya to pay back after payday. The labourers were paid weekly; Saturdays were their payday. They usually had a break on Sunday. The weekly wages of 4/6d they earned could not cater for their expenses and needs in camp. Thus, they would end up in debt to settle the magagiya after collecting their pay since the magagiya usually gave the labourers beer to drink on credit pending when they were paid (Zi, 2016: OI). This circle of debt prolonged their stay and thereby stabilizing the labour. The magagiya became an economic power house (Hassah, 2015: OI). Some of the magagiyas became so powerful that the places were named after them. For instance, the present Barkin Ladi local Government in Plateau State was named after a prominent Magagiya by name Ladi. Notable magajiyas were Larai Ningi at Makafo and Ladi Ali at Gindin Akwati (Nyam, 2015: OI).

Another strategy adopted by the magagiya to promote the indigenous beer enterprise of women in Jos was to enlist prostitutes. The women who engaged in burkutu enterprise also accommodated prostitutes who assisted magagiya with the production and marketing of burkutu. Most of the prostitutes were young girls and divorcees. The magajiya coached the prostitutes to dress sexually to attract customers to her beer shop, consequently making labourers relaxed. The prostitutes also satisfied the sexual desires of the labourers (Danlami, 2016: OI). White (1990) also corroborated the aforementioned view in her study of prostitution in colonial Nairobi. The writer stated that prostitution supported colonial economy through the services (accommodation, food and sex) rendered to African labourers in Nairobi.

Women entrepreneurship in indigenous beer played a vital role in the stability of labour force employed by the tin industry. This is because the majority of the labour force employed by the tin industry had a culture of drinking indigenous beer (Yop, 2016: OI). It gave them a sense of happy relaxation after a hard day's work in the mines and energy to work. The beer spots were located in the mining camps, thus the labourers would not have to walk for long distances to drink for their relaxation. Beer drinking spots promoted other activities like gambling which in turn increased their spending and prolonged their stay in the camps (Musa, 2016: OI).

Camps that did not have trading sections depended on nearby villages or town markets called „border markets' for the purchase of foodstuffs and indigenous brewed beer (Danboyi, 2016:OI). These markets sprung up in response to the needs of the mine labourers. Drinking beer was not prohibited in such places because the labourers were always free to go outside the camp to drink. The markets were held on Saturdays, which was the workers' payday, and Sundays, which was a resting day. It graduated to almost a daily market. The consumers were locals and labourers. They took beer because when it intoxicated them, they felt alive and happy. Women brewed beer at home, put it inside clay jar called „tulu' and transported it by foot to boarder markets for sale. Examples of border markets are at Gangare, Naraguta, Tudun Wada, Vom and Bukuru among others. These areas were integrated into the Jos metropolis through urbanization. A prominent woman that was known for selling beer at the Gangare border market during the colonial period was Makili (Makili, 2015).

An informant Musa (2015:OI) observed that before, husbands who had five wives and many children would regard them as sources of farm labour. Women had no need for

wrappers then but with the imposition of colonial rule on Jos, women began to have needs like food and cloth. The men who were solely responsible to provide food for the family were working in the colonial mines to pay their tax. The men could not cater for their families out of the meagre wages they earned for tax and their other consumables in camps. Agricultural output had reduced due to the cultivation of infertile land. Women had to indulge in indigenous beer enterprise to cater for their families.

2.12 The Agency of Women in Burkutu Enterprise during the Colonial Period

An informant, Joseph (2015) asserts that burkutu enterprise served as livelihood strategy for women who were left behind due to men's migration. This was because of colonial policies like forced labour and taxation which made Jos men, like men from other parts of Nigeria, to migrate to mining camps to form the bulk of labour force for the colonial tin mines. It enabled the men obtained foreign currency to settle their tax obligation while the women left behind had to become the breadwinners of their household. Women frequently had many dependants – children and older people to cater for. This gave rise to female-headed households.

The land alienation policy of the British colonialist alienated most of the fertile land that would have been suitable for agricultural activity especially farming, which was the primary occupation of Jos plateau people. The land was confiscated for tin mining. The alternative sources of livelihood for women were burkutu enterprise and sale of firewood (Nyam, 2016: OI). Therefore, burkutu enterprise served as source of employment for women.

Household maintenance became difficult for most families due to the colonial policies like forced labour, monetization of economy, taxation, land alienation and colonial tin mining which brought challenges in the society. Taxation and forced labour made men to migrate to the mining camps. Most women were then operating as defacto-heads of households in settings due to the absence of their husbands who were working in tin mines.

The men, particularly Berom men, migrated to mining camps and were carried away by camp life as a result of the alcoholism and sexual promiscuity that were the norm in the camp. This made the camp lively to the extent that the men abandoned their families. Some of the men remarried in the camp, started new families and abandoned the old ones. Even if the old wives tried to contact them there, they would chase them away. Hence, the women were involved in burkutu enterprise in order to provide income for their family upkeep. The income women realized from this business was used for household maintenances like feeding , supporting their husband's in paying their tax obligation to prevent them from being beaten, disgraced and imprisoned by „yandoka” (police) and buying house utensils (Dakun, 2016: OI)

Jos Plateau was colonized because of the availability of tin, which was in demand, by the British industries. After conquering Jos, the European firms trooped into Jos in their hundreds racing for land to mine tin at the expense of agriculture. Land was alienated from the indigenous people to the foreign firms; forced labour, taxation, and monetization of the economy deprived agriculture of labour, pushing labour to the colonial tin mining. However, there was instability of labour on the mining camps so the colonialist had to come up with several innovations for labour stability among which were burkutu sale, tuwo and gambling after realizing that most of the people in

Northern Nigeria particularly Jos had a culture of drinking burkutu. All the spheres of the society from the religions, economic and social were accompanied by beer. The colonialist imported and paid women to brew and sell burkutu in their camps for labour stabilization (Nyam, 2016: OI). Mars (1947) also asserts that the informal sector, indigenous brewed beer inclusive, provided cheap consumption needs of the labour force that was created for the colonial tin industry.

2.13 Summary

The people in Northern and Central Nigeria particularly Jos Plateau had a brewing culture and culture of drinking indigenous beer. Women had been brewing indigenous beer for non-commercial purposes during the pre-colonial era. These non-commercial purposes included socio-cultural factors like hospitality, labour, rituals, and festivals. Hence, beer brewing and consumption of brewed beer was not a colonial creation. The first decade of colonial rule in Jos marked the genesis of the commercialization of all economic activities engaged in by women specifically indigenous beer (burkutu) due to the monetization of the economy. The colonial policies brought many challenges. Agriculture, which was the major source of livelihood for the people, was deprived of land and labour was diverted to tin mining. Women had to search for alternative means of livelihood which was burkutu enterprise.

Women used to brew burkutu on the instructions of men during the pre-colonial period gradually brewed for income generation for their family upkeep. Most of the women that engaged in burkutu enterprise during this period were elderly women who in turn employed younger women (divorcees and prostitutes) to assist in brewing and marketing of burkutu. In addition, the older women used these younger women to

attract customers. Therefore women were agents of development not recipients of welfare. The burkutu that was consumed during festivals and rituals during the pre-colonial period is being consumed in the mining camps and markets for the purpose of relaxation. There was no restriction on the consumption as long as one has the purchasing power.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN AND BURKUTU ENTERPRISE IN JOS METROPOLIS, 1960 – 1981

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines political independence and the Biafra War and their impact on burkutu enterprise. It also analyses the impact of International women's conference of 1975 and oil boom on women entrepreneurship in burkutu enterprise. It also discusses the burkutu markets.

3.2 Political Independence and Burkutu Enterprise, 1960-1966

Nigeria attained her independence through negotiation because Nigerian nationalists and political parties were divided along ethnic and regional affiliations. They were too weak to form a united front to challenge British domination. The pre-independence federal election held in December 1959 involved three main parties; the Northern People's Congress in the North, the Action Group in the West and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons in the East which were firmly in control of their respective regions. The NCNC and NPC formed a coalition that won the election. Nigeria became independent on 1st October 1960 with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister (Bevan, Collier, and Gunning, 1999).

The indigenous Nigerian ruling class and its bourgeoisie had been drafted and systematically groomed by the colonial state to continue to protect international interests during the post-independence era (Tyoden, 1989). It was fulfilled because after the independence, the political elite did not implement any genuine development agenda that reflected the aspirations of Nigerians. Ake (1981) argues that the Nigerian

post-colonial economy was a disguise of a dependent economy that was conditioned by the British colonialist to serve her interests even after independence. Independence had implication on the burkutu enterprise.

Migration was central to the urbanization of Jos. During the independence period, from 1960 to 1965, the population of Jos increased as shown in the table below:

Table 3.1: Population of Jos, 1960-1965

1960	1963	1965
80,000	94,451	100,240

Source: Bingel (1978)

The reason for this increment was economically inclined. There was an increase in the number of immigrants to Jos who were aspiring to take over businesses from foreigners. The price of tin in the world market was encouraging at that time so it attracted so many traders and miners to Jos (Bingel, 1978). An formant Banko (2016: OI) observes that the prosperity of the tin sector drew people like traders and artisans to Jos. The increase in population and commerce gave rise to the expansion of other areas particularly informal settlements which led to continuity and expansion of the women indigenous beer.

More people began to migrate from the rural areas to the cities, particularly Jos, in search of white collar jobs, better economic opportunities and infrastructure (Bingel, 1979). Though this migration was first associated with men, some of the men were accompanied by their wives. Also, some of the wives in the city started participating in burkutu enterprise to complement and support their husband's income (Danladi, 2016: OI).

Crowder (1981) emphasises this argument by stating that at independence, there was a rapid growth of urban centers like Port Harcourt, Lagos, Kano, Onitsha, Benin, Ibadan, and Jos. The growth in the population of the cities had been greatly stimulated by job opportunities, infrastructure like roads, rails, hospitals, and electricity. The towns were important centres of commerce and governance (Crowder, 1981). Migration from rural areas to cities accounted for about half of all the urban growth in Africa during the 1960s and 1970s (Brockhoff, 1995).

Jos city being the home of peace (Krause, 2011). It also a melting point for most ethnic groups in Nigeria, the prevailing cold weather, its strategic location as a gateway between the northern and the southern parts of the country, being a centre of commerce and administrative seat of government in 1967 became the bus stop of most immigrants in Nigeria (Banko, 2016: OI). Another significant event that led to the influx of people into the Jos Plateau was the creation of twelve states by the military Head of State, Yakubu Gowon, in 1967.

In another development, according to an informant Nanle, (2016, OI), there was a mass influx of immigrants especially the natives of Plateau into Jos city in 1976 as a result of the creation of Plateau State, with Jos as the administrative headquarters. Migration was due to economic reasons like job opportunities and trade. Ajiji and Larab (2016) also affirm this argument that there was population growth in Jos city as a result of the creation of Plateau State on 3rd February 1976. Panyi (2016, OI) observes that the Ngas people of Plateau State migrated in their numbers to Jos in search of alternative livelihood due to the rocky nature of their environment which made the practice of agriculture problematic as the main economic activity of the

people. Hence, the women engaged in burkutu enterprise as their alternative livelihood.

The presence of the immigrants led to the development of slum areas which accommodated the urban low-income earners of Jos. The immigrants were Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and the indigenous people of Plateau (who came from the rural areas). They were labourers, clerks, messengers, state workers, and businessmen and women. For some of the women, particularly women from the Plateau, burkutu became the primary income generating activity in the city (FGD, 2016: Angwan Rukuba). This was because of the ease in entry, possession of skill and low capital. The profit gained from the business was used to support their immediate family in the city and their extended family members in the villages. Women continued to brew and sell burkutu in most of these slums like Angwan-Rukuba, Congo Russia, Nassarawa, Kugiyi and Tudun Wada (FGD, 2016: Kugiyi). Tudun-Wada was one of the prominent burkutu spots because of its proximity to the Federal and State Secretariats for civil servants in the city.

Nelson (1997) also makes reference to this in his study of the gender division of labour in a Nairobi shanty-town. He asserts that the urban area (Nairobi) was attractive to migrants due to its economic opportunity in the 1970s. This resulted in the increase of the population which led to the development of shanty areas like Mathare Valley where people participated in petty businesses like traditional beer business.

3.2.1 Biafra War (1967-1970) and Burkutu Enterprise

The Nigeria Civil War popularly known as the “Biafra War” started in July 1967. It was a secession war by the Igbo people in the eastern part of Nigeria against the rest

of the regions in Nigeria headed then by the Military Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon (Bonkat, 2015). The origin of the war was traced to the history of the country. Prior to 1900, there was no country known as Nigeria; instead the different regions that made up Nigeria were independent societies (Empires and Caliphates) with different languages, religions, and cultures.

At independence, Nigeria inherited a constitution from the British government which promoted regional politics and division in the country (Webster, Boahen & Tidy, 1979). The state was an artificial creation of a conglomeration of diverse ethnic and religious groups. Consequently, the state became a stage where there was competition for power to protect the interest of each region (Bonkat, 2015). The unhealthy competition between the three major regions continued and intensified (Atofarati, 1992). The major causes of the Nigerian Civil War were rooted in ethnicity and religious mistrust among the major regions.

In January 1966, young Igbo officers of the Nigerian Army organized a military coup d'état which overthrew the civilian government. It led to the death of prominent northerners such as the Federal Prime Minister Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Premier of the Northern Region and Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, while several army officers were killed (Burns, 1969). At first, it looked as if the coup ended the corruption of the civilian regime and the ethnic tensions which the politicians had used in order to keep themselves in power. A military government was set up under Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Igbo, and a military governor was appointed for each region (Atofarati, 1992).

Furthermore, less than six months into the military regime, the northerners viewed it that the then military administration had entrenched the Igbo at the expense of the rest of the regions. Hence, in July 1966, a counter-coup occurred which was led by officers from the Northern Region. This resulted in the killing of General Ironsi and other Igbo officers. Another military government was established under Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon, a Northerner. There was a serious massacre of the Igbo in the Northern Region in September 1966 and the Igbo in their numbers fled to the Eastern Region (Burns, 1969).

This event caused a commotion in economic activities like the railway, tin mining industry and trade in the Northern region in which the Igbo played a well-known role (FGD, 2016: Tudun Wadan). The Igbo people had an entrepreneurial culture and most of them were living in the northern areas running their enterprises while a handful of them were civil servants working in the railway stations and tin mining. The massacre of the Igbo by the northerners made them flee to their region of origin and abandoned their businesses, work, and properties (FGD, 2016: Tudun Wada). Therefore, Northerners were also forced to flee the South-West because they no longer felt safe as they fled away from the danger zone. They turned to Jos city as their safe haven.

Certainly, those of them that were of the Hausa/Fulani origin did not have difficulties fitting themselves well into Jos city. Because, foundation had been laid for them as a result of tin mining slum settlements such as Gangare and the Delimi Valley area extending down to Bauchi road and Ali Kazaure which had been established as mining camps by the colonialists (Ajiji & Larab; 2016).

At the end of May 1967, the Eastern Region Assembly gave a mandate to Colonel Ojukwu to declare the Region an Independent Republic (Bonkat, 2015). The Federal government responded by declaring a state of emergency and promulgated a decree dividing Nigeria into twelve states (Burns; 1969). Prior to the creation of the states, Nigeria was divided into three regions namely North, West and East, with Lagos as the Federal Capital. It is imperative to note that Benue Plateau State was one of the twelve states created then (FGD, 2016: Dadi-Kowa). With the creation of Benue Plateau State, there was an influx of people into different parts of the Plateau particularly Jos from the North west and North-east of Nigeria in search of either employment or commerce. This brought about high population pressure that necessitated the growth of slum settlements such as Gada Biyu, Tudun Wada, Angwan Rukuba, Bukuru, Nasarawa-Gwong and Congo-Russia (Ajiji & Larab2016). Most of the indigenous beer brewing and trading took place in these slums.

Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu's declaration of the state of Biafra on May 30, 1967 was the immediate factor responsible for the civil war. Ojukwu's declaration effectively expurgated the eastern part of Nigeria out of the federation. Thus, it was the effort of the federal government of Nigeria to truncate the east's secession from the federation and Ojukwu's desire to ensure the survival of Biafra that started the civil war in 1967 (Falode, 2011).

Nigerian government mobilized and recruited people from the rest of the regions with emphasis on Jos Plateau to fight against the secessionists in order to reunite the country. The soldiers were under Yakubu Gowon (FGD, 2016: Gyel). The war created a lot of hardship for Nigerians, particularly women in Jos who were left behind by their husbands to fight against the secessionists along with the Federal Government

of Nigeria (Pam, 2016: OI). Most of the women who were left with their children had to engage in trade in indigenous beer to cater for their families (Danjang, 2016: OI). The women that participated in burkutu enterprise in Angwan Rukuba recounted that most of them were wives of the ex-soldiers who fought in the Biafra War (FGD, 2016: Angwan-Rukuba). Their husbands were recruited into the Nigerian army to defend their fatherland, so when they left, the wives were in trouble in terms of assuming new roles as de-facto heads.

The soldiers (husbands) were unable to send money to their families in 1967. It was in 1968, according to an account, that they started sending money. One sent money in an envelope in form of a letter addressed to his wife but when the messenger brought the letter and the wife was not there, the husband's relative would collect the letter and squander all the money. The allowance was not forthcoming frequently and even when it came, the amount was insufficient to cater for the family. From the above, the absence of their husbands due to war made the women explore their ability in burkutu enterprise to cater for their children's school fees and feeding.

According to Nelson (1997), women in the 1970s engaged in busaa, an indigenous traditional beer in Kenya, to enable them to educate and feed their children. Ibro et al (2006) observes that women entrepreneurs exploited their traditional skills like brewing traditional beer to run their entrepreneurial activities to generate income for their household maintenance like education, food, and healthcare.

The negative effects of the war were economic, social and psychological. According to Akresh et al (2011), the Nigerian Civil War from 6th July 1967 to 15th January 1970 led to the killing of about 1 to 3 million people. The Jos Nigerian women whose

husbands died in the course of the war experienced economic hardship. Therefore, they found burkutu enterprise a survival strategy (FGD, 2016: Angwan- Rukuba). After the war, the Igbos that fled from the north to the east relocated to Jos city in their numbers to search for wage employment and commerce (Akresh et al 2011). The waves of migration to Jos led to the growth of the city as well as the indigenous beer entrepreneurship of women.

3.3 The Oil Boom and Burkutu Enterprise, 1974 to 1981

The tin sector declined in 1974 as a result of the unstable world market price. Better investment opportunity in the petroleum industry (oil boom) severely affected the tin industry (Ubogu, 1979). Freund (1981) also affirms that the tin mining approached collapse in Nigeria in the 1970s; it was part of the general crisis initiated by the oil boom in 1973.

An informant Pam (2016:OI) avers that tin was mined throughout the 1970s but started depreciating in 1975 and throughout the late 1970s as a result of the oil boom, unending demand for wage increment by labourers and decrease in quantity of tin mined. Dung (1997) also corroborates the argument by Pam that the Jos tin industry depreciated in the late 1970s. Despite these challenges, women continued to brew and sell indigenous beer in tin mining camps. The areas continued to serve as an enjoyment spot for tin workers and neighbouring people and traders who came there to drink the brewed beer to have fun (Jugu, 2016: OI). The burkutu spots were livelier in the evening after working hours and weekends.

Women showed their agency in burkutu enterprise by marketing it in the different mining camps to sustain labour during the colonial and post-independence era. But

even as the tin mining activities depreciated and were relegated to the background, the burkutu spots continued to serve as relaxation spots (Musa, 2016: OI).

Nigeria's economy was based on agriculture and it was complemented by other economic activities like tin mining, handicraft, trade, and services. Oyeyemi (2013) argues that between 1960 and 1966, agriculture contributed about 58 percent of the nation's Gross Domestic Product and was an employer of over 60 percent of her labour force. Petroleum was central to the economic expansion of Nigeria. The history of petroleum in Nigeria is traceable to 1937 when Shell-BP Company was the only licensed company to start prospecting for crude oil all over the country (Oyeyemi, 2013). It was in 1957 that crude oil was discovered in Nigeria by Shell- BP after twenty years of fruitless effort (Ubogu, 1979).The crude oil fields were located in Niger Delta, Imo State, Benin state, and Cross River State. Therefore, the searching right which was contracted to Shell was extended to other companies such as Mobil, Chevron (formally Gulf), Agip, Safarap (Elf) (Ijeh, 2010). Nigeria commenced producing crude oil in 1958 from the oil field in Oloibiri in the Eastern Niger Delta (Ijeh, 2010).

There was increase in the quantity of oil being produced and exported. The volume of crude oil exports rose from 245,000 tons in 1958 to about 108 million tons in 1974. The corresponding value was ₦2 million and ₦5,366 million (Ubogu, 1979).

The realized price per barrel of crude oil exported during the period was relatively stable at about ₦10.4 up to 1970 before it rose gradually and hit a record level of ₦55.7 in 1974 (Goshit, 1996). The upward trend after 1970 was as a result of the new price agreements reached by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

due to the devaluation of the dollar and the organization's determination to derive more royalties. The most important cause of the hike in the price of crude oil exports to ₦55.7 in 1974 was the Arab oil embargo which made the demand for oil exceed supply in that specific year (Ubogu, 1979).

Table 3.2: Nigeria's Yearly Crude-Oil Production, Export and Domestic

Year	Output	Export	Domestic consumption
1960	6,374.0	6,244.0	
1965	99,355.0	96,985.0	
1970	395,689.0	383,455.0	12,234.0
1975	660,148.0	627,638.0	32,510.0
1979	854,463.0	807,685.0	37,778.0
1980	760,117.0	656,260.0	103,857.0

Source: CBN (2007), Annual Statistical Bulletin Volume 18, December

From the table, it is evident that the oil sector was the dominant economic sector from the mid-1970s due to the hike in international price resulting from the 1973

Arab-Israeli war. The period from 1970 to 1980 represented Nigeria's oil boom era in terms of output, exports and earning from exports. The oil output reached its peak in the boom era in 1979 with a yearly production of 845.463 billion barrel representing an average daily production of 2.3 million bpd (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2008 & Central Bank of Nigeria, 2007).

According to Danladi (2016:OI), the oil boom led to excessive fund in the hands of government that led to massive importation of goods to the detriment of agriculture and the non-oil sectors like indigenous brewed beer industry in the country, specifically Jos. It also resulted in increment in the wages of civil servants in the country. This kind of economic development enriched the ruling class, the elite and

top civil servants and changed their consumption pattern from homemade products like burkutu to foreign goods and industrial beer (Marian, 2016: OI). Hence, burkutu became the beer for low-income earners.

Scholars like Goshit (1995) also reasoned that instead of the government to invest the money realized from the oil sector in the production of goods and services in the country, the ruling class, domestic bourgeoisie and foreign companies embarked on what was known as “era of importation” (Goshit,1995). This was with the intention of weakening Nigeria’s economy so that she continued to depend on the industrial countries for finished goods. The 1970s and 1980s, therefore, witnessed massive importation of all kinds of goods like food, machines, textile materials, tooth paste and beer.

This excessive and unplanned wealth in the hands of the Nigerian government, elites, top government officials and their families and friends created a desire for foreign goods, like bottled beer as a substitute for traditionally brewed beer. Therefore, the bottled beer had a class connotation - beer drink for the affluent and source of prestige (FGD, 2016: Dadin Kowa). Burkutu became beer for the low- income earners like messengers, menial labourers, and traders (Banko, 2016: OI).

3.4 United Nations Women’s Conference (1975) and Burkutu Enterprise

Globally, inequality exists between men and women. Women have been either historically denied access to or granted unequal access to economic opportunities, power, status and privileges in society. The recognition of historical and global discrimination against women prompted the United Nations to establish the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 1947, the body solely accredited to

address women's issues (Ghodsee, 2009;; 4). In response to pressure from the Commission on the Status of Women and women's non-governmental organisation in 1972, the General Assembly resolved to hold a world summit on women in Mexico City in 1975. It focused on the themes of equality, development and peace and labelling 1975 the international women's year (Charlesworth & Chinkin, 2013:8).

More than 2000 men and women attended the Mexico Conference as official delegations. It was the largest meeting in history to address women's issues (Fraser, 1987:17). As a result of the Mexico Conference, the General Assembly proclaimed the United Nations Decade for Women, 1975-1985 (Charlesworth & Chinkin, 2013:8). The United Nations women's conference in Mexico City produced two major documents: the "Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution on to Development and Peace" and the "World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year." The conference in Copenhagen in 1980 was used to report on progress since the Mexico City meeting and produced a "Programme of Action.

This declaration was to raise global awareness on the status of women and to mobilize the world community to eliminate discrimination against women so that women may attain equal economic, social, political and legal status with their male counterparts (Abdullahi, 2015: 753). It is an approach to gender equality such as economic opportunity along with women's rights and equal access to resources and decision-making processes.

The United Nations Women's Conference had raised consciousness, shaped goals, helped to reform laws and reshape behaviors towards achieving gender equality for

women in all spheres of life. It brought women's plight to the international community. It has gradually reformed the social, economic and political status of women in Nigeria. According to Unongu (2016: 34), the United Nations proclamation of 1975 had encouraged Nigerian women to take concrete actions concerning their plight. An informant Kande(2016,OI) affirms that enlightenment (wayewa) as a result of the International women's conference made women to understand and appreciate the need for them to participate in businesses like burkutu for their economic empowerment.

3.5 Burkutu markets in Jos up to 1981

Women brewed and sold burkutu at home (zoret or at the frontage of their house and under shade) and in the markets although it was not widely spread. The markets were Kugiya, Tudun-Wada, Angwan Rukuba, Nasarawa Gwong and Congo Russia and were located in slum areas of Jos as well as mining camps (barki) in bukuru, Gyel, and Zawan (FGD, 2016). Kugiya burkutu market was in a slum and the biggest burkutu market in the area of study in terms of the number of women that were in the enterprise and patronage. It was situated in bukuru, which is presently the capital of Jos South Local Government and was established in the late 1960s. The first set of women who started burkutu market was Mama Ture and Nandy, both Ngas (an ethnic group) women from other parts of Plateau. From the 1960s to 1970s, the market was built with mud and wattle roof with tin roofing (Danboyi, 2015: OI).

Angwan-Rukuba burkutu market was situated close to Bauchi Road bye-pass that connects Jos with northern Nigeria. It was also known as Filisheta (devil's field) and was in a slum. It was a well-known burkutu market in Jos. It was the largest burkutu spot in Jos North Local Government Area (FGD, 2016: Angwan Rukuba). The market

was closed, concentrated in an area and congested. It was built with mud, concrete block cement and roofed with aluminum zinc. Some of the buildings have inbuilt seats inside at the edges of the rectangular building style. One of the marketing strategies of most of the women who participated in burkutu trade according to an informant Joe (2015; OI) was by offering free burkutu (taste) to their clients.

The burkutu markets or spots were areas where economic and social activities took place. In terms of economic activity, they were the spots where buying and selling of goods and services occurred. The burkutu spots promoted other entrepreneurial activities like roasted meat and food (FGD, 2016: Kugiya). Apart from the economic aspect, they were social spots where people from diverse ethnic groups met to interact, share and discuss issues like economy, politics, and religion that were affecting Nigeria and the world at large.

Women selling burkutu also offered free beer in calabash to elders in the community as tradition demanded. The brewed beer was purchased by the older men, and even the husbands of the burkutu sellers, older women, and youths. The men sat separately from women as prescribed by tradition. This practice was common in other markets with the exception of mining camps which is Freeland (Nyam, 2015: OI)The brewing process did change but the changes occurred in terms of the tools of the production and services. The women were using clay pots to brew the burkutu but high rate of loss as a result of pot breakages made them replace clay pots with drum. Prior to this period, the women were using tulu (a wooden instrument for burkutu storage) and calabash to serve burkutu to their customers but they replaced “tulu” with plastic vessels and calabash in serving burkutu (Dodo, 2015:OI).

3.6 Livelihood Strategy and Household Maintenance up to 1981

Focus group discussion with women in Angwan Rukuba, revealed that the women that started processing and marketing burkutu there in the early 70s due to the absence of their husbands who were recruited to fight the Nigeria Civil War. Their husbands left them with very small resources that were not enough to cater for family needs like feeding, school fees, health care and clothing. They further stated that even when their husbands started sending money, it came in the form of letter and if they were not around, their husband's relatives would collect it and squander it all without giving them a penny. Hence, we had to participate in burkutu enterprise to support our families.

According to an informant Nyam (2016, OI), her husband died during the Biafra war, leaving her with five children to cater for, pay their school fees, feed them and provide health-care. Like other widows in Africa, she became a widow. Her in-laws took everything according to their tradition. She was left with nothing so she had to turn to convert her traditional skill of brewing burkutu to livelihood strategy. Snyder (2000) also affirms that the story of women entrepreneurs in Uganda is that, more women became entrepreneurs as result of civil war that occurred in the 1970s that led to death, destruction of life and property.

Apart from the above, some women said they became unoccupied and lonely so they had to participate in business as an occupation that would keep them busy and made them forget their loneliness because the burkutu spot provided the companionship that the outside world does not offer (FGD, 2015, Angwan Rukuba). Furthermore, according to Danladi (2015, OI), women were participating in burkutu business to generate income that provided basic necessities of life for their households like soup

ingredients, cloth, healthcare and their children's school fees. She posited that their husbands had many wives and children so they had to participate in burkutu business for wealth creation to complement their husbands' effort.

According to Nelson (1997), women in the 1970s had fed and educated their children well through the production and sale of busaa beer in Kenya. In addition to that, scholars like Mordi (2010) maintain that most women are now operating as defacto heads of households in settings and a number of these women are involved in entrepreneurship and business management in order to provide income for their family/ home keeping. From the above, women have proved that they are agents of development by providing the basic necessities of life for their family from the income they generated from burkutu trade.

3.7 Summary

Political independence led to the urbanization due to migrations of people from the other urban and rural areas to Jos. Several waves of migration took place in 1960 and 1967 leading to increase in the population of Jos. The creation of Plateau State in 1967 also led to mass influx of immigrants particularly the indigents to Jos metropolis. The immigrants were attracted by the prosperity of the tin sector, job opportunities, commerce and the presence of modern infrastructure. The expansion in population led to the development of slums where burkutu business thrived. The Biafra war in 1967 led to the expansion of the burkutu enterprise due to the fact that more women participated in it. Similarly, oil boom made some people in Jos to prefer industrially manufacture beer to indigenou traditional beer. The United Nations Women Conference 1975 also enlightened women in Jos Nigeria on the need to participate in economic activities like burkutu enterprise. Women demonstrated their agency in

burkutu enterprise as they provided food, shelter and school fees for their children in the absence of their men who were drafted to fight in the Biafra war in Eastern Nigeria. Therefore, women were subjects of development.

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN BURKUTU ENTERPRISE IN JOS METROPOLIS DURING THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME, 1982 TO 1995

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is structured into five sections of which the first part examines Nigerian economic crises and economic reforms (austerity measures) as well as its implications for burkutu enterprise. The second section handles the brewing process and the third analyses the organizational structure (markets, marketing strategies and consumption pattern). In addition, women agency theory and social capital theory were used to interpret burkutu enterprise.

4.2 Background of Nigerian's Economic Crisis and the Structural Adjustment Programme up to 1986

Nigerian economy like other African economies was faced with an economic crisis that worsened the condition of its people particularly the urban poor in the 1980s. Nigeria had been plagued by an increasingly serious economic crisis since 1981 onwards, which had adverse effect on the different sectors of the economy and the living standards of most Nigerians (Olukoshi, 1990). Before the economic crisis, the Nigerian economy had enjoyed almost a decade of unprecedented revenue boom from the petroleum price increases of the 1970s. As a major exporter of crude petroleum from 1973 onwards, she depended on oil for her foreign exchange earnings.

However, the Nigerian economic boom came to an end, and a severe crisis set in, rapidly engulfing industry, agriculture, the country's payments position, domestic price levels and the general living conditions of the majority of the people (Olukoshi,

1993). Ogbonna (2012) corroborates this view by asserting that the economic crisis was manifested in declining growth rate of national output, increasing unemployment, galloping inflation, high incidence of poverty, worsening balance of payment conditions, debilitating debt burden and increasing unsustainable fiscal deficits and deteriorating standard of living of Nigerians.

The genesis of the Nigerian economic crisis can be traced to the colonial period. According to Ake (1981), the British government imposed its authority on pre-colonial Nigerian societies through the subordination of their political economies and integrated Nigeria's economy into the international capitalist framework mainly through monetization of the economy and trade. British colonizers laid the foundation for economic crises which became intense in the 1980s through colonial policies like monetization of the economy which integrated the Nigerian economy, like those of other Africa countries, into the international capitalist system. Taxation encouraged the production of cash crops at the expense of food crops and unequal terms of trade.

According to Ake (1982), disarticulation of the economy refers to an economy whose sectors are not complementary and reciprocal. The disjointed economy meant that Nigerians, especially the peasant farmers, were encouraged to produce cash crops like groundnut and cocoa that served as raw material for European ever-expanding industries at the expense of food crops. Therefore, Nigeria depended on the metropolises for manufactured goods. Hence, the economy was not self-sustaining. She also implemented several economic measures aimed at entrenching neo-colonialism in Nigeria through international monopoly finance capital in league with the indigenous bourgeoisie (Goshit, 2003). The government officials were keen to

protect the interest of Britain and their private accumulation of wealth at the expense of genuine development. Hence, the neo-colonial Nigerian state was characterized by the economic crisis which created economic hardship for the citizenry.

In addition to the above, in the 1960s, agriculture was the mainstay of the Nigerian economy and accounted for over 60% of the GDP. Although most farmers made use of traditional equipment as well as farming techniques, yet they (farmers) produced 80% of Nigeria's exports and 95% of the food requirements (Lawal, 1997). But agriculture was relegated to the background when Nigeria became an oil exporting country and following the oil boom.

Goshit (2003) affirms that agricultural exports, which accounted for 80% of the total exports in 1960 had declined by 2% in 1980. The false sense of economic self-sufficiency generated by the oil boom of the 1970s led to the neglect of the agricultural sector since the nation had access to an easy source of money to import different things: foodstuffs, raw material and manufactured goods (Olowu et al, 1991). The entire economy was based on oil revenue because little effort was needed to earn revenues from oil unlike from agriculture and other sectors.

Also, the economic policy orientation during the 1970s left the country ill-prepared for the eventual collapse of oil prices in 1981. Public investment was concentrated in costly, and often inappropriate, infrastructure projects with questionable rates of return and sizable recurrent cost implications (Odusola, 2004). Hence, national resources were allocated on the basis of political loyalty rather than need.

The performance of the manufacturing sector during the oil boom period was discouraging, in the sense that the manufacturing sector relied heavily on imported

raw materials. On the average, for every N1.00 of manufacturing output in Nigeria, at least 60 kobo was spent on imports. Hence, the manufacturing sector collapsed with the disappearance of the oil boom, when it became more difficult to import goods due to foreign exchange constraint (Olowu et al, 1991).

In addition, the immediate cause of the economic downturn was that the crude oil market collapsed, resulting from the oil glut and the subsequent reduction in the production in the quota of OPEC member countries. For example, Nigeria's crude oil OPEC quota which was some 2.3 million barrels per day in the 1970s, was reduced to about 1.3 million barrels per day in the early 1980s (Olowu et al, 1991). Nnoli (1993) asserts that the collapse of the oil prices in 1981 created financial crisis due to the fact that revenue from oil fell from N201 million in 1980 to N74.4 million in 1981 and N55.8 million in 1982. The country's GDP fell by 2.0% in 1982 and 4.4% in 1983. Since most of the industries depended on foreign exchange to import raw materials, the financial crisis was translated into a crisis of manufacturing as well. The financial crisis led to a debt crisis. The total external debt of the nation reached N15 billion in 1983 with a N5 billion backlog in trade payments (Olukoshi, 1990).

From the aforementioned, it is deduced that causes of the Nigerian economic crisis may be classified into external and internal factors respectively. The external factors are colonial legacy, activities of the Multinational Corporations ((Shell BP), and hostile international market environment for crude oil. The internal factors comprised corruption, mismanagement and inappropriate investment of the oil boom wealth, overdependence on the oil sector, neglect of agriculture and massive importation. Furthermore, successive governments designed and pursued a series of economic reforms to curb the economic crisis. The economic reform, also known as "austerity

measures” was put in place as a response to the economic crisis (Danladi& Naankiel, 2016).

In April 1982, the external reserves had fallen to such a dangerously low level that it could hardly finance one month’s imports at the prevailing level of importation then. In the circumstances, it became imperative for the Federal Government to take immediate action to protect the balance of payments and revamp the economy. Thus, President Shagari proposed emergency stabilization measures (austerity measures) to the National Assembly, which was approved without delay. It then became a law as the Economic Stabilization Act 1982 (Central Bank of Nigeria, 1982). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank have a strong influence over economic policies in Nigeria.

The inability of Nigeria to repay her debt made her dependent on new loans. The IMF has the power to declare Nigeria creditworthy or not. To get the seal of approval, countries have to accept the conditions of structural adjustment programme. They have to restructure Nigeria’s economy according to IMF/World Bank guidelines – otherwise, they have virtually no chance to get loans from private or public creditors anywhere (George,1995).

The components of the stabilization measures were the imposition of import duties where they were hitherto non-existent or increased where they were already in force. Business travel allowances were cut from ₦3, 000 to ₦2, 500 and compulsory advance deposits were required from importers of different kinds of food items, industrial raw materials, capital goods, and spare parts of cars. The April 1982 economic reform measures were widened in January 1983 with the implementation of more import

restrictions, an increment in tariff charges on consumable and non- consumable goods, the shutting down of private jetties and restricting state governments from external borrowing (Onoh,1983). Shagari's reform was introduced to reduce government expenditures and limit the rate of importation of goods and services into the country thereby reviving the economy. However, in spite of the attempt to revamp the worsening economic conditions, it did not yield any positive result. This was because the economic downturn continued unabated because the economy was still depending on petroleum. The economic state of affairs was worsening and prevalence of corruption led to the end of the civilian rule.

In 1984, a new administration of General Buhari Mohammad emerged through a coup. The regime also introduced economic reform policies (austerity measures), (Nnoli, 1993). It encompassed reduction in importation contour of the economy. Foreign travel allowances were slashed further from ₦500 to ₦100 whereas business travel allowances were suspended. A major retrenchment exercise was carried out in the public sector in which thousands of workers lost their jobs. The government also stopped the employment of workers in the civil service while at the same time imposing a generalized wage freeze (Olukoshi, 1993).

Buhari also introduced additional cuts in government spending, banned borrowing by state governments, froze new projects, raised the bank interest rates, halved the remittal allowance of expatriates and changed the colour of the naira in order to reduce the amount of money in circulation. In addition, the manufacturing sector was encouraged to flourish through the abolition of the existing compulsory advanced deposits for all imports (Nnoli, 1993).

Buhari believed that the solution to the economic crisis was internal, hence he did not continue with the negotiation for the IMF loan which his predecessor applied for due to its stringent conditionality particularly the devaluation of naira as a solution to the persistent economic downturn. However, the inability of the Buhari administration to handle the economic recession brought in the Babangida regime in 1985 who implemented the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986. SAP was a package of neo-liberal measures that revamped the economy.

The origin of the Neo-liberalism package that had led to the continuity of burkutu enterprise is traceable to the classical liberal ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. They argue that supply and demand are the self-determining apparatus for the equilibrium of the market and also for efficient allocation of resources (Ekande, 2014). In modern times, neo-liberalism simply means free market forces, promotion of private enterprise, consumer choice and reward for entrepreneurship (Kirman, 1998). Neo-liberalism was a pro-market economic ideology that substituted the Keynesian ideology that was dominant from the 1950s to the 1970s. During the late 1970s, the mixed-economy model advocated by Keynesian failed due to increased interest in borrowing, hyper-inflation, and unemployment witnessed in the west (Wolf, 2009). The dislodgment of the Keynesian limited state intervention from the economy was competently done in the early 1980s by conservative governments in western countries. The most influential of these governments were Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Britain, Ronald Reagan, the President of the United States of America, Helmut Kohl in West Germany, and later Brian Mulroney in Canada. They all dismantled their welfare states in response to the global recession of the 1970s.

The cause of the recession was increase in the costs of labour in Europe and USA. The speedy growth of capitalism in newly industrialized countries (NICs) of Asia led to increased competition, reduced profit rate, and the crises of overproduction. This led to the re-organization of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank to substitute Keynesian ideas with neo-liberal structures. This reorganization in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank had effect on developing countries (Adebayo and Nwoke, 1996).

By 1983/1984, the African debt crisis was severe as debt servicing alone consumed about a third of all their foreign earnings and moved them into recession ((Sandbrook, 1989). Subsequently, developing countries approached the World Bank and IMF for financial aid. Then those two institutions demanded acceptance and implementation of neo-liberal as a pre-condition for financial aid to debtor nations particularly Nigeria (Leonard & Strauss, 2003). Nigeria under Babangida administration, like other Africa countries, had to approach international finance organizations like International Monetary Fund and World Bank for loans who attached stringent conditionality known as structural adjustment programme in 1986 (Nnazor,1999).

Babangida believed that the solution to the economic downturn was external, unlike his predecessor who believed it was internal. The argument was that SAP was an economic reform programme that would solve the ailing Nigerian economic crisis. According to Olukoshi (1993), the structural adjustment programme was a package of neo-liberal economic reforms principally designed to strengthen the market forces and roll out state intervention. It comprised stabilization policies targeted at restoring price stability and balance of payments equilibrium. It was also meant to increase

efficiency and productivity in the economy by reducing wastage and promoting entrepreneurship in Nigeria.

The neo-liberal measures included withdrawal of subsidies on state-provided goods and services like petroleum, kerosene, and fertilizer. It also included trade liberalization, cut in social services, devaluation of the currency, privatization and commercialization of public enterprises and service (Biersteker and Lewis, 1997). The World Bank asserted that these measures facilitated efficiency and development in Africa and Nigeria. However, the implementation of the imposed SAP programme indicated that Nigeria's independence was a sham because of dependency on the West. The concentration of power on president Babangida enabled him to impose the SAP on Nigerians. The economic reforms did not succeed in solving the structural imbalance. It continued to worsen the problem of unemployment and poverty.

4.3 Implications of the Structural Adjustment Programme on Burkutu Enterprise up to 1995

This section analysed the outcome of the SAP embarked on by Babangida's administration in Nigeria that had affected all the sectors of the economy and the people specifically the Jos urban poor. The economic reforms particularly SAP measures of 1986 made life more miserable for the urban poor; instead of solving the economic problem, they became part of the problem.

According to Abachi (1998), Nigeria started witnessing the predicament of unemployment from the early and mid-1980s with the collapse of oil prices on which the economy had relied. Before the 1980s, previous records showed that the Nigerian economy was able to provide jobs for its increasing population and was capable of

employing imported labour force. An informant Nnugy (2016: OI) notes that the fall in the oil price resulted in unemployment in all the sectors of the economy, namely manufacturing, public enterprises and parastatals. State governments were also sacking their workers, for example, Governor Atuku of Jos Plateau. This made more women to engage in burkutu enterprise to support their family.

An informant Zang(2016,OI) affirms that her husband was the breadwinner of the family but he lost his job with the Plateau State Government as result of structural adjustment programme in the 1980s. Then, she became a full-time house wife so she had to engage in burkutu enterprise for the maintenance of her home. Dung (2007) observes that most workers lost their jobs with state governments, government ministries and parastatals during the economic crisis in the 1980s.Olowu et al (1991) affirm the above argument by stating that the continuation of the economic crisis led to a lull in investment which had an adverse effect on job creation. The Central Bank failed to remit payments for imports due to the shortage of foreign exchange, while trade arrears accumulated. As a result, banks stopped opening letters of credit to anybody in Nigeria, and creditors, in turn, stopped shipping goods to the country.

Most industries in Nigeria relied on foreign exchange to import raw materials needed by their factories. This resulted in non-availability of foreign currency for importation leading to the closure of factories as well as retrenchment of workers thereby worsening the problem of unemployment. The government also stopped the employment of workers in the civil service while at the same time imposing a generalized wage freeze (Olukoshi, 1993). The retrenchment of workers and the embargo placed on employment in the public sector heightened the problem of unemployment

There was also a reduction in the salaries of the workers who were retained. This brought challenges to Nigerians during the SAP regime. Naira was devalued, and the government removed subsidy (tamako) from education and health, which in turn led to an increase in the price of goods and services. The dispute was that the salaries of workers and income of non-wage earners were not increasing at a similar pace as prices of goods and services which led to poverty (Gambo, 2016: OI). Wamuthenya (2010) in her study of the economic crisis and women's employment in Kenya reveals that adjustment policies have been connected with deteriorating income distribution in less developing economies.

The impact of the SAP-based economic policies was devastating on the different sectors of the economy and on the people especially the women and low-income earners. The Nigerian state gradually backed out from the provision of social services like education, healthcare and transportation, leading to an increase in the cost of such services as well as impoverishing the people. Devaluation of the Naira reduced its purchasing value, heightening the cost of living and pushing a significant percentage of the members of the working class below the poverty line (Olukoshi, 1993; Jega, 1993).

Against the above background, unemployment and poverty made the informal sector, specifically burkutu enterprise, the coping mechanism of the urban poor against excruciating economic hardship (FGD, 2016: Tudun Wanda). This was because more women, who were not engaged, began to participate in burkutu business as their only alternative means of livelihood while burkutu became an alcoholic drink for low-income earners.

In a focus group discussion in Kugiyi (2016), women argued that with the massive retrenchment of workers and cut in wages of those that were not retrenched, coupled with high cost of living, the meager income of their husbands was not enough to sustain their family during the regime of austerity measures. The economic hardship was felt by most citizenry especially women who depended on their husbands' wages or earnings as breadwinners. Women suffered most due to their already weak and dependent positions in the society (Banko, 2016: OI).

The collapse of social services, especially the increasing commercialization and privatization of education, healthcare, removal of subsidy from petroleum products and transportation made it difficult for women to rely on their husbands for their needs and those of their children. Hence, burkutu enterprise became their source of livelihood. The informal sector swelled as a result of retrenchment in the formal sector, which was due to rationalizations and privatization of government-owned enterprises (Soetan, 2007).

An informant, Davou (2015; OI) argued that in the 1970s one could count the number of traditional beer shops in Jos but during the 1980s and 1990s, the number of women who processed and marketed burkutu increased due to economic hardship. This made women who were formerly not engaged in burkutu enterprise to participate in it to support their families.

Burkutu business was regarded as the business for older women but the perception changed with the emergence of young ladies in the business from the 1980s-1990s due to economic hardship (Agai, 2015: OI). The informant adds that her daughter who is schooling in the College of Health Zawan, Jos, usually participated in the business

during weekends (lecture free time) because the parents could not provide for all her needs, coupled with the fact that she has younger ones who were in need too (Agai, 2015: OI). Kande (2015, OI) also asserted that she was 60 years old and still participating in burkutu enterprise. “I am old and it is okay for me to brew burkutu. I had to employ young women to sell it in order to attract customers.” She further stated that she does not pay them with cash for their services but brewed their burkutu for them since she is good at it while they kept their profit.

Dung (2007) also affirms that the informal sector, burkutu business inclusive, expanded as a result of economic crisis and economic reforms. During periods of economic alteration, due to economic crises and economic reforms, the informal sector expanded because of retrenched workers from the downsized or weakened formal sector which found accommodation in the informal sector.

The Structural Adjustment Programme led to continuous increases in the prices of goods and service (inflation) and there was a fall in the purchasing power of the naira which affected income (Joseph, 2016: OI). Income became inadequate to meet their basic needs like food, shelter, and cloth. Most people could not afford the consumption of industrial manufactured beer (Joseph, 2016: OI).

Burkutu became an alcoholic drink for the low-income earners because of its affordability. For instance, bottled beer was substituted with indigenous beer (burkutu). This was due to the fact that resource was scarce due to the devaluation of naira and the removal of subsidy on social services. The limited resource could not satisfy people's need like children's school fees, feeding, shelter, and health. Economic hardship pushed them to drink burkutu that substituted the bottle since it

served the same purpose of intoxication (FGD, 2016: Gyel). Fox and Cameron (1995) also comment that low-income groups consumed this beer in large quantities in urban areas.

One of the conditions of SAP was the removal of subsidy from the educational sector. Education was a powerful tool of advancement for women in all spheres of life because it liberates and empowers them. An informant Banko (2016;OI) asserted that she did not go to school to obtain a western education which would have ensured her securing a job in the formal sector, so the only alternative was her traditional skill of brewing indigenous beer (burkutu). Soetan (1995) corroborates this point that women have inadequate access to education so they were often disqualified from employment in the formal sector.

Ejiro (2006) argues that out of the 8million school-age children that are not in school, 62% are girls and out of 43% of Nigerians who cannot read or write, women constitute two thirds. In addition to that, the major problem associated with being born a girl was that in the face of economic hardship, she was the first to be considered for sacrifice. This has led to her not going to school while her brother does. She was dropped out of school, given into marriage early, or trade (Piwuna, 2000).

It led to an increased in the rate of illiterate women in Jos Nigeria who were mostly absorbed in burkutu enterprise. Burkutu was one of the major entrepreneurial activities of women in the study area. The traditional informal sector was continuously expanding in developing countries and had been serving as a „safety belt’ in providing employment and income to the teeming poor especially women as a result of low entry requirements and skills acquired outside of formal education (World Bank, 1993).

Psychological relief was one of the reasons for the resilience of burkutu enterprise in the period under review. In the words of an informant (Jang, 2015: OI):

The untold hardship I was facing made me drink burkutu as an escape route. The drinking of burkutu has a psychological intervention; it made me to forget my sorrows, and burkutu spot offered companionship that the busy outside world doesn't. They offered listening ear, empathy, and assistance. .

Jugu (2016,OI) also affirms that the burkutu drinking spot provides communal life of sharing and caring that is common in the rural areas. According to Babor (2003), brewed alcohol is not an ordinary commodity since it is linked with connotations of pleasure and sociability in the minds of many of its consumers. People drink beer for relaxation, feeling of happiness and cheerfulness. Saunders (1998) asserts that relaxation was one of the psychological benefits of drinking. Consequently, burkutu was consumed mainly for socio-cultural reasons during the pre-colonial period but it became a drink for psychological relief during the SAP era.

Most informal trade was carried out by both men and women, like tailoring and trade in second-hand clothes. However, burkutu trade was an exclusive preserve of women because it was associated with cooking which was a gender role for women.

The brewing process did change but the changes occurred in terms of the tools of the production and services. In the mid-1980s, the women were forced to replace metal drums with aluminium pots with four supports, for cooking it (Dodo, 2015: OI). The burkutu was brewed within seven (7) days pre-1985 but from the mid-1980s, the women reduced the brewing days to five (5) . This was done to reduce the alcoholic strength of the burkutu. It was done within the five days to meet up with high demand of expanding markets (Muplang, 2016: OI).

4.4 Burkutu Markets in Jos Metropolis up to 1995

Burkutu enterprise had heavy traffic in terms of the number of women that were involved into because of poverty and unemployment as a result of structural adjustment programme. The women brewers and sellers of burkutu were increasingly being patronized by more consumers due to poverty. Most consumers of burkutu created the habit of going to the beer spots popularly called „canteen’ in the area of study on daily basis: morning, afternoon, evening, and night. The spots were busy and lively in the evening and night. This was due to the fact that most people patronized burkutu after their working hours for relaxation.

The development of Jos as an urban centre led to the development of slums which in turn led to the development of burkutu markets which were mostly located in the slums (FGD,2016: Angwan-Rukuba). In these markets, the major article of trade was burkutu, which promoted other entrepreneurial activities like food, soup ingredients, and pepper soup. These other entrepreneurial activities were carried out in open space, stall and by hawking. Burkutu markets performed numerous functions which were economic and socio-cultural. They were the venue for socio-cultural interactions pertaining to international and national politics, economy and sports. (Pam, 2016: OI). They were crowded with people (young, middle aged, elderly and old) both men and women (FGD, 2016: Gyel).

Each burkutu market was headed by magajiya (FGD, 2016: Dadin Kowa). The magajiya was responsible for law and order in the marketplace. The association of brewers performed economic, judicial and social functions. The social functions included helping the needy among them, settlement of disputes among members and intervening in issues of harassments that women encountered from government

officials like revenue officers and community health workers which would sometimes result to the closure of the canteen. For effective marketing and administration, each market was divided into different canteens which were identifiable by their names (FGD, 2016).

The canteens were named either after cities in Nigeria such as canteen Abuja or named after the first women that brewed like canteen Ladi in Kugiya. Each burkutu spot comprised several rooms: for example, canteen Abuja in Angwan-Rukuba had three rooms and an open space. One room out of the three was where the burkutu was brewed while the remaining two rooms were for hosting the consumers of burkutu (Ashitu, 2016: OI).

In the burkutu markets, economic and social activities took place. In terms of economic activities, raw materials like grains were sold and were processed into finished goods (burkutu) ready for consumption. Buying and selling of goods and services also occurred. Apart from the economic activities, the social aspect was that people from diverse ethnic groups met to interact, share and discuss issues like economy, politics and religion that were affecting Nigeria and the world at large. They had this kind of communal setting that was common in the rural area.

Before 1991, Jos South and Jos North were one local Government known as Jos but in 1991 it was split into two (Krause, 2011). There were more burkutu markets in Jos South than Jos North. This was because most of the people residing in Jos South Local Government were indigenous people with few immigrants whereas Jos North Local Government was dominated by immigrants like Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, and some indigenous people. This study refers to both as Jos. A burkutu spot had a communal

life which stressed the importance of sharing and group cooperation among the burkutu consumers. It was a place where people drink, spend their leisure time and have fun. The burkutu markets in Jos were Kugiya, Angwan Rukuba, Tudun Wada, Gyel, Abattoir, Forest and Hwolshe (FGD, 2016: Dadin Kowa).

The burkutu market in Kugiya witnessed change from the 1980s to 1995. Women converted part of their home for brewing and marketing of burkutu. In a compound, the women used a section for accommodation and domestic purposes whereas the largest part was for their business. They used one room for brewing burkutu and other rooms were for hosting or serving their customers with burkutu who intended to drink on the spot. The house owner usually stayed in one section of his building and rented part of it to the women who only came there to brew and sell their product. The landlord had dogs that helped him to guard the women's properties while the women paid him rent.

The burkutu sellers rented six rooms, two were used for brewing and four rooms were arranged with seats for drinking the local beer. The burkutu in Kugiya market was more expensive in comparison with other markets. The market operated from 7am to 8pm. It was livelier and crowded in the evening when most people were back from their work. The consumers of burkutu drank both inside and outside the building while sitting on straight long seats that could take about six customers and also had inbuilt seats outside at the edges of the rectangular building (FGD, 2)16: Kugiya). Women from diverse ethnic groups participated in this business. The women were married, single mothers, divorcees, and widows (FGD, 2016: Kugiya). Burkutu enterprise promoted other entrepreneurial activities like food, meat, cigarettes, and clothing. This market was unique because other beers like Ogororo, Star and Guinness were

sold. Some of the women here were being assisted by their children particularly the female ones in the production and marketing of the brewed beer.

Hwolshe burkutu market was situated about two kilometers opposite Plateau State Polytechnic, Jos campus. The market was built with mud and roofed with zinc while another section was constructed with aluminum zinc. The beer spots were scattered in different places in that site. The market started in the late 1980s. Women from diverse ethnic groups were into the burkutu enterprise (Marian, 2016: OI).

The burkutu market in Gyel is situated close to the highway known as express road after D. B. Zang junction. The unique feature of this market was the fact it was not located in a slum. The burkutu spots were built with mud and roofed with zinc. It also had shops that were constructed by zinc. In these zinc shops, women brewed their beer in an open space while they served their beer both inside and outside but most of their customers preferred using the inside to outside. Most of the women were from diverse ethnic groups but the Berom women were the majority. Most of the women were young and few elderly ones. The elderly women brewed and sold their beer by themselves. Men played a traditional wooded game called Dara. Burkutu was cheaper in Gyel compared to Kugiya. For example, two litres of plastic containers were sold for two hundred and forty naira (₦240) in Gyel whereas same was two hundred and seventy naira (₦270) in Kugiya. It promoted other business like food and pepper soup.

One of the marketing strategies was offering free beer (maho) to prospective clients. Another method was credit (bashi) which was usually given to regular customers based on trust and regular clients were sureties for the new customers. Burkutu was patronized by low-income earners. In most cases, the women sold and served burkutu

to their customers directly. There were exceptional cases where the older women employed the younger women to sell their burkutu in order to attract customers. One informant Joe (2016) said she was old so she brewed her own beer and brewed indigenous beer for the younger women too. So, it was more of trade by barter (Joe, 2016: OI).

Burkutu enterprise was a very lucrative business, although the women were sometimes harassed by government agents like revenue officers who collected tax for the government and workers who were responsible for inspecting the hygienic conditions of the environment and brewers. The women said the health workers particularly Community Health Workers made it mandatory for the brewers to go for regular HIV and AIDS screening at recognized government hospitals (Zi, 2016: OI). An informant Dangida (2016, OI), states that women covered their hair whenever they brewed and sold burkutu. Women ran the risk of being arrested and their beer destroyed or their shop shut down. Sometimes they were forced to bribe the government agents. Women worked as individual entrepreneurs but they evolved networks of co-operation between them which helped them to cope with these difficulties (Dangida, 2016: OI).

Burkutu consumption during the period under review cut-across gender, age and class. Older people, women and youth were patronizing it (FGD, 2016: Gyel). The consumers were public servants especially at the junior cadre, labourers (carpenters) and the unemployed. Even if a customer did not have money to buy a drink, he/she could drink Maho (taste) and other customers that were buoyant could buy for the others. Its consumption was intensive in the 1980s to 1994 following financial crisis which led to the reduction in purchasing power of the people especially those who

were middle class who dropped to low class and from preference for bottled beer to affordable brewed beer. This led to widespread of burkutu spots as more customers and more women were into this enterprise.

4.5 Agency of women in burkutu enterprise up to 1995

Many women who lacked basic education or had low level of education were absorbed in burkutu enterprise. The burkutu enterprise provided employment opportunities for women that participated in it. It also provided job opportunity for family members especially their female children and relations. The perception of people before regarding burkutu business was that it was an enterprise for older women, but from 1986-1995, there was an emergence of younger women in their 20s and 30s participating in the business due to economic hardship.

The informant Agai (2015,OI)notes that her daughter who is schooling in College of Health Zawan, Jos, used to participate in the business during weekends (lecture free time) because we (parent) could not provide her with all her needs, coupled with the fact that she has younger ones who were looking up to them s). Kande (2015, OI) also asserts that she is 60 years old and is still participating in burkutu enterprise. She claims that it is still okay for her to brew burkutu even though she is o ld but she employs younger women to sell it in order to attract customers. She further states that she did not pay with cash for their services but brewed their own personal burkutu for them since she is good at it while they keep their profit. Similarly, Dura (2011) asserts that women entrepreneurship is about self-employment, which will generate employment opportunities for others that must work with an individual as he cannot work alone.

Women entrepreneurs used the wealth or money they realized from their business for household subsistence needs such as feeding, clothing, school fees and for their immediate family and extended family welfare. Women that migrated from the rural areas like Pankshin and staying in Jos doing their burkutu business do send money to their relatives in the villages (Danjuma; 2016, IO). Langowitz & Dean (2007) further suggest that women entrepreneurship is one of the most important sectors that contribute significantly to the world economic development and poverty alleviation, especially in the developing countries. Consequently, women's entrepreneurship has contributed to poverty alleviation as well as improving the standard of living for their families, community and the nation at large.

Burkutu also have an added value because the people view it as food. According to an informant (Dodo, 2015:OI) burkutu became food because the challenges associated with the structural adjustment programme made people to appreciate it as food. Some people cannot afford to provide three square meals for their family so more often they would forfeit their breakfast for children. In the morning they would rush to the burkutu market to drink burkutu as their breakfast. Some women are so engrossed with their businesses that they do not have time to cook food for their spouses. Therefore, the husbands survived on burkutu as food. Ikalafeng (2008) also affirms that due to the beer's high nutritional value, relatively low alcohol content (generally not exceeding 3%) and large quantities of suspended solids, some consumers use it as a staple food.

Women entrepreneurship in burkutu stimulates the growth of other entrepreneurial activities like animal husbandry, firewood sales and production of grains. The brewing of burkutu also created by-products known as "dusa" in Hausa language which was

bought by people who engage in animal husbandry for the feeding of their animals like pigs and goats. For instance, the by-product (dusa) was gotten after cooked malt was cooled, then it was sifted to produce the by-product (dusa). In addition to that, the burkutu has a short life span which is within twenty four (24) hours, after that it becomes waste. Hence, the waste of burkutu is also used in feeding pigs. Olu's (2015) study also shows that beer brewing brings about the production of numerous by-products that are significant to other industries.

By using firewood, cereals (guinea corn, millet and maize), calabash, aluminium pots, plastic containers, and grinding machines in the brewing and marketing of burkutu, women entrepreneurship in burkutu provides those other businesses with market, income and employment that are linked with the burkutu. Burkutu markets also stimulate the growth of other entrepreneurial activities like food vending, pepper soup and soup ingredients (Sati, 2015: OI). Michael (1996) collaborates that brewing and marketing traditional beer constituted major entrepreneurial activities all over the rural and semi-urban areas in Saharan Africa, definitely holding the most important function in the circulation of money. It is important in resource decisions, in sales and consumption of grains, and as a significant consumer of wood fuel.

Women entrepreneurship in burkutu of Jos provided low income earners and urban poor with an inexpensive alcoholic drink. From an interview, the informant Solomon (2016, OI) disclosed that burkutu is drink for low income earners with inadequate income to satisfy their needs and those of their family members due economic hardship of the 1980s, so little disposable money would be used in drinking an inexpensive beer like burkutu. The brewed beer was an inexpensive beer compared to the industrially manufactured beer. Scholars like Olu (2015) advanced that from 1980

onward, the modern beer in Nigeria started witnessing uncertainty in supply and unfavourable market environment in the industry. This was evident in the difficulty associated with accessing foreign currency to import since the industry depended solely on imported raw materials and absence of easily usable local alternatives to imported materials made the cost of production high. This also led to the increase in the prices of modern beer.

The high cost of factory brewed and refined beer ranges between NGN300.00 and NGN400.00 (2 to 2.5 USD) as compared to the indigenous alcoholic beverage, yet giving the same effect and even with much value (Ibrahim and Aondover, 2013). Ellison (2005) corroborates this argument that indigenous home brewed alcohol is cheaper than factory made branded alcohol, thus guaranteeing their continuing popularity, especially among low income earning groups. From the above, women have shown that they are agents of economic development and poverty reduction by providing the Jos urban poor with inexpensive and affordable alcoholic drink during economic hardship.

Through burkutu enterprise, women in Jos were able to accumulate income, which they saved in adashe (contribution). They participated in either daily or monthly contribution or both to save their profit. They used the profit they accumulated in investing in landed properties (plots of land), building houses and animal husbandry. Some of the women re-invested the income made in motorcycle hiring business from which they get a weekly remittance (FGD, 2016: Kugiyi). An informant Gyang (2016, OI) has this to say with regards to the financial gains of embarking on the burkutu enterprise:

Now I don't depend on my husband totally, at least I can afford to cloth myself, help my children and in-law without bothering my husband. I am being respected by people and my husband.

Therefore they have achieved financial security through burkutu enterprise. Women have shown that they are not recipients of welfare but subjects of economic growth. Conclusively, women enterprise in burkutu has proved that women are active agents of economic development, not just weak, dependent and victims of patriarchal society. This is because they were gainfully employed, and the income they generated used for household maintenance and re-investment in other entrepreneurial activities like motorcycle business.

5.6 Summary

The effects of structural adjustment programme were unemployment and poverty due to the removal of subsidy on education, healthcare, and privatization of public enterprise as well as the devaluation of the naira. It was a blessing in disguise for burkutu enterprise. Burkutu became a coping mechanism for people particularly the urban low-income earners who were unable to afford industrially manufactured beer. Burkutu enterprise also became a coping strategy for women that were unable to secure jobs with the formal sector due to their low level of education. Therefore, women translated their traditional skill into an economic one to generate income to complement their husbands' efforts. Women demonstrated their agency in indigenous beer enterprise by providing inexpensive beer and complementing their husbands' income.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study examined continuity and change in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos Nigeria from 1909 to 1995. In addition to that, the roles of burkutu during the pre-colonial period was analysed in order to understand and appreciate the continuity and change that occurred during the colonial and post- independence periods.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective examines the entry of women in burkutu enterprise, from 1909-1995. It has been shown that women have been brewing burkutu since the pre-colonial period for socio-cultural purposes. However, after the imposition of the colonial rule on Jos Nigeria, all economic activities particularly burkutu became monetized. Therefore, burkutu was transformed from a cultural item to a commercial product. During the pre-colonial era, there was a restriction on drinking burkutu. The elders were allowed to drink it while the youth were banned from drinking it unless during the festivals. However, during the colonial period, both the elders and youth drank burkutu in the mining camps and local markets as long as one had the purchasing power.

Similarly, Jos was colonized by the British colonial power due to her rich tin deposits. The land was alienated from the indigenous people by the colonial government for the mining companies at the expense of agriculture. This study also found out that the tin miners encountered problems with their labourers who stayed for a short period of

time which affected the output. The tin miners realized that most of their labourers were from Northern Nigeria who had the culture of drinking indigenous beer. Hence, the miners imported women from Northern Nigeria (like Maguzawa women), gave them grains at a subsidized rate to brew and sell beer in their mining camps in order to retain the labour force. This was because the Hausa women were exposed to trade more than the Jos women that were accustomed to the subsistent economy. The magagiyas (burkutu sellers) also employed prostitutes and divorcees to assist with the brewing and selling of the local beer. The younger women were solely employed to attract customers. Most of the Jos Plateau women sold Burkutu at the local markets.

It also reveals that from the 1940s to 1950s, more land was alienated for colonial tin mining and the continuous increase in taxation brought challenges and hardship to the Jos people. The women were left with children and the aged without the major factors of production (land and labour) of an agrarian society. The Jos plateau women were forced to search for alternative livelihood. They found Burkutu enterprise in mining camps as an alternative means of livelihood to support their families and to assist their husbands to pay their tax obligations to avoid being harassed by Native Authority Agents. The success story of the Hausa women motivated the indigenous women to sell Burkutu in the mining camps too. It took women seven days to brew Burkutu and the production tools were grinding stones, clay pots, and calabash.

The second objective is to investigate how developments during the post-independence period (1960-1981) influenced continuity and change in Burkutu enterprise. It has been revealed that Nigeria political independence in 1960 led to migration of people into Jos city. Consequently, there were two waves of migrations

into Jos metropolis in 1967 and 1974. The migrants were attracted by the prosperity of the tin industry, job opportunity, commerce, and modern infrastructure.

Migration led to an increase in the population of Jos as well as the expansion of the city particularly slum areas where burkutu enterprise thrived. Most of the women translated their traditional skill into an economic one to generate income to complement their husbands' efforts. It has also been revealed that during the Biafra War, most women became de-facto heads of their households in the absence of their husbands who were fighting war in the Eastern part of Nigeria. Burkutu trade was their source of livelihood. It has been shown that the United Nations Women's Conference of 1975 enlightened women in Jos Nigeria to also engage in commerce to empower them to support their families. The Oil boom made some people in Jos to prefer industrially manufactured beer to burkutu. Moreover, this period witnessed the emergence of more burkutu markets namely Angwan-Rukuba, Kugiya and Tudun-Wada respectively. The tools used for brewing burkutu were changed to more advanced, durable and efficient ones. The grinding stones were replaced by grinding machines.

The third objective is to assess the impact of Structural Adjustment Programme on burkutu enterprise of women, 1982-1995. The study discovered that economic reforms, specifically the structural adjustment programme, which were adopted to revamp the economy instead created more havoc on the economy. It led to poverty and unemployment due to retrenchment and devaluation of naira. During this period, most people lost their jobs in Jos, Nigeria and those that were retained had their wages reduced in the face of inflation. Men's income from the mid-1980s could not maintain

the household needs so women engaged in burkutu trade to complement their husbands' efforts.

The poor educational background of most women disqualified them from formal employments so their only alternative was burkutu trade. Burkutu became a source of employment for both young and older women. Similarly, the urban poor who were the most hit by the untold hardship had to look for coping mechanisms since they could not afford to drink modern beer which they substituted with burkutu. In addition to that, the Jos people had a culture of drinking indigenous beer, so the continuity of the burkutu trade was as a result of that culture. The brewing days were reduced from seven (7) to five days to save time in order to meet up with the demand and reduce its potency.

5.3 Conclusion

The first objective of the study was to examine the entry of women in burkutu enterprise from 1909-1995. This demonstrates that women emergence in burkutu enterprise and transformation of burkutu occurred due to monetization of the economy. It also is noted that tin miners encouraged women to brew and sell burkutu in their mining camps to prolong and stabilise their labour force. Taxation pushed men to work in mines to settle their tax obligation. Some women had to engage in burkutu enterprise for their family up-keep and to assist their husbands in paying tax.

The second objective is to investigate how developments during the post-independence period (1960-1981) influenced continuity and change in burkutu enterprise. It was established that Nigeria independence in 1960 led to population growth and urbanization of Jos metropolis through migration. As Jos city was

developing so was the slum areas where burkutu enterprise thrived. The Biafra war made more women to participate in burkutu trade in the absence of their men whom were fighting in Eastern part of Nigeria. It was noted that the United Nations Women's Conference created awareness for women in Jos Nigeria to participate in business such as burkutu.

The third objective analyses the impact of Structural Adjustment Programme on burkutu enterprise of women from 1982-1995. It was observed that the Structural Adjustment Programme led to unemployment and poverty. Unemployment and poverty made more women especially younger women to participate in burkutu enterprise for their family up-keep. In addition to that, poverty made burkutu popular amongst low-income earners. Burkutu provided psychological intervention for most people due to the pressure created by the structural adjustment programme. The brewed beer was patronised by men, women and youth.

In conclusion, the continuity and change, which occurred in burkutu enterprise of women in Jos metropolis, was occasioned by the monetization of the economy, livelihood strategy, and poverty. What has continued includes the following:

- i. Burkutu is brewed by women and is their livelihood strategy.
- ii. It is a cultural heritage of Jos Plateau people.
- iii. Clay pot is still being used for fermentation of burkutu.
- iv. Calabash is still being used for drinking burkutu.
- v. Older women have been and are still engaging in burkutu enterprise.

What has changed includes the following:

- vi. Burkutu was transformed from socio-cultural article during the pre-colonial era to an article of trade and source of income for women during the colonial and post-independence periods.
- vii. There was no restriction on drinking it as long as one could afford to buy it.
- viii. It was sold in the local markets and mining camps during the colonial period and from 1960 to 1995, burkutu markets emerged in Kugiya, Tudun-wada and Angwan-Rukuba.
- ix. In the early 1980s, the grinding stone was replaced with grinding machine, which was more efficient.
- x. From the colonial to the period before 1986, the older women employed the younger women to attract customers. The period 1986 to 1995 witnessed the entry of younger women in burkutu enterprise.
- xi. Burkutu became an item of psychotherapy for most people during the structural adjustment period. It was an inexpensive beer for low-income earners during the structural adjustment period.

5.4 Recommendations

In view of the findings of the study, it is recommended that government and non-governmental organizations should intervene in the packaging of the indigenous beer. This will, in turn, increase its continuity.

- i. The government should ensure that programmes and projects meant for women entrepreneurs will include women in burkutu enterprise. The projects should be properly implemented, supervised and coordinated for meaningful results.

- ii. The local government agents particularly the revenue officers and the environmental health officers should have a human face when implementing their duties by reducing the rate at which they shut down the burkutu joints due to non-compliance.
- iii. Burkutu brewing skill should be institutionalised and taught in the skill acquisition centres since it has been a livelihood strategy for women that were not absorbed in the formal sector due to their educational background.
- iv. Non-governmental organisations should advocate for the acknowledgement of women's achievements in burkutu enterprise. It will change some people's negative view towards burkutu.

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No	NAMES	Age	Gender	Occupation	Location	Date Of Interview
1.	Anthony Livinus	50	M	Civil Servant	Jos	10/8/2016
2.	Agai Jemima	50	F	BKT trader	Tudun Wada	5/5/2015
3.	Aji Mariya	90	F	Burkutu Seller	Tudun wada	6/6/2016
4.	Alex Ayuba	64	M	Trader	Jos	10/11/2016
5.	Ashitu Paul	60	F	BKT trader	Tudun wada	6/6/2016
6.	Audu Lere	65	F	BKT trader	Gyel	7/10/2016
7.	Augustina Dawam	65	F	BKT Seller	Gyel	7/10/2016
8.	Barko Christina	52	F	BKT Business	Dadi kowa	9/11/2015
9.	Bingel Freeman	96	M	Retired miner	Tudu wada	5/10/2015
10.	Bot Mercy	50	F	BKT trader	Hwshel	7/9/2016
11.	Chundung Paul	75	F	Retired bkt trader	Gyel	5/10/2016
12.	Dadi Jesicca	55	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016

13.	Dakun Matina	67	F	BKT	Angwan Rukuba	7/11/2015
14.	Dala.Im Dung	45	F	BKT trader	Tudu-wada	28/11/2016
15.	Danboyi Mary	90	F	BKT Seller	Kugiya	1/10/2016
16.	Danboyi Zango	93	M	Retired miner	Gel	5/10/2016
17.	Danjang Rechael	62	F	Housewife	Jos	27/8/2016
18.	Danladi Akim	40	M	Civil servant	Jos	7/8/2016
19.	Danlut Saint	63	F	Housewife	Dadi-kowa	7/10/2016
20.	Davou Garos	63	F	BKT Seller	Kugiya	6/5/2016
21.	Davou Gorrot	71	F	Retire BKT trader	Tudu-wada	28/11/2016
22.	Dodo Mangagi	60	M	Civil Servant	Angwan Rukuba	11/11/2015
23.	Dokuki Manfeng	47	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
24.	Dung Esther	63	F	BKT seller	Kugiya	10/9/2016
25.	Dung Azi	92	M	Retired tin	Jos	17/11/2015
26.	Edward Jatau	55	M	Artist	Tudu-wada	28/11/2016
27.	Fillibus	45	F	BKT trader	Gyel	8/8/2016

	Yenpen					
28.	Gabriel Daiyop	60	M	Civil servant	Tudu-wada	28/11/2016
29.	Gambo Aldullahi	75	M	Retired tin miner	Jos	5/10/2016
30.	Gangmicit Dinfa	58	F	BKT seller	Angwan Rukuba	8/10/2016
31.	Goar Nancy	69	F	BKT trader	Kugiya	10/9/2016
32.	Gosmot Comfort	67	F	BKT trader	Dadin-kowa	5/8/2016
33.	Gotou Simom	50	F	BKT seller	Kugiya	10/9/2016
34.	Gwahan Kangyang	82	F	BKT business	Gyel	13/10/2015
35.	Gwom Gabwal	67	F	BKT trader	Tudu-wada	28/11/2016
36.	Gyang Asabe	55	F	BKT trader	Dadin Kowa	6/7/2016
37.	Gyang Chuwang	60	F	BKT trader	Tudun-wada	28/11/2016
38.	Gyang Dung	67	M	Trader	Tudun-wada	28/11/2016
39.	Gyemang Rhoda	45	F	BKT trader	Dadi Kowa	5/8/2016
40.	Hassah Donguru	65	M	Retired Tin miner	Jos	5/11/2015

41.	Juju Joy	69	F	BKT trader	Gyel	6/7/2016
42.	Justice Iliyas	50	F	BKT seller	Gyel	7/10/2016
43.	Kande Nandom	52	F	BKT Trader	Kugiya	10/11/2015
44.	Kums Nanyi	43	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
45.	Lafa Zitta	50	F	Civil servant	Kugiya	10/9/2016
46.	Lanyi Ben	80	M	Trader	Jos	17/11/2015
47.	Lanys Juhana	78	F	Retired BKT trader	Kugiya	10/9/2016
48.	Lar Selbyen	70	F	BKT trader	Kugiya	10/9/2016
49.	Laraba Aku	65	F	burkutu trader	Kugiya	5/10/2015
50.	Laricha Rita	45	F	BKT seller	Kugiya	10/9/2016
51.	LongtoBn Rita	61	F	BKT trader	Dadin-Kowa	5/8/2016
52.	Lot Naanban	60	F	BKT trader	Dadin-Kowa	7/10/2016
53.	Mai Maiko Alice	45	F	BKT seller	Dadi-kowa	5/8/2016
54.	Maina Garba	45	M	Civil servant	Jos	10/10/2015
55.	Makili	55	F	BKT trader	Gyel	5/10/2015

	Jennifer					
56.	Mallam Yeri Maazi	80	M	Civil servant	Gyel	7/10/2016
57.	Marian Dashe	85	F	BKT Trader	Kugiya	2/11/2015
58.	Maswa Sarah	59	F	BKT trader	Dadin-Kowa	5/8/2016
59.	Mopogy Lucy	87	F	Retired BKT seller	Tudun wada	5/10/2015
60.	Moses Nyam	70	M	Carpenter	Tudun-wada	28/11/2016
61.	Muplang Ann	64	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
62.	Musa Theresa	45	F	Trader	Kugiya	10/9/2016
63.	Musa Rebecca	55	F	Beer seller	Angwan Rukuba	8/11/2015
64.	Musa Shenn	55	M	Artist	Tudu-wada	28/11/2016
65.	Nandak Seko	39	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
66.	Ndam Danjuma	43	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
67.	Nenfort James	63	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
68.	Nenpemu Dakun	48	F	BKT seller	Dadin Kowa	7/10/2016
69.	Ngo Chudung	70	F	Retire BKT	Gyel	7/10/2016

	Nyam			trader		
70.	Ngo Garos Chigot	50	F	BKT trader	Gyel	7/10/2016
71.	Ngo Iyop Nyam	70	F	BKT Seller	Gyel	7/10/2016
72.	Ngo Katok Gyang	45	F	BKT trader	Gyel	7/10/2016
73.	Njinri Florence	51	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
74.	Nnugy Lere	75	F	Retire tin miner	Jos	11/11/2016
75.	Nonsah Lohcit	45	F	BKT seller	Dadin-Kowa	5/8/2016
76.	Nyam Jang	98	M	Retired tin miner	Jos	17/11/2015
77.	Pam Simi	50	F	Housewife	Jos	7/8/2016
78.	Pam Sha	65	F	Retired civil servant	Tudun-Wada	28/11/2016
79.	Pam Waazi	67	F	BKT seller	Dadin-Kowa	5/8/2016
80.	Pam Lohcit	53	F	BKT trader	Dadin-Kowa	5/8/2016
81.	Pam Rapp	40	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
82.	Peter Malgit	50	M	Civil servant	Jos	17/11/2015

83.	Polok Mary	60	F	Trader	Kugiya	10/9/2016
84.	Ponmak Selre	50	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
85.	Pwol Chungdng	76	F	BKT seller	Dadin-Kowa	5/8/2016
86.	Rwang Esther	95	F	Retired	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2015
87.	Sale Daru	56	F	BKT Seller	Gyel	7/10/2016
88.	Sati Laraba	60	F	BKT business	Kugiya	10/10/2015
89.	Selchang Nanbyen	56	F	BKT trader	Howshel	9/10/2016
90.	Sha Theresa	60	F	Housewife	Kugiya	10/9/2016
91.	Sha Daliyop	95	M	Retired tin miner	Jos	11/10/2015
92.	Shaw Mary	54	F	BKT trader	Angwan- Rukuba	8/11/2016
93.	Sinbong Janet	65	F	BKT trader	Dadin-Kowa	5/8/2016
94.	Solomon Zingchang	45	M	Civil servant	Jos	9/12/2016
95.	Sunday Ann	55	F	BKT seller	Gyel	13/11/2015
96.	Wash Naomi	83	F	Retired BKT trader	Kugiya	10/9/2016
97.	Yop Jessica	70	F	Retired	Kugiya	11/11/2016

				BKT trader		
98.	Zang Janet	71	F	Retired BKT trader	Angwa- Rukuba	10/10/2016
99.	Zi Asanbe	70	F	Retired BKT trader	Angwan- rukuba	11/10/2016
100.	Zingfa Bale	55	M	Carpenter	Jos	10/11/2016

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR WOMEN IN INDIGENOUS BEER

Introduction

My name is Nimlan Rabi Menmak a Ph.D. student at Kenyatta University in the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies. I am undertaking a research on the “Continuity and Change in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos Nigeria,1909-1994”. You are free to contribute to this research by giving your opinions which were used for the purpose of this study.

PART A: BIO-DATA

1.Name.....

Address.....

Location of the interview.....

Date of the Interview.....

Educational Background.....

Occupation.....

Age.....

Sex.....

INDIGENOUS BEER OF JOS DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL

1) Was indigenous beer brewing gender specific?

2) Where did the participants acquire the brewing skills?

- 3) How were women producing this Indigenous beer (discuss the stages of the production)?
- 4) What equipments were used for producing indigenous beer? Explain their purpose?
- 5) What were the purposes of brewed beer during the pre-colonial period?
- 6) Were there taboos on the consumption of the beer? If yes, explain?

WOMEN IN INDIGENOUS BEER ENTREPRENEURSHIP OF JOS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

- 7) Did the indigenous brewed beer flourish during the colonial era in Jos? If yes why?
- 8) Did the indigenous brewed beer become a commercial activity during the colonial period? If yes, why?
- 9) What was the colonial government's attitude towards burkutu?
- 10) Did the colonial policies have an impact on the burkutu trade? If yes, what were the impacts?
- 11) Did the First World War have an impact on the burkutu trade? If yes, why?
- 12) What factors led to the entry of women into this trade?
- 13) Did the Second World War have effect on the burkutu trade? If yes, how was the burkutu trade affected by it?
- 14) What were the impacts of the post-war period?
- 15) What was the impact of tin on women's entrepreneurship in indigenous beer?

- 16) Where were women brewing traditional beer from?
- 17) How were women producing this Indigenous beer (discuss the stages of the production)?
- 18) What equipment was used for producing indigenous beer?
- 19) Where were women selling the beer?
- 20) Is it widespread? If yes or no, why?
- 21) Name the spots?
- 22) How is the traditional beer being sold (what containers do they used in selling beer)?
- 23) Was it a seasonal or an all year round activity?
- 24) Do you have a unified measurement for selling beer?
- 25) Were there seasonal fluctuations in marketing beer? If yes or no, why
- 26) Do you have a unified price for the standard volumes of the Measurement
- 27) Was there apprenticeship in indigenous beer?
- 28) Was beer enterprise your primary entrepreneurial activity?
- 29) What was the distinction between indigenous beer and European beer during the colonial era?
- 30) Profitability(how much are you realizing from your business)
- 31) Were there notable women that were involved in this business? If any name them?

32) What were the benefits of engaging in this trade?

33) Was there any impact of indigenous beer on poverty, employment and economic development? If yes, please tell me more about it?

Women's Entrepreneurial Activity in indigenous beer from 1960 -1981

34) Were women still engaged in local beer (Burkutu) enterprise in Jos during the post-independence period?

35) What is the source of women's capital in Jos?

36) How did you acquire the business skill?

37) Were you engaging in this particular business before 1981? If yes why?

38) How were you producing this Indigenous beer (discuss the stages of the production)?

39) How many people were involved in the production process?

40) Were there changes in the pattern of production? If yes or no, Why?

41) What technological equipment was used for producing beer and its application?

42) Was it a seasonal activity or an all year-round activity?

43) Where were women selling the beer?

44) Were there changes in the market pattern? If yes or no, why?

45) Were you being assisted in selling the burkutu?

46) How were you selling beer? Was it inside calabash or containers?

- 47) Do you have a unified measurement for selling beer?
- 48) Do you have a unified price for the standard volumes of measurement?
- 49) Did Nigeria's independence have an effect on the burkutu enterprise? If yes, why?
- 50) What were the impacts of oil boom on the indigenous beer enterprise? If yes, How?
- 51) Did the Biafra War have effects on women indigenous beer enterprise? If yes, what?
- 52) Was there apprenticeship in indigenous beer?
- 53) Was it widely spread? If yes or no...why?
- 54) Name the spots where indigenous beers are sold?
- 55) Profitability
- 56) Was beer enterprise your primary entrepreneurial activity? If yes or no, why
- 57) What are the impacts of beer enterprise on poverty, unemployment and economic development
- 58) What is the impact of tin on the indigenous beer?

Women's Entrepreneurship in indigenous beer from 1982 to 1994

- 59) Did governmental economic policies have effects on women's burkutu trade?
- 60) Why were women engaged in local beer (Burkutu) enterprise in Jos from 1982 to 1994?

- 61) Did Structural Adjustment Programme (wahala) have effects on women entrepreneurship in local beer?
- 62) Was there growing appreciation and demand for indigenous beer as a result of Structural Adjustment Programme?
- 63) Has Structural Adjustment Programme shaped the pattern of production and sells of local beer?
- 64) What was the impact of culture on women's indigenous beer enterprise?
- 65) What was the impact of poverty on this women's enterprise?
- 66) What was the impact of unemployment on beer enterprise?
- 67) What is the source of women's capital in Jos?
- 68) How did you acquire the business skill?
- 69) Were there changes in the pattern of production? If yes or no, why?
- 70) How were women producing this Indigenous beer (discuss the stages of the production)?
- 71) How many people used to be involved in the production process?
- 72) What technological equipment was used for producing beer and its application?
- 73) Was it a seasonal activity an all-year-round activity?
- 74) Where were you and other women selling the beer?
- 75) Were there changes in the market pattern? If yes or no, why?

- 76) Were you being assisted in selling the burkutu?
- 77) How were you serving the beer? Was it inside calabash or containers?
- 78) Was there apprenticeship in indigenous beer?
- 79) Was it widely spread?
- 80) Profitability
- 81) Who were patronizing local beer and why?
- 82) Name the places where beer was sold?
- 83) Was beer enterprise your primary entrepreneurial activity? If yes or no, why?
- 84) Names of women that were known in this business and location?
- 85) What were the outcomes of women engagement in local beer?
- 86) Did women entrepreneurship help in reducing poverty? If yes, how?
- 87) Did it reduce the rate of unemployment in Jos?
- 88) Did the trade in indigenous beer continue? If yes, why
- 89) Did change occur in the indigenous beer trade(development, brewing, marketing and drinking pattern)If yes, why?
- 90) Was the trade in burkutu declining or increasing? If yes or No, explain

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GOVERNMENT

OFFICIALS

- 1) For how long have you worked with the women that participate in burkutu trade and in what capacity?
- 2) What kind of assistance do you give to those who engage in burkutu enterprise?
- 3) Was there any change in women indigenous beer enterprise? If yes, why
- 4) Was there continuity in women indigenous beer enterprise? If yes, why?
- 5) What was the impact of beer enterprise on poverty, unemployment and economic development
- 6) What efforts are you making to make the sector viable?
- 7) How do the government regulations affect the sector with regard to tax and supervision?
- 8) How do you sensitize the sector participants on how to manage their enterprise

**APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR WOMEN
ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR CLIENTS**

Introduction

My name is Nimlan Rabi Menmak, a Ph.D. student at Kenyatta University in the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies. I am undertaking a research on the “Continuity and Change in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos Nigeria, 1909-1994”. You are free to contribute to this research by giving your opinions which were used for the purpose of this study.

- 1) Were there women entrepreneurs in Jos who engaged in local beer enterprise?
- 2) When did women start engaging in business?
- 3) How did women entrepreneurs acquire their skills?
- 4) What were the sources of capital for their business?
- 5) How did women entrepreneurs run their business?
- 6) What was its importance during the pre-colonial period
- 7) How was it produced in the pre-colonial period
- 8) Who were drinking the beer? Why?
- 9) When did local beer become commercialized?
- 10) What was the use of local beer in the colonial economy?
- 11) Why did women participate in burkutu enterprise during the colonial era?

- 12) What were the impact of colonial policies (like monetization, taxation, forced labour and land alienation)?
- 13) What were the impacts of First World War on the burkutu enterprise?
- 14) What were the effects of the Second World War on indigenous beer enterprise?
- 15) What were the impacts of indigenous beer enterprise on the tin industry?
- 16) What were the effects of the post-war?
- 17) What were the effects of independence on indigenous beer business?
- 18) What were the effects of migration on traditional beer trade?
- 19) What were the effects of the Nigerian Civil War on burkutu enterprise?
- 20) What were the impacts of the oil boom on burkutu trade?
- 21) What were the effects of government policies on burkutu enterprise?
- 22) What were the impacts of structural adjustment programme on women entrepreneurship in indigenous beer?
- 23) What were the impacts of urbanization on indigenous beer trade?
- 24) What were the stages of production?
- 25) What were the factors that led to the changing patterns and nature of production and marketing of local beer?
- 26) Kindly give me a description of the burkutu markets in terms of the setting and patronage?

- 27) When and how did the women use industrial equipment in production?
- 28) What were their marketing patterns?
- 29) Profitability (how much money were they able to get from this business)?
- 30) Who used to Patronize the business and why?
- 31) What were the outcomes of women entrepreneurial activities?
- 32) Was there continuity in indigenous beer trade? If yes Why?

APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR BURKUTU CLIENTS

Introduction

My name is Nimlan Rabi Menmak a Ph.D. student at Kenyatta University in the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies. I am undertaking a research on the “Continuity and Change in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos Nigeria, 1909-1994”. You are free to contribute to this research by giving your opinions which were used for the purpose of this study.

PART A:

BIO-DATA Name.....

Address.....

Location of the interview.....

Date of the Interview.....

Educational Background.....

Occupation.....

Age.....

Sex.....

INDIGENOUS BEER OF JOS DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

- 1) Was indigenous beer brewing gender specific?
- 2) Where did the participants acquire the brewing skills?
- 3) What were the purposes of brewed beer during the pre-colonial period?
- 4) Were there taboos on the consumption of the beer? If yes, explain?

WOMEN IN INDIGENOUS BEER ENTERPRENEURSHIP OF JOS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

- 5) Did the indigenous brewed beer flourish during the colonial era in Jos? If yes, why?
- 6) Did the indigenous brewed beer become a commercial activity during the colonial period? If yes, why?
- 7) What was the colonial government's attitude towards burkutu?
- 8) Did the colonial policies have an impact on the burkutu trade? If yes, what were the impacts?
- 9) Did the First World War have an impact on the burkutu trade? If yes, why?
- 10) What factors led to the entry of women into this trade?
- 11) Did the Second World War have effect on the burkutu trade? If yes, how was the burkutu trade affected by it?
- 12) What were the impacts of the post-war period?
- 13) What was the impact of tin on women's entrepreneurship in indigenous beer?
- 14) Where were women selling the beer?
- 15) Is it widespread? If yes or no, why?
- 16) Name the spots?
- 17) How was the traditional beer being served (what containers did they use in serving beer)?

- 18) Was it a seasonal or an all year round activity?
- 19) Did they have a unified measurement for selling beer?
- 20) Were there seasonal fluctuations in marketing beer? If yes or no, why
- 21) Did they have a unified price for the standard volumes of the Measurement
- 22) Was there apprenticeship in indigenous beer?
- 23) What is the distinction between indigenous beer and European beer during the colonial era?
- 24) Name some notable women that were involved in this business?
- 25) What were the benefits of engaging in this trade?
- 26) What was the contribution of indigenous beer enterprise?

Women's Entrepreneurial Activity in indigenous beer from 1960 -1981

- 27) Were women still engaged in local beer (Burukutu) enterprise in Jos in the post-independence period?
- 28) What were the sources of women's capital in Jos?
- 29) Was it a seasonal activity or an all year-round activity?
- 30) Why were you drinking the beer?
- 31) Where there burkutu joints?
- 32) Were there changes in the market pattern? If yes or no, why?

- 33) Were women being assisted in selling the burkutu?
- 34) How were they serving the beer? Was it inside calabash or containers?
- 35) Did they have a unified price for the standard volumes of measurement?
- 36) Did Nigeria's independence have an effect on the burkutu enterprise? If yes, why?
- 37) What were the impacts of oil boom on the indigenous beer enterprise? If yes, How?
- 38) Did the Biafra War have effects on women indigenous beer enterprise? If yes, what?
- 39) Was there apprenticeship in indigenous beer?
- 40) Was it widely spread? If yes or no....why?
- 41) Name the spots where indigenous beer was sold?
- 42) What were the impacts of beer enterprise on poverty, unemployment and economic development

Women's Entrepreneurship in indigenous beer from 1982 to 1994

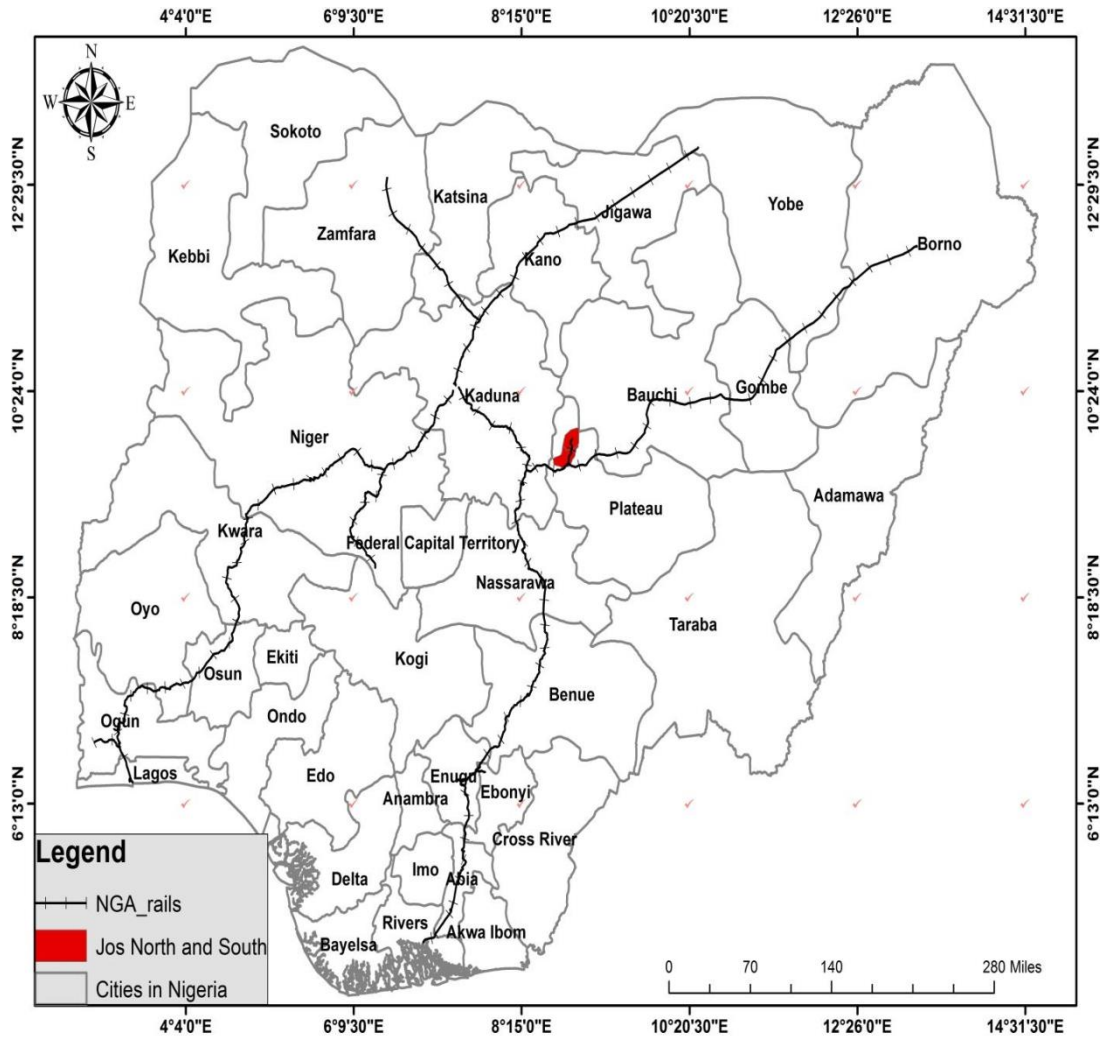
- 43) Did governmental economic policies have effects on women burkutu trade?
- 44) What were the impacts of the economic crisis?
- 45) Did hardship of the 1980s have effects on women entrepreneurship in local beer?

- 46) Was there growing appreciation and demand for indigenous beer as result of hardship?
- 47) How did hardship affect your drinking pattern?
- 48) What was the impact of culture on women indigenous beer enterprise?
- 49) What was the impact of poverty on this women enterprise?
- 50) What was the impact of unemployment on beer enterprise?
- 51) Was it a seasonal activity an all year-round activity?
- 52) Where were women selling the beer?
- 53) Were there changes in the market pattern? If yes or no, why?
- 54) Were they being assisted in selling the burkutu?
- 55) How were you served beer? Was it inside calabash or containers?
- 56) Was there apprenticeship in indigenous beer?
- 57) Was it widely spread?
- 58) Who were patronizing local beer and why?
- 59) Name the places where beer was sold?
- 60) Name women that were known in this business and location?
- 61) Did women entrepreneurship help in reducing poverty?
- 62) Did the trade in indigenous beer continue? If yes, why

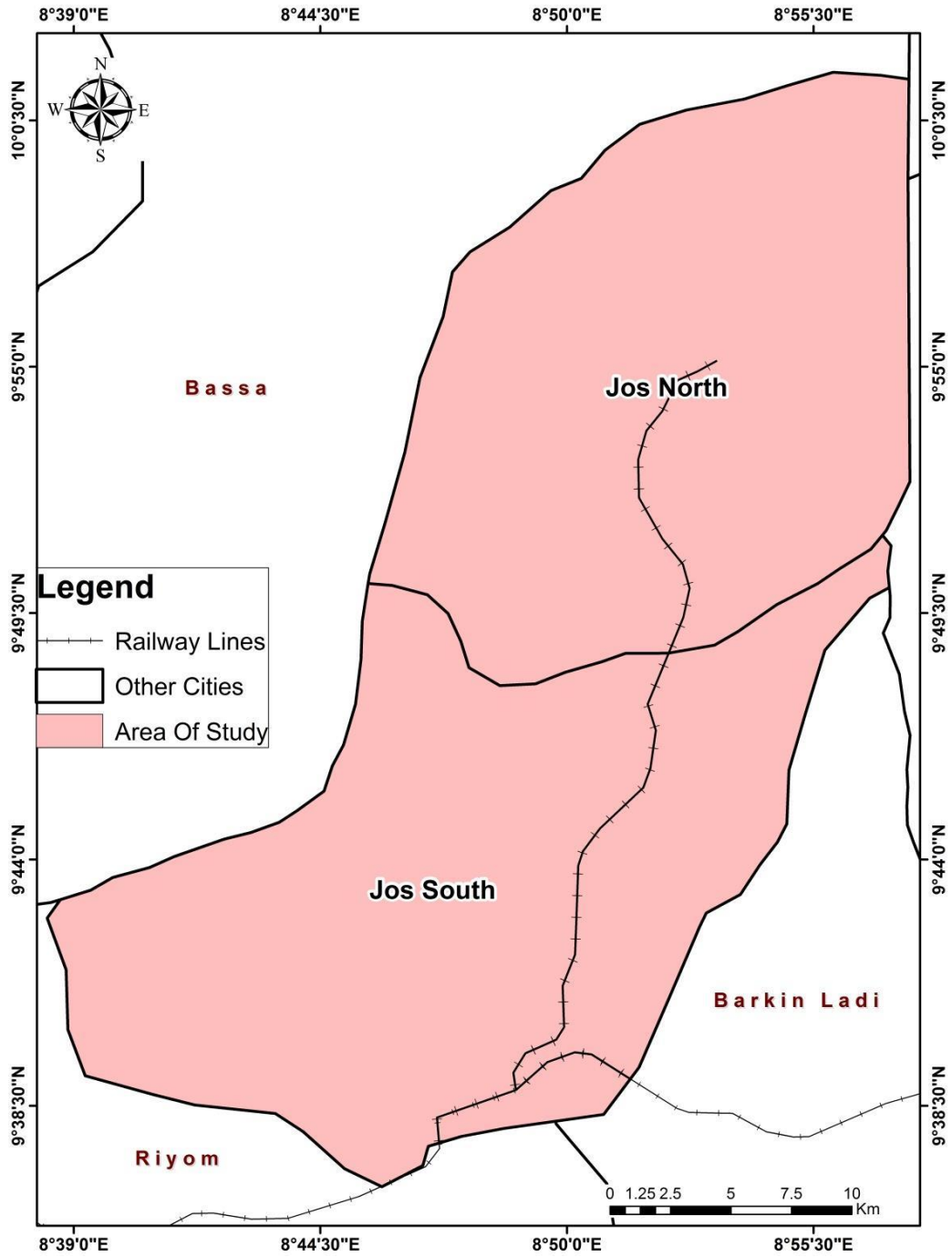
63) Did change occur in the indigenous beer trade (development, brewing, marketing and drinking pattern) If yes, why?

64) Was the trade in burkutu declining or increasing? If yes or No, explain

APPENDIX V: MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING JOS METROPOLIS



APPENDIX VI: MAP OF JOS METROPOLIS



**APPENDIC VII: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF NIGERIA RESEARCH
PERMIT**



**NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF NIGERIA
FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND CULTURE**
Kaduna Zonal Office

No 5/6 Yakubu Gowon Way Kaduna

FMI/NAK/17/4/VOL./52/48

22nd February 2016.

The Dean,
Graduate School
Kenyatta University Nairobi.
Kenya .

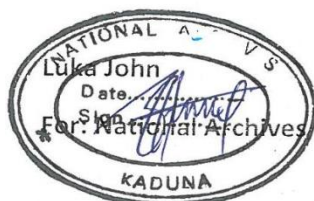
Sir,

Re: Attestation and clearance of Ms Nimlan Rabi

We refer to your letter dated 19th February, 2016 requesting proof of clearance and registration on behalf of Nimlan Rabi Menmak C82F/27279/2014 to conduct data collection.

By this letter, the department of National Archives Kaduna Zonal office hereby acknowledges that Ms Nimlan Rabi Menmak was duly cleared and registered to conduct data collection with regards to her Doctoral dissertation titled "change and continuity in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos Nigeria 1920-2011".

Thank you.



E-mail: nationalarchives@yahoo.com
www.nationalarchives.gov.ng
www.natonalarchives.org.ng

APPENDIX VIII: CONSENT LETTER**Consent Letter**

I, Pam Esther declare that I have been informed about Kenyatta University Doctoral thesis on change and continuity in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in Jos Metropolis from 1909 to 1994. I freely and willing volunteer to part take in this research.

Name: Pam Esther

Date: 8/2/2016

Signature: ES

APPENDIX IX: CONSENT LETTER FOR PHOTOGRAPH**Consent Letter**

I, Ruwang Ruth.....give consent that my photograph be used for the data collection for
Doctoral thesis on change and continuity in indigenous beer entrepreneurial activity of women in
indigenous beer of Jos Nigeria from 1909 to 1994.

Name: Ruwang Ruth

Date: 10/11/2015

Signature: BRU

APPENDIX X: PICTORIALS

Plate 1: Burkutu in a calabash



Photo taken by the research at Angwan-Rukuba burkutu market in November 2015

Plate 2: A woman brewing burkutu



Photo taken by the research at Kugiya burkutu market in November 2015

Plate 3: The act of maka



Photo taken by the research at Gyel market in December 2015

Plate 4: people drinking burkutu



Photo taken by the research at Kugiya market in November 2015