

**OGIGE MARKET AND THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
TRANSFORMATION OF NSUKKA, NSUKKA LGA, ENUGU STATE,
1970-2013**

Ikenna Odife Ph.D

Department of History and International Studies
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka
08035499792

&

Rachael Emuche Orumah

Department of History and International Studies
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka
08030884729

Abstract

Markets are crucial in the socio-economic and political life of Igboland. Communities establish markets to foster exchange, interdependence, social activities and interactions. Part of this goal is the social and economic transformation of the community that owns the market. This paper seeks to understand the place of Ogige Market in the social and economic transformation of Nsukka. It will demonstrate how the market shaped social activities and deepened livelihood in the town during the period, 1970-2013. The paper adopts the qualitative method of research and is set thematically. The data are derived from primary and secondary sources. Data from the various sources are evaluated, analyzed and validated. From the available evidence, the paper contends that the market played significant role in the social and economic transformation of the town as well as the livelihood of its residents and was a mixed-bag of positive and deleterious consequences. It, however, argues that the positive impact by far outweighs the negative impact.

Keywords: Ogige Market, Nsukka, Growth, Social and Economic transformation.

Introduction

The place of markets in Igbo society cannot be overemphasized. Throughout Igboland, it is mainly in the market that products of agriculture, of local crafts and industries, products of the modern manufacturing sector and various types of imported goods are exchanged and transacted on. They also earn revenue for the community, local government area and even the state government. Market flatters the pride of the community that established it. As the society grows and gets more and more cosmopolitan, the market experiences both spatial expansion and demographic growth with the concomitant increase in the range and varieties of wares traded on.¹ Its impact on the host community also tends to deepen. Ogige Market, Nsukka is one of such markets in Igboland which had undergone remarkable growth due to the increasing urbanization of the town, the location of the first indigenous university in Nigeria, the headquarters of a local government and significant presence of Christian missionary activities. This market has risen to meet the demands of residents of the town. A corollary to this lies in the all-important role to meet the needs of the heterogenous society, expand its clientele and ensure timeous and adequate supply of the needs of the community. For instance, the reliance of the University of Nigeria

community on the market for the supply of its need, led to the expansion of the variety of wares sold in the market.² There is, therefore, the need to understand how the market contributed to the social and economic transformation of the town.

There exists a plethora of studies on markets on Igboland.³ Yet the Ogige market, despite its stature as the biggest market in Nsukka Local Government Area and Enugu North senatorial zone, has not received similar scholarly attention. This paper seeks to address this lacuna, contribute to knowledge on markets in Igboland and elucidate the role of Ogige market in the social and economic transformation of Nsukka in the period, 1970 to 2013. The choice of the time frame of the paper is predicated on the attempts to rehabilitate and uplift the market after the devastations of the Nigeria Civil War in 1970. The terminal year of 2013, coincides with the relocation of the building materials section of the market to a new site.

In order to do justice to this task, this paper is organized into five sections with each containing information valuable to the thrust of the paper. The first is the introduction which guides the reader towards understanding the background and the *raison d'eter* of the paper. The second presents an overview of Nsukka and the state of markets before 1970. This will apprise the reader with changes in the market from the take-off year of the study and its overall impact. The third shows the attempt to rehabilitate the market after the devastations of the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1967-1970. The fourth section, with evidence-based analysis demonstrates the role of the market in the social and economic transformation of Nsukka, while the fifth presents the concluding reflections.

Overview of Nsukka and Markets before 1970

Nsukka is one of the towns in Nsukka Local Government Area of Enugu State. It is also the headquarters of the LGA. It is made up of three major communities which consist of different clans, kindred and villages. These communities are Mkpunano, Nru and Ihe n'Owerre. Presently it is organized in nine autonomous communities, distributed thus among the three communities, Mkpunano, four; Nru, three and Ihe n'Owerre, two.⁴ It is host to the University of Nigeria. In fact, the greater portion of the land upon which the university is built belongs to Ihe n'Owerre; hence Nsukka indigenes refer the university as *Ulo akwukwo agu Ihe n'Owerre*.⁵

Nsukka lies between latitude 6, 18 and 70.⁰ north and longitude 6⁰52 and 70.451 east of the meridian.⁶ It shares a common border with Edem, Aro-Uno, Isiuja and Ele-agu Obukpa in the West, Ede Oballa, Lejja and Obimo in the south; Orba, and Eha-Alumona in the east and Obukpa in the North. This compass description shows that Nsukka occupies a central position amongst the communities in the LGA, and such location affected the viability and patronage to the major market of the town.

The traditional economy of Nsukka, like that of most Igbo societies, rested on the tripod of agriculture, manufacture and trade.⁷ However, there has been expansion in the scope of activities due to modernity and urbanization of the town. Such new concepts and phenomena in the economy include transportation, financial institutions, hospitality industries, and so on. Agriculture appears to be gradually losing its pride of place in the economy due to land scarcity occasioned by urbanization and loss of communal land for government institutions, especially the university.

The origin of market in Igboland revolves around a myth which borders on interdependence on agricultural production, local industries and needs' satisfaction. It is certain that markets existed in Igboland, which Nsukka is a part, even before the

penetration of Europeans into Igbo hinterland.⁸ In the pre-colonial period, Nsukka people had established an efficient intra-community's trade and with other communities to meet their needs. Therefore, the origin and growth of trade in Nsukka resulted from the lack of self-reliance, self-sufficiency in the economy dictated by the exigencies of interdependence.⁹ As Udeagha rightly observes, "Throughout Igboland, it was mainly in the market that produce of agriculture, of local crafts and industries were exchanged. Since market attracted so many diverse, peoples, it became the focus of the society's life."¹⁰ Thus, markets served as the venues and centres of exchange, of social interactions, fares and spread of gossips.¹¹ The Igbo generally have four market days, namely; Eke, Orie, Ahor (Afor) and Nkwo, which held in this sequence. Each community had a market named after the aforementioned market days. Each market day has its unique importance in commerce, customs and intergroup relations.¹²

There were three traditional markets in Nsukka and they held in two out of the three villages of the town; Ihe n'Owerre and Nru. The first held on *Orie* which is the second market day in the Igbo week. It was located in Ihe n'Owerre community. The exact venue was popularly called '*Ugwu Orie*.' It was an evening market. The second market held on *Nkwo*. It was located at Nru. The venue was *Ugwu Nkwo*, adjacent a shrine known as Nkwo-Nsukka. It was also an evening market. The markets held in the evening, so as to allow the people attend to their farms early in the day.¹³ Attendance to these markets were usually low, restricted to the indigenes of the villages concerned. They represented a perfect example of markets patronized by short distance traders and to meet immediate domestic and household needs, often foodstuff.¹⁴

The third market was the major and biggest market in Nsukka, the Ogige Market. It was also located in Ihe n'Owerre community. It held every eight days (alternate Nkwo days). The market was initially situated at a site adjacent the present Police Station in Nsukka town. However, in the course of providing access road to the university, part of the market was demolished. This constricted the market space. Consequently, the market was relocated to a new site. The new site was Ogige Market while the old became *Ogige Ochie* (Old Ogige). Overtime, all forms of activities ceased at the old site. The centrality and size of the new market attracted people from the neighbouring villages who brought their wares there. The interval between Ogige (Nkwo) alternate market week provided the needed opportunity for traders to prepare for a full-day activity. These account for the large population, the volume and variety of goods available at Ogige on the market day. However, the Ogige became a daily market due to the increasing spate of urbanization in Nsukka and the influence of the university. Nonetheless, the rule on alternate market week mostly applied to traders who brought their wares from the remote parts of Nsukkka LGA and beyond. The beauty of such market day lay in the fact that peasant farmers brought their products to Ogige market day and traders from such distant places as Idah, Onitsha, Awka, Enugu, and farther afield, came to Ogige to purchase agricultural and other local products directly from the producers; often at reduced rate against what could be bought from retailers.¹⁵

For the indigenes of Nsukka, socio-cultural activities such as funeral rites, marriages village assembles and other such important events were prohibited on the market day. This was to make for full participation of all and sundry. The Ogige market was used as venue for other social activities due to its central location in Nsukka and the myth associated with markets across Igboland in general. Such socio-cultural activities that

took place at the Ogige market square were Omabe festival, coronation ceremonies, cultural dances, age grade wrestling and the final outing funeral ceremonies.¹⁶

Agricultural product constituted the largest volume and value of goods brought from remote villages. These include yam, cocoa-yam, cassava (processed in different forms) maize, local beans, breadfruit, palm oil, palm wine, fruits vegetables and so on. Also iron-based materials such as machete, hoe, ritual items, title staff, traps, *etc*, found their way into the market. Indeed, a wide array of materials and goods of local product were sold in the market. The need to serve to needs of the university community expanded the scope of articles available in the market. The sophistication of the university population and special needs of the community led to the introduction of new articles of trade such as textbooks for different educational levels. For instance, books and stationary section was established in the market. Also, articles such as high-quality dresses and imported food items found their way into the stalls of Ogige Market.¹⁷

With respect to the maintenance of law and order, the *Oha Nsukka* (Nsukka Council of elders) were the market officials. They settled disputes and ensured the existence of a tranquil and peaceful atmosphere for transactions to thrive. Fighting cheating and stealing were prohibited. In the case of stealing, Afigbo's adumbration with respect to larger Igbo society that "the thief was adorned with broken vessels and empty snail shells and paraded round the local market and subjected to withering ridicule,"¹⁸ applied to Ogige Market.

From the foregoing presentation, it could be seen that markets in Nsukka met the demand, and needs of the people and ensured inter-dependence in the economy of the town. The initiative for the establishment of the market was that of Nsukka people. It was established on a piece of land jointly owned and donated by Ameze, Nbuke and Amukwa kindreds of Ihe n'Owere village through their elders. The siting of the market appears strategic because, it is situated at the centre of the town and also close to the university. However, the Nkwo Nsukka and Ugwu Orie markets continued to exist, though as small markets. The Ogige maintains the stature of the 'mega' market. The market was destroyed due to the devastation of the Nigeria-Biafra War, (1967-1970). Such destruction was not peculiar to Ogige Market as most markets in Igboland suffered similar fate.¹⁹ The Nsukka community, the traders and authorities of Nsukka Urban Council made strident efforts to reconstruct and rehabilitate the market.

Immediate Post-Civil War Reconstruction

At the end of the Nigeria -Biafra war in 1970, the traders who survived the war returned to the market to restart their businesses and rebuild the market. Fresh persons indicated their interest to trade in the market. The market thus attracted new traders. In the interim, they, in collaboration with Nsukka indigenes, cleared the rubbles that littered the market. The old and new traders erected stalls. The structures were laid-out in unorganized arrangement. They were a framework of wood covered with corrugated iron sheets (zinc).²⁰ Nevertheless, the war presented an ideal opportunity for a new beginning, reorganization and transformation of the market.

In order to reposition Ogige Market on path of recovery, Nsukka Urban Council got involved in the reconstruction of the market. The remnants of the old structure and the newly constructed make-shift structures were demolished. The new arrangement and structures were well-planned and laid out. The shops were rebuilt with blocks, as such, became permanent structures. Unlike the pre-war structures that were mostly constructed

with wooden planks and earthen materials in a haphazard manner, the internal structure of the new market was led in symmetrical lines. Each line was identified with definite/related articles. This inaugurated government involvement of the market and the elbowing-out of the Oha Nsukka from its ownership and management. However, Nsukka indigenes were given special consideration in the allocation of the stalls and the Oha Nsukka collected tolls from traders who sold their wares at the free-range and open section of the market. The traders paid shop levies to the sub-treasury of the urban council. The new construction gave the market a new look. It marked the beginning of new order and stability in Ogige Market as it became better organized. The market association was formed, executive members elected and constitution for the Association was drafted. It is pertinent to state here that the Nsukka Urban Council donated a power-generating plant to the market. The power-generating plant boosted grain grinding mills business and served the cold storage rooms that stocked frozen fish. Additionally, safety and security of goods in the market were achieved through the establishment of a security outfit by the Traders' Association. The outfit was supervised by the Nsukka Division of the Nigerian Police Force.²¹

The 1976 Local Government Reform in Nigeria further reinforced the rebuilding and uplift of the market. With the revenue that came to Nsukka Local Government Authority from special grants for market and motor parks development, additional lock-up shops were built and the motor park which was adjacent the market was rebuilt by laying the surface with asphalt and bitumen.²² The roads that lead to the market were reconstructed. For instance, by 1978, the MCC completed the road from Enugu-Ezike to Nsukka. This facilitated the evacuation of products from such remote places to Nsukka. Most remarkable was the availability of the Enugu-Ezike oil palm wine to the Nsukka urban population.²³

Post-Civil War developments impacted positively on Ogige market, the residents of Nsukka and the environs. Agricultural production increased substantially and there was a diversification of the economy of Nsukka. For Instance, Barbers' shops, watch repairers, tailoring activities and photography became ubiquitous in the town and received considerable patronage. However, agricultural production remained the most dominant economic activity. Each village in Nsukka as well as the neighbouring communities emphasized the production of crops which they had comparative advantage and supplied them to Ogige market. For instance, Nru supplied vegetables, the neighbouring Ede Oballa brought okro, Iheaka was reputed for garden egg while Enugu-Ezike, as mentioned earlier, supplied their juicy oil palm wine.²⁴

Consequently, the Ogige recovered remarkably. The level of economic activities surpassed its pre-war status. It attained heights in popularity. The market expanded in space and volume of transactions. It is necessary to state that the greater percentage of the population of Nsukka benefited from the growth. The increased demand for food crops inspired production by local farmers, and in turn, the bustle of activities in Ogige Market. The increased activity in the market grew the wealth of the traders and expanded the range of goods supplied to the market. The standard of living of the traders as well as that of the buyers from the market improved remarkably. In fact, the increase in business activities in Ogige market raised the quality of life of people in Nsukka more than what obtained in most Igbo communities elsewhere.

Impact and Significance

The impact and significance of Ogige market on Nsukka was quite profound. However, while some of the impacts were of up-building and positive consequences, others were negative and deleterious. Its role in the social and economic transformation of Nsukka can be evaluated in the sense it stimulated wholesome social and economic consequences as well as the negative implications.

The place of Ogige market in the social and economic transformation of Nsukka were multifaceted and far-reaching. Its effect extended the realm of commerce, exerting a profound impact which were woven into the social, economic and political fabrics of its spatiality. Ogige market is nestled in the epicentre of Nsukka town, bringing together local producers, artisans and entrepreneurs that offered a diverse and array of goods and services that cater for the needs and preferences of the residents of Nsukka town. Thus, the market played a crucial role in promoting sustainable development.

The market promoted the local food system and cuisine of the Nsukka people. It popularized the indigenous food system which supported farmers and local food producers. The local food system in Nsukka offers diverse range of food products such as dried cassava, garri, foo-foo, palm oil, palm kernel oil (*ude aku*), oil bean pudding. It also includes a variety of fruits like, cashew, icheku, apple star *ugiri* and African star apple (*udara*). The vegetable products include Amaranthus, pepper, waterleaf, pumpkin leaf and seeds as well as dried okro. The root crop products include, yam, trifoliate yam (*ona*), among others. The ubiquity of these food crops served people of diverse cultural backgrounds that made the Nsukka Urban. The popularity of such traditional cuisines amongst the residents of the town promoted the food identity for Nsukka people. The indigenous cuisines that received wide and massive acceptance include, the Bambara nut pudding (*okpa*), corn pudding (Igbakwu oka), fiofio blended with dried cocoyam (*Ayaraya*), amongst others, created food identity from which the local food vendors made enormous profits. The proceeds from these were invested in household sustenance and community development.²⁵

The freshly harvested vegetables available at the market improved dietary habit and healthy consumption. This in no small measure improved public health and well-being of residents of the town. The local food system ensured food security. It facilitated food access and availability and reduced external reliance for food safety. The system also preserved traditional farming practices and recipes, promoting community identity and social cohesion, which provided the platform for local food products and systems to thrive.²⁶

The proximity to people, regularity of supply of products to the market and patronage reduced food losses, damages and putrefaction which fresh food items, fruits and vegetable are amenable to when they are transported to long distances and subjected to delay of delivery. The improvement of road system by the construction of bituminous and access roads to Nsukka from the interior food producing communities were significant in the social transformation of such distant communities.²⁷

The Ogige Market also facilitated trade in Nsukka town. It offered a place for transaction of goods and services which created opportunities for small scale vendors, farmers, craftsmen and, artisans who could not access distant or digital market. These petty traders and artisans sold their goods and services directly to the consumers and, at the same time, provided the consumers easy access to a wide range of fresh products.

R.J. Gavin and Wale Oyemakinde's assertion that vast distances to be traversed to bring producers and consumers together was a limiting factor in Nigeria's internal trade,²⁸ was mitigated by the strategic location of Ogige market and the artery of road networks that connect it with food producing areas.

The Ogige market also bolstered the income and profit made by farmers in Nsukka and its environs. It provided an opportunity to sell directly to consumers with minimal interference of middlemen or retailers. This does not pre-suppose that Ogige Market was immune to patronage of retailers. Most of these retailers bought from the direct producers, who sold the wares brought at the market in the major urban centers across Igboland. For instance, palm oil bought from Ogige market is sold in such distant markets as, Eke-Awka Eke-Ekwulobia and Ose Market, Onitsha, in Anambra State. Such opportunities increased the income of the Nsukka producers and generated wealth. The increased income and wealth distribution fostered entrepreneurial spirit of innovation which boosted productivity and efficiency amongst the producers in Nsukka.²⁹

The transformation of Nsukka as the export and distribution hub for local products could be attributed to the rising profile Ogige Market as a major source of the products. This distribution linked Nsukka with intra Enugu-State, inter-state and national market networks. The quality and unadulterated Nsukka palm oil and honey was sought after across the country. This encouraged local production. Consequently, it stimulated other sectors of the local economy such as transportation, food production and local manufacture and industry. The distribution of the products to places of need was met by the transport companies that flourished in Nsukka, the most popular of these are Ifesinachi Transport, Peace Mass Transit, Romchi and Royal Mass. They, on daily basis, delivered parcels of food items bought from Ogige market on way-bill to clients in parts of eastern states and as far as Lagos and Abuja.³⁰ This was a great boost to business in Nsukka as it increased the income earning capacity of the people.

The Ogige market generated employment opportunities for different shades of people. These opportunities include loaders and commuters' scouts for the transport companies, porters, wheel barrow pushers and hawkers of different types of products and articles. The availability of such opportunities contributed in reduction of sloth and idleness which were the major causes of indulgence in social vices, as it is said that 'an idle mind is the devils workshop'.³¹

The Ogige market was a major driver in the urbanization of Nsukka. The population growth of Nsukka as a result of the traders in the market added to the demographic index in the urbanization of Nsukka. It is estimated that not less than two thousand persons owned shops in the market. This number excludes the apprentices (*Umu boy*), sales girls and persons that render causal and auxiliary services in the market. The corollary was the development of health infrastructure, rentable houses, and social amenities to serve the residents of the town. It is believed that some of the traders built personal houses, at location as far as Opi, where land was available at affordable rate.³² The increase in business transactions stimulated the growth of hospitality industry. Such modern eateries and restaurants like Crunchies and Mr. Biggs were established to serve the growing population. Notable hotels like Erina Guest House and Ikenga were upgraded to meet modern tastes while new hotels such as Golden Valley Hotel and Suites, Kennan

Lodge Limited, Flamingo Suites, among others, sprang up to serve the hospitality needs of the town.³³

The Ogige Market also influenced the rise of financial institutions- informal banks, micro finance and the commercial banks. The informal banks include the saving loans and money lenders which provided most of the traders in the market deposit for their savings and loans needed to increase the capital base of their businesses. The Micro finance banks are Peace Micro Finance Bank, Ogige Micro Finance Bank, among others. Virtually all the commercial banks in the country established a branch in Nsukka. The majority of their customers were traders in Ogige Market.³⁴

It, however, cannot be said that the Ogige did not have negative influences on the host community. The rise in cost of living occasioned by growing commerce negatively impacted on low-income earners and the financial down trodden in the society. Most found it difficult to pay the new rents charged by property developers and shylock landlords. Also, land speculators and investors purchased land from unsuspecting and depressed indigenes at very low rates. This resulted in the loss of land for farm work and residence for the future generation.³⁵

The Ogige market also created environmental problems. First, on the main Ogige market day, there was constant traffic congestion because of people who brought their agricultural products and the surging traders from different parts of the state and beyond that patronize the market. In another vein, the wastes generated in the market often overwhelmed the capacity of the local government authority. Such wastes include discarded baskets of tomato, unsold vegetables and corn wastes that littered the precincts of the market prominent during the highpoints of such products.

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has extensively discussed the evolution of the Ogige market. It equally demonstrates the place of the market in the social and economic transformation of Nsukka town from the end of the Nigeria -Biafra in 1970 to 2013, when a substantial segment of the market was re-located to other sites within Nsukka, primarily to decongest it and provide room for such segments to expand in then new location. It discovers that the market brought significant social and economic benefits to the catchment area of the study; provided ready markets for the products of the farmers, stimulated exchange in variety of goods that served the residents of the town. The Ogige market provide opportunities for inter-city and inter-state transportation to thrive. The transport companies that engaged in human commutation and goods haulage widened the wealth-generating avenues to the local people as well as the transport entrepreneurs. Such successful transport entrepreneurs were Ifesinachi Motors, Peace Mass Transit, *etc.*

The market also led to the infrastructural development of Nsukka through such amenities like local access roads developed by government to ease the evacuation of agricultural products to the market and beyond, from it. The relative affordable prices of agricultural products, their quality coupled with the availability of the indigenous cuisines of Nsukka people such as Bambara nut pudding, 'Okpa'. The special Nsukka oil bean, honey and the like bolstered the image of the town as a food secured and food basket community. The high patronage the vendors of these products received from the urban population generated wealth which such vendors used to cater for household needs, send their children to school and contribute to community development efforts. It also made for the

diffusion of the food culture, cuisines and culinary practices to the stranger- population of the town. In fact, it is on account of these earned Nsukka the reputation and economic friendly and food-secured town.

On the flip side, the market had some negative impact, whose burden was mostly on the low-income indigenous population. Due to the over-bearing pressure from land speculators, on one hand, and the dire need for finances to meet personal needs, on the other most indigenous people sold off their land, leaving a bleak future for the upcoming generations, again, as the general cost of living increase and rents increased exponentially the petty traders and peasant farmers continue to survive under extreme pressure and to secure livable accommodations.

Finally, the market generated traffic congestion and problems associated with the disposal of wastes generated in the market. This tended to overwhelm the local government. But with the activities of the Enugu State Waste and Environmental Management Agency, in no distant time, it became a thing of the past.

By and large, it could not be controverted the market contributed significantly to the social and economic transformation of Nsukka during the period of this study.

Endnotes

1. B.N Hodder and Ukwu I. Ukwu, *Markets in West Africa: Studies of Market and Trade among the Yoruba and Igbo*, Ibadan: University Press, 1969, 32.
2. Sylvanus I. Ezech "The Impact of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN) on the host communities, 1960-1996," MA Thesis, Department of History and International Studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University (NAU), Awka, 2014, 48
3. See: Ukwu I. Ukwu "The Development of Trade and Marketing in Igboland," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN)*, Vol. 3. No. 4, June 1967, 650; Dickson E. Ubah Eke-Ututu Market and the Economy of Orsu-Ihiteukwu, 1970-2006," BA Project Report, Department of History and International Studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, 2014, G.N. Okoronkwo, Development of Markets in Aba, A study of Ariaria International Market 1976-2003", BA Project Report, Department of History and International Studies UNN, 2011, among others.
4. Enugu State of Nigeria (ESN), Enugu State Traditional Rulers and Autonomous Communities Law, 2018.
5. Ugwu Odo, Beneth Ngwoke, Sylvester Uramah, Christopher Eze, Michael Ani, Focus Group interview, Umunkanka Village Ihe n'Owerre on 23rd September, 2003.
6. Onyeji Nnaji "The Origin of Nsukka" <https://www.wikipedia.org>, Accessed June 1, 2023.
7. A. E. Afigbo, "Economic Foundations of Pre-colonial Igbo Society" in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O. Ojoba (eds) *Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, Ile-Ife: University Press, 1980, 9
8. Ukwu, "The Development of ... 652.
9. A. E. Afigbo, "Trade and Trade Routes in Nineteenth Century Nsukka," *JHSN*, Vol. 7 No 1, December, 1973, 79.
10. C.O. Udeagha, "Trade and trade routes within the Okigwe Area in the 19th

- Century,” *Ofo: A Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. 1 No. 1 1985, 65.
11. G.T. Basden, *Niger Ibos: A Description of the Primitive Life, Customs and Animistic Beliefs etc of the Ibo People of Nigeria*, London: Frank Cass, 1966, 224.
 12. Ukwu, “The Development of ... 655.
 13. Ugwu, Ngwoke, Uramah, Eze, Ani, focus group interview cited.
 14. A.E. Afigbo, *Ropes of Sand: Studies in Igbo History and Culture*, Nsukka: University Press, 1981, 65.
 15. Eleazer Eleje, 65 years, Businessman/Trade Ogige Market, Interviewed at Ihe Agu, Nru, on 2nd August 2023.
 16. Ugwu et al; focus group interview cited
 17. Eze, “The Impact of ... 49
 18. Afigbo, *Ropes of Sand*, 68
 19. East Central State Ministry of Information and Home Affairs, *Progress in Reconstruction*, Enugu: Government Printer, nd, 10 in Box 149, National Archives, Enugu (NAE)
 20. Eleje, Interview cited
 21. Eleje, Interviewed cited
 22. Eleje interviewed cited; Ezekiel Ezech, 75 years, Community Leader, Interviewed at Isiakupu Village, Ihe n'Owerre, Nsukka on 23rd September, 2023.
 23. A.A Apeh and C.C. Opata, "The oil palm wine Economy of Rural Farmers in Nigeria: evidence from Enugu-Ezike, South-eastern Nigeria” *Rural History: Economy, society and Culture*, 30, 2019, 120
 24. Eleje, interview cited, Okechukwu Eze, 55 years, Trade, Ogige Market, interviewed in his shop on 24 September, 2023, Ruth Uramah, 60 years trader, Ogige Market, interviewed in her on 24th September, 2023
 25. Eleje, Eze Uramah, interviews cited
 26. Eze Arinze, 32 years, Trader, Ogige Market Interviewed in his shop on 24th September, 2023. Chichetam Ngwoke, 30-year, Fashion Designer, interviewed on 15th November 224 in her office, University Road, Nsukka, 17th October, 223, Edith Ossai, 35 years, food Vendor, Ogige Market, Interviewed in Ogige Market on 24th September, 2023.
 27. Eze Arinze, interviewed cited.
 28. R.J. Gavin and Wale Oyemakinde, “Economic Development in Nigeria since 1800,” in Obaro Ikime (ed) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980, 485.
 29. Chisom Eze, 54years, Trader, Eke-Awka interviewed in her shop at Eke Awka on 14th July, 2024; Maria Ossai, 40 years, Trader, Eke-Ekwulobia, Interviewed at Ogige Market on 24th September, 2023.
 30. Catherine Ugwu, 25 years, Ticketing clerk, Peace Mass Transit, Company Nsukka, interview in her office on 24th September, 2023
 31. Arinze, Catherine Ugwu, Interviews cited
 32. Arinze, Ngwoke, Ugwu, interviews cited.
 33. Kenneth Ugwu, 54 years, Civil servant, interviewed at Nsukka Local Government Secretariat on 3rd April, 2023.
 34. Boniface Agu, 35 years, Staff, Access Bank, University Road, Nsukka Branch,

- interviewed in his office on 3rdd April, 2023.
35. Ugwu et al. focus group interview, cited