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Food Trade and Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa
From the Early Stone Age to the Structural Adjustment Era
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Introduction

The evolution of food trade in Sub-Saharan Africa is closely related to the process of urbanization. This general statement, which few researchers on Africa will dispute, raises certain questions. Is urbanization the prime explanatory factor of market evolution or just one out of many? Has it always been a factor of importance or only during certain periods in time? Has it determined the actual structure of present food marketing systems or just the magnitude of food marketing flows? Thus, a wide range of factors have to be looked at in order to come to the heart of the matter. In so doing, the present paper analyses part of the literature that has been published on food trade and urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa during the last thirty years.¹

The exercise is not only of interest to academics specialized in market research and geography. Many African governments have been wrestling with food market liberalization policies as part of structural adjustment programmes. Not liberalization itself is their main headache but what can be expected once the bills have been passed. Should governments refrain completely from intervening and rely on the almost magic forces of the free market? How would marketing structures evolve in the long run if they decided to sit back, and would

¹ I would like to thank Dr. D. Focken and Prof. J. Hoorweg of the African Studies Centre, and Prof. M. T. G. Meulelenberg and Dr. A. van Tilburg of Wageningen Agricultural University for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. Needless to say, they cannot be held responsible for possible errors and misinterpretations.
such developments be desirable? To answer these questions, African governments have to know which factors determine market evolution. They can use such knowledge to develop their own long-term food marketing policies instead of being swayed by the issues of international agencies and Western donors.
The Pre-Colonial Period

1.1. In the beginning

The first forms of exchange between African communities probably go back as far as the Early Stone Age. Food items were already part of the deal: "The exchange of bright or useful stones and honey for meat, and occasionally even womenfolk, probably marked the gatherings of foraging peoples." With the beginning of agriculture during the Neolithic era, such exchanges became more regular. Although much of the trade was probably still on a relatively restricted scale and local in scope, it included a wide range of commodities including "salt, certain types of stone and later iron tools, beads, shells, possible plants for medical or ritual use, meat for arable communities, and grains and root crops for pastoral groups, specialized utensils or substances like poisons for fishing or hunting, dried fish and all sorts of objects with a scarcity value such as strange seeds, animal claws, teeth, curious stones, bones, etc. which might have a magical significance." Exchange took place even while production was primarily meant for subsistence. It resulted from households' production strategies, and from variations in the natural and human micro-environment: "The basic aim of most households was to secure the products needed to maintain their customary standards of living. In order to reach this target each household tried to plant the amount of

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2 Mokhtar, 1990, 386.
3 Ibid., 387.
crops needed for survival in what, from experience, was known to be a poor year. In planning for disaster, there would be more crops available in an average year than the household could consume. Sometimes these crops were stored for future use, but this was not always possible with perishable varieties. Sometimes they were consumed in harvest ‘festivals’, but there were limitations to the amount of food which one community could eat in a short period of time. Sometimes, if neighbouring villages lacked foodstuffs, local produce was traded.4 In some cases households planned their production of foodstuffs and crafts with a certain amount of exchange in mind. Trade of this kind was made possible by the presence of complementary needs within regions: “Variations in natural resources did not have to be profound for local trade to develop, though marketing activity was especially intense on the borders of ecological zones.”5 Those borders existed at the edges of savannah and forest, but also along the banks of major rivers. In the central Zaire basin, for instance, a brisk trade in river fish for inland agricultural products existed.6

The beginning of agriculture made the rise of urban settlements possible, because urbanisation required surplus of food, which again required both fertility of the soil and technology to exploit this fertility. It also led to the rise of a class of merchants who had to organize the network of trade.7 The urban demand for agricultural crops, however, remained relatively limited at the outset, because many citizens had residential bases in the countryside, and lived only intermittently in the urban centres. “As many as half or more of the peak population consisted of temporary passers-through who stimulated a vital retail trade in prepared food and drew on a variety of social relations as sources of support, thereby leaving a relatively small political and economic space in which an institutional wholesale market with professional wholesale traders might have developed”.8 Moreover, the people with purchasing power, namely the elites, the armies, and the specialised producers, were provisioned without the development of independent intermediaries. “The wealthy of indigenous Africa were directly supported, in kind, by slave cultivators, clients and requisitions from the subordinate population. Non-market provisioning in staple foods was

5 Ibid.
6 “Although inland people fished in small streams, their catches did not satisfy their needs. Conversely, the fishing societies of the central Zaire basin grew crops, but the conflicting demands of fishing and farming prevented them from growing adequate supplies” (Harms, 1981, 20).
characteristic, whether the elite were urban residents, as in parts of West Africa, or lived in mobile royal villages, as in parts of central Africa. *9*

1.2. Long-distance trade

Not all food, however, came from within the direct sphere of influence of the elites, and long-distance trade developed all over Africa. The Saharan salt mines and commercial towns in the Sahel were almost entirely dependent on savannah agriculture. *10* Commodities passed through the hands of several merchants before arriving at their destination. This was related to the limited capacity of carriers to travel across different ecological zones: camels were used in the Sahara but stopped at the Niger, donkeys moved from the Sahel to the edges of the forest, and men were used mainly south of the savannah. The merchants tended to sell their goods at the relay points. *11* Livestock, dairy produce and salt were traded at the Sahara-savannah border in exchange for millet and cloth. In return, livestock, salt, dried fish, potash and cloth were traded at the savannah-forest border in exchange for slaves, ivory, ironware, cloth and kola nuts. *12* Finally, various foodstuffs and manufactures were traded in exchange for fish and sea salt at the coastal settlements. *13* A relay point could provide the beginning of urbanisation. *14* Even if it became a prime trading city, it remained, however, only a small-size settlement where the major part of the population went on cultivating. *15*

In addition to relay points, rest places developed along caravan routes. They were mainly centres of trade for sellers of cooked food. Rest places could, however, evolve into major market centres if they were on an important route. On the other hand, they could become

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*9* Ibid. Roberts discusses non-market provision in the case of western Sudan where the existence of a strong state (the Segu Bambara state) "encouraged surplus production by extracting grain in the form of taxes. Villages dependent upon the Segu state paid an annual tax, (..), in the form of grain, honey, cowries and saltpeppercorn" (Roberts, 1980, 41).

*10* Meillassoux, 1971. "The great entrepot of Timbuktu imported grain, vegetables and livestock from the twelfth century onwards" (Hopkins, 1973, 60). Food commodities were also traded to other deficit areas, e.g. Cape Verde which imported grain in exchange for dried fish (Meillassoux, 1971).

*11* Relays did not only mark ecological boundaries but could also mark ethnic boundaries as in the particular case of southern Ivory Coast (Meillassoux, 1971).

*12* Kola nuts are quite important commodities in West Africa. Their bitter-sweet liquid acts as a stimulant and an antidote against thirst. They are also used for social functions as well as rituals (Adebayo, 1991). The kola trade existed already well before the 16th century (Lovejoy, 1980).


inconsequential because of diversion in trade routes or destruction by war.\textsuperscript{16} Everywhere in West Africa, long-distance trade suffered considerably from civil, inter-tribal and inter-state warfare on caravan routes.\textsuperscript{17}

Markets and urban centres were not common in East Africa, except among the coastal Swahili settlements. But this does not mean that long-distance trade was absent. Trade was not conducted through regular markets, "but in ad hoc gatherings at a caravan halt, or by visiting a particular place of commercial interest, such as a centre of salt or iron production."\textsuperscript{18} As articles of inter-tribal trade, salt and iron were especially important in the Northern inter-lacustrine region (now Uganda), along with bark-cloth and wild coffee beans.\textsuperscript{19} In Western Tanzania, salt and iron were traded along with pottery, dried fish, forest products and cattle.\textsuperscript{20} The trade "may well (...) have involved exchanges over considerable distances."\textsuperscript{21} Among communities residing along the Lake Tanganyika littoral, as well as their hinterlands, trade linkages were prominently based on "economic and utilitarian goals."\textsuperscript{22}

An important exception to the essentially marketless interior of East Africa were periodic markets on inter-ethnic boundaries. Transactions could be safely carried out at these markets, even during tribal warfare. In Western Kenya, for instance, "a truce would be organized to enable the women folk to go to the market, the opposing warriors remaining at a distance at either side of the market. There would be mainly a bartering of foodstuffs and also there would be exchange of cattle in the payment of bride price. The elders controlled the market and extracted dues."\textsuperscript{23} Exchanges often had a regional and interzonal character as cattle from

\textsuperscript{16} Falola, 1991.  
\textsuperscript{17} McGowan, 1990.  
\textsuperscript{18} Roberts, 1970, 64. Not only the present hinterlands of Kenya and Tanzania lacked well-established markets but also Uganda (Middleton, 1962).  
\textsuperscript{19} Tosh, 1970.  
\textsuperscript{20} Nearer to the Tanzanian coast tobacco was probably the most widely traded agricultural product (Iliffe, 1979).  
\textsuperscript{21} Roberts, 1970, 47.  
\textsuperscript{22} Wagner, 1993, 159.  
\textsuperscript{23} Fear, 1955, 29, as quoted by Obudho & Waller, 1976, 10. Not only in East Africa, but also elsewhere local traders were predominantly women because of their immunity during wars. In Yorubaland (Nigeria), "even during the earliest tribal wars, the mutual need to hold markets seems normally to have been recognised sufficiently to allow transactions to be safely carried out on neutral territory: the women would go to the market, the opposing warriors remaining at a distance on either side" (Hodder & Ukwu, 1969, 24). Women were also immune among the Lugbara of Uganda, trading for instance fish with other ethnic groups. The women "were able to travel freely, even moving between groups which were fighting one another" (Middleton, 1962, 563). Men were also involved in trade, especially of iron and poisons. They moved, however, "along lines of kinship from one tribe to another" (Ibid.).
the lowlands was exchanged for grain and root crops grown upland. The periodic markets remained weakly organized compared to the caravan towns that would rise later on.

Well-established markets did exist in the coastal Swahili settlements of East Africa. They were supplied with inland products by specific ethnic groups. The Nyaki people, for instance, of the semi-arid waste-land that runs parallel to much of the Kenyan coast, sent their caravans to the north and north-west to trade with the Kamba, bringing a variety of items to the coast "including ivory, gum copal, honey, beeswax, grain, food stuffs, and timber for building dhows, a special kind of beer, game-meat, saliferous sand, tobacco and bark bags. In exchange they obtained salt, beads, cloth, iron hoes, and other coastal goods." Long-distance trade did not only develop in West and East Africa but also in the central part of the continent, for instance in the Zaire basin: "The Bobangi, in particular, mounted long distance expeditions by canoe. During those ventures they came into contact with other river peoples and acted as long distance commercial carriers." As in West Africa, commodities passed through the hands of several merchants before arriving at their destination. The Tonga in southern Central Africa (now Zambia), for instance, had valuable supplies of salt with which they could purchase goods of external origin. Items like shells, beads, and cloth came "from farther afield and reached the Tonga after multiple exchanges had taken place among neighbours who were trading in fish, grain, game, ochre, building materials and specialized food items." Both in Zambia and Malawi, salt, iron, and copper were part of "complex inter-regional bartering networks, which were based on a comparatively steady, but informally structured demand for raw materials." Permanent markets and urban centres were, however, not characteristic for the region before the arrival of the Europeans.

Although local trade had its own rationale in Sub-Saharan Africa, it was connected to long-distance trading through the sale of supplies to passing caravans and, to a smaller extent, through the distribution of goods which the latter delivered. People along the caravan routes

24 Cohen, 1983.
27 Birmingham, 1981, 141.
28 Ibid., 127.
29 Fagan, 1970, 25. Long distance trade of iron and salt was absent in the Central Zaire basin, because the resources were distributed rather evenly throughout the region (Harms, 1981).
found it profitable to produce crops for sale, and when commercial contacts increased it became easier to make up local deficiencies through trade. Apart from local trade, two other types of trade were connected to the regionally determined long-distance trade networks. The first one was specific for West Africa and concerned the trans-Saharan trade. The internal system of long-distance trade in West Africa made the development of trans-Saharan trade possible. The latter, which dates back as far as 1000 BC, included a large range of items, but few of them were food. Gold, slaves, expensive cloth, pepper, ivory, kola nuts, leather goods, and in the nineteenth century ostrich feathers, were carried to the north, while textiles, copper, preserved foodstuffs, glassware, beads and miscellaneous "fancy goods" went south.

1.3. Overseas trade

The second type of trade that made use of existing regional networks was the overseas trade. Both the trade with the Arab Mediterranean world and the Atlantic trade inserted themselves into existing regional and even local networks, "although the evidence for this looks more convincing for western Africa than the eastern coast." The West African exchange with Europe started with slaves, ivory, wax, gum, indigo, and probably gold in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese were the first to open up the intercontinental routes, followed in the seventeenth century by the French, Danish, Dutch and British. After the abolition of the slave trade, the West African product mix shifted to palm oil, rubber, groundnuts, wood, hides and rice in the course of the nineteenth century.

Overseas trade in East Africa dates back as far as the first millennium BC, when colonies of Greeks, Egyptians, Arabs, and possibly Indians existed on the Ethiopian coast. Aksum,

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34 Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1991, 22.
36 Gugler & Planagan, 1978. The early trade of the Portuguese consisted of two kinds of activities. They carried bulk goods from one part of the coast to the other, converting their profits into gold, ivory, and pepper for remittance to Lisbon. Besides, they carried Mediterranean manufactures, especially North African textiles, to Africa, in West Africa cutting into existing markets accustomed to trans-Saharan trade (Birmingham, 1981).
38 Abir, 1970.
the oldest still existing city of Sub-Saharan Africa, was a major trading town in Eritrea at that
time. From the end of the first millennium AD, Muslim trading towns began to develop on
the western coast of the Red Sea, in the Gulf of Aden, and further down the East African
coast. Arab and Persian settlers became involved in exporting slaves and ivory from the
hinterland, and locally produced skins, hides, precious gums, ghee and ostrich feathers.
Indian merchants were the principle suppliers of cotton, cloth, beads and sundry
manufactured articles, and buyers of ivory, gold, iron, gum copal, ambergris, incense, and
later on slaves.

In the late-sixteenth century Portugal conquered various independent Swahili states on the
East African coast, the most important one being Mombasa. The Portuguese, however, were
not so much interested in inland trade as in a secure port of call for vessels sailing between
Goa and East Africa. Towards the end of the seventeenth century they were expelled from
East Africa by the Sultan of Oman, who ruled the coast until the arrival of the British.
Meanwhile, the Arabian, Persian and Indian traders continued their businesses. Initially, local
ethnic groups, like the Nyika and Kamba in Kenya, and the Nyamwezi in Tanzania, supplied
them with the required export commodities. Much of the long-distance trade was cut off in
the latter half of the nineteenth century due to raiding by tribes such as the Maasai, Shambala
and Galla. As far as the coastal cities were concerned, it was at this time that direct Arab
trading caravans became necessary to obtain the trade goods formerly supplied by local ethnic
groups, and permanent caravan towns arose where caravan traders could procure fresh

39 Hance, 1970. At that time blocks of salt and coined money were already used as currencies. "The use of salt
as currency was a common phenomenon in Africa and can be explained by a general scarcity of salt (...). The
coastal salt-plains of northern Ethiopia were probably therefore an important asset to the people of Axum and
helped to foster their commercial activity and sponsor caravan trade" (Abir, 1970, 119).
40 Abir, 1970; Hrbešek, 1992. Around 1500 AD, coastal Muslim settlements in East Africa were Mogadishu,
Marka and Brava (in present Somalia), Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa (in present Kenya), Zanzibar, Kilwa (in
present Tanzania), and Sofala (in present Mozambique) (Hrbešek, 1992).
41 Lewis, 1962.
42 Mangat, 1969. "By the tenth century India and China were the most important markets for East African
ivory" (Mokhtar, 1990, 312). The trading of slaves by the Indians possibly followed the expansion of Islam
into the Indian sub-continent after the fourteenth century (Mangat, 1969).
43 Berg, 1968.
44 In 1832, Zanzibar town instead of Mombasa became the capital of the Omani empire (Ibid.).
45 The Nyamwezi, who had accumulated their capital in the internal trade of Western Tanzania, were
important traders of iron, salt, hoes, cloth, food, and other local staples in Central Africa (Birmingham, 1981).
Their caravans travelled all the way from eastern Zaire to the coast from the early nineteenth century onwards
(Berg, 1968).
46 Obudho, 1983.
supplies of water and food and take a rest. The caravans did not stop at the shores of Lake Tanganyika, but penetrated Central Africa from the East.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in Central Africa. They landed on the coast of Angola towards the end of the fifteenth century, and started to export slaves and ivory from the central Zaire basin in the second half of the sixteenth century. Their arrival in Central Zaire changed political entities such as the large Kongo kingdom, which until then did not have an established market network. After a century of overseas contact, "a relatively high level of craft specialisation had developed among potters, weavers, salt-makers, fishermen, blacksmiths and coppersmiths, all of whom traded part of their output, either by the traditional flow of goods through the tribute network, or by the increasing use of regular marketplaces." These changes were tragically bound to the increasing wealth of the ruling elite and trading class involved in the slave trade.

The Portuguese were also the first Europeans to arrive in southern Central Africa. They landed on the shores of Mozambique in the early years of the sixteenth century, subsequently penetrating the hinterland by river. They reached as far as Zumbo along the Zambezi on the border with present Zambia, where they started to trade with African ethnic groups like the Yao and Bisa. Later on, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Scottish, Dutch and Indian traders travelled up the Zambezi in the direction of Lake Malawi, not only to look for ivory but also to purchase for instance sesame seeds in exchange for cloth, hoes, and other foreign goods.

All over Sub-Saharan Africa, commerce and Christianity travelled hand in hand. Missionaries in for instance southern Malawi and Namibia encouraged the local people to grow tobacco, thus boosting market development. Mission stations developed into market centres with

47 Oboiho & Waller, 1976. In West Kenya these towns appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century. Mumias was the most important one, being one of the five major interior caravan towns in today’s Kenya. The other four were Taveta, Dagoretti, Machakos and Tsavo (Ibid.).
50 Smith, 1970. Vasco da Gama anchored off Kilwa in 1498, making it one of Portugal’s strongholds until Malindi and Mombasa became more important (Berg, 1968).
51 John, 1970. At the limit of the foreigners’ trading frontier, "the vital trading initiative seems to have come from the Africans", just as in the case of the Kamba and Nyamwezi East Africa (Sutherland-Harris, 1970, 233).
52 Mandela, 1990. Indians acted also as itinerant traders, purchasing foodstuffs for own consumption and for resale on the lower Zambezi and the coast (Ibid.).
schools, hospitals and trading companies. Examples are Windhoek in Namibia, which was established by missionaries as early as the 1850s, and Blantyre in Malawi, established in the 1870s.\textsuperscript{53}

While overseas trade was generally connected to regional trade, such was not the case at the Cape of South Africa. Here, Dutch settlers arrived as early as the 1650s with the initial aim to grow wheat for the ships of the Dutch East India Company.\textsuperscript{54} Later on, in the eighteenth century, they started to export surplus wool and wine to Europe.\textsuperscript{55} The commodities were produced on the settlers' farms with the help of slave labour instead of being purchased from local ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{56}

1.4. The 19th-century urban revolution

All over Sub-Saharan Africa, the overseas trade led to the so-called nineteenth century urban revolution. Ports, market and military centres started to grow with the arrival of Western capitalism. On the other hand, the ravages of intensified slave trade disrupted possible developments in the hinterland. In East Africa “people probably scattered in the bush in precarious settlements as to escape slave raiders and pillage or were decimated by the spread of rising epidemic diseases (such as sleeping sickness) all along the Rift encouraged by the progress of penetration.”\textsuperscript{57} In West Africa, many markets in the interior that were part of the local-subsistence-oriented marketing network disappeared with the growth of the slave trade.\textsuperscript{58} Those that survived were characterized by a high level of competition, operating within efficient distribution systems.\textsuperscript{59} Gold dust, cowries, strips of cloth, and copper and iron rods functioned as general purpose currencies.\textsuperscript{60} Prices were subject to short-term fluctuations reflecting the balance of supply and demand, and overall tended to rise.\textsuperscript{61} In the

\textsuperscript{53} Gibson, 1962; Dijk, 1992.
\textsuperscript{54} Omer-Cooper, 1978.
\textsuperscript{55} Ross, 1983.
\textsuperscript{56} A commodity that was initially purchased from local Africans, especially the Khoi, was meat. The meat was, however, not exported (Omer-Cooper, 1978).
\textsuperscript{57} Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1991, 31.
\textsuperscript{58} Barrett, 1988.
\textsuperscript{59} Hopkins, 1973.
\textsuperscript{60} Arthim, 1990; Hopkins, 1973.
\textsuperscript{61} The expansion of European trade between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries had led to an uncontrolled importation of cowry shells that caused inflation of prices not only in European trade but also in
large towns continuous markets were found, while elsewhere markets were usually held at intervals of between two and eight days. Some African states played an active role in market development, e.g. Ashanti, the largest inland unit at the Gold Coast after 1800. "The paramount chief established an elaborate system of border markets, customs duties, state-sponsored traders, and state loans for trading."  

It is important to stress that, although the export trade led to an explosive growth of market and urban centres all over Sub-Saharan Africa, it was not the urban citizens but the caravans participating in the export trade that were the prime initiators of the consequent rise in food demand. The porters that carried rubber, palm products and ivory to the coast for export were the most rapidly expanding consumer group. There were enormous numbers of them, and "unlike the retainers and clients of earlier periods, porterage crews had no authority behind them to ensure free support from village populations. They had to be fed along the line of march, through some kind of commercial transaction."  

The increasing demand for export commodities speeded up not only market development but also large-scale production. In West Africa, it led to specialized production on oil palm plantations. The slaves that could no longer be sold to the Europeans because of the abolition of the slave trade were eventually put to work on these plantations, producing and transporting oil. Palm oil production in, for instance, South-eastern Nigeria increased dramatically. It caused a further rise in food trade, as "the growing specialisation in production for export led to shortages of food which were met by increased production in the northern portion of the region partially through the use of slave labour."  

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the domestic markets. In the second half of the nineteenth century the situation repeated itself, leading to the so-called Great Inflation (Law, 1992).  
63 Wilks, 1975; as quoted by Clark, 1990, 75.  
64 Guyer, 1987, 27. According to Guyer, wage levels and food prices were already in place by the time colonial governments became major employers of porters in the late-nineteenth century. She quotes Daaku (1971) who dates wage payment and food purchase in cowries in Ashanti (West Africa) in the seventeenth century, and Liffe (1979) who describes nineteenth-century trading caravans in East Africa as internally differentiated organisations with guards, personal servants, cooks, guides, porters, and slaves, each with their own mode of remuneration.  
65 Meillassoux, 1971. Plantation agriculture on the basis of slave labour was nothing new though, and existed already in earlier warrior states like the savannah plantation economy of the Segu Bambara state in the Middle Niger Valley (Roberts, 1980).  
In East Africa, the rise of export-crop plantations stimulated food trade more indirectly due to their location on islands. Arab settlers on Zanzibar and Pemba went into plantation-wise production of cloves in the nineteenth century. Earlier on, sugar plantations had been established on the French-dominated islands of Mauritius and Réunion in the second half of the eighteenth century. All these plantations made use of slaves that were brought in from the East and South-east African mainland.\textsuperscript{67} The demand for slaves became one of the main reasons for the growing importance of caravan trade, boosting the development of caravan towns along the routes as places for resting and procuring fresh food supplies.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{67} Alpers, 1968. In addition to the mainland Madagascar supplied slaves, together with rice and cattle that was needed to feed the slaves on the plantations of the other islands (Campbell, 1993).
\textsuperscript{68} Obudho, 1983.
2.1. Settler farmers and mining economies

The European conquest of Africa took place largely between 1874 and 1905. "Frontiers of trade and belief, of white settlement, and the linked scourges of famine and epidemic disease" moved on in the process of "the scramble for Africa".⁶⁹ "In 1879 more than 90 per cent of the continent was ruled by Africans. By 1900 all but a tiny fraction of it was being governed by European powers."⁷⁰

The start of the colonial period did not fundamentally change the process of urbanization and market development. "Most of the time colonisers tried to use and adapt previous settlements, towns, villages, or clusters of villages (such as Swahili harbours, Yoruba towns, or marketplaces and villages close to the river, for instance Kinshasa and Brazzaville) just because their needs were more or less the same as before."⁷¹

Only in the case of settler farmers and mining economies did colonial rule mark a clear difference. Non-African farmers settled in Kenya, South Africa and southern Rhodesia (now

⁶⁹ Lonsdale, 1985, 682.
⁷⁰ Oliver & Atmore, 1967, 103.
Zimbabwe). In the central highland regions of Kenya, urbanization and market development can be directly attributed to settlers. The newly established urban centres were regarded "rather as bases for administrative and commercial activities than as centres for permanent African settlement and participation." Nevertheless "they were encircled by a peripheral region where most African migrants built their settlements." The centres had important marketing functions with regard to the collection of local produce for export and the distribution of imported goods. They were also places "where Asian traders could settle and carry out their commercial activities, without having unpleasant confrontations with the Africans." African and non-African traders were officially segregated. Non-African traders were only allowed to establish themselves in urban areas, townships or trading centres, while African traders could establish themselves "anywhere in the bush".

In the fertile regions outside the settler areas, East African colonial administrators thought to bring economic development by promoting cash crops among the Africans. Coffee and cotton appeared to be suitable for peasant production and were successfully pushed by the Germans in Tanganyika and the British in Kenya and Uganda. The expertise of settler farmers could be used at the production stage and the peasant crop could be carried by rail to Mombasa together with the settler output. Only the collection stage asked for additional efforts. The challenge was taken up by Indians and Arabs, who collected the cash crops at periodic markets in the production areas. "As willing purchasers of native products they created and continuously widened those markets upon which development was fundamentally dependent. As sellers of trade goods they both satisfied existing needs and created new incentives for further production." Improvement of the roads by the administration

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72 Obudho, 1983.
73 Ibid., 37.
74 Ibid., 41. In contrast, "Africans in the indigenous West African cities during the colonial period purchased urban property, erected city dwellings, and moved freely between rural and urban areas" (Chandler & Tarver, 1993, 253).
75 Obudho & Waller, 1976.
76 Ibid., 12.
77 Rimmer (1983) quoting a report of the East African Royal Commission.
78 Economic growth through external trade was needed to promote monetary exchanges that would generate taxes, enabling the colonial administrators to "discharge their responsibilities without dependence on grudgingly given metropolitan subventions" (Rimmer, 1983, 146).
79 Iliffe, 1979; Wrigley, 1965; Ehrlich, 1965.
80 Obudho & Waller, 1976.
encouraged the establishment of additional periodic markets and trading centres which again stimulated economic growth.82

Mining had at least as much impact on African colonial development as the arrival of non-African settlers. The biggest mining industries developed in southern Africa. Gold, diamonds, coal and iron ore were mined in South Africa, copper, zinc, and lead in northern Rhodesia (present Zambia), and iron ore, gold, asbestos and chrome in southern Rhodesia.83 Copper, cobalt, and zinc were mined in the Belgian Congo, together with gold and diamonds which were also found in Angola.84 The colonial governments relied on private enterprise for the development of the mineral resources.85

In South Africa the discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1860s and 1870s changed an economy that was essentially agricultural and pastoral by nature into one based on mining and industry.86 The greatly increased demand for African labour could not be met from within the areas of white occupation and control alone.87 The migrant labourers settled in camps near the mines, that "rapidly became towns and eventually cities".88 The expanding consumer populations created new markets for agricultural produce, providing new opportunities "for white commercial farmers but also for African peasants, who greatly expanded their commercial production."89

The British administrations in east and southern Africa imposed a poll tax to force local Africans to work in mines and on settler farms as wage labourers.90 The Africans preferred, however, "to stay away from wage labour and to pay their taxes from money earned by

82 Ondhio & Waller, 1976.
83 Katzenellenbogen, 1975; Pedler, 1975.
84 Mining companies also became active in West Africa, but this "never had as much impact on the West African economies during the colonial period as it did in the south" (Katzenellenbogen, 1975, 380). Tin and coal were found in Nigeria, diamonds and iron in Sierra Leone, diamonds and bauxite in Ghana, and aluminium in various parts of French West Africa (Katzenellenbogen, 1975). Some gold mining activities were also developed in East Africa, especially in the Lake Victoria regions of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (Itelle, 1979; Pedler, 1975).
85 The only major exception was the coal mine that was an enterprise of the Nigerian railway (Pedler, 1975).
86 Omer-Cooper, 1987.
87 The labourers "had to be drawn very largely from areas of African occupation and the still independent African states within South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe" (Omer-Cooper, 1987, 103).
88 Chandler & Tarver, 1993, 251.
trading."91 They entered the market of building, carpentry, furniture-making, market-gardening and shoemaking, competing with European artisans. The African market gardeners went directly to European residential and business areas to hawk their fowls, eggs, pumpkins, grains etc.92

2.2. Colonial food-supply policies

British colonial governments became directly involved in the marketing of food when allowing African farmers to pay their taxes in rice, beans and maize alternative to cash. In addition they usually bought remaining surpluses "for distribution to departments such as prisons, marine, army and police, and for sale to civil servants in urban centres."93 Food purchases by the colonial administrations and payment of workers in food were part of a policy to control newly introduced European currencies, which were in denominations too large for every day food purchases, and simultaneously maintain low food prices.94 The latter was more important when consumer populations were bigger, as in the mining and settler economies. The bulk purchases of food also encouraged wholesale trade and large-scale cereal production by settlers.95 Apart from the government, Indian merchants and commercial European companies went into food wholesaling.96

Taxation in kind was not only applied by the colonisers in the British protectorates but also in parts of the French, Belgian and Portuguese empires, particularly in the low-density areas of Central Africa. A "requisition regime", with local chiefs as intermediaries, was introduced because of the lack of an indigenous market system which could be expanded, the limited means of transport, and the non-existence of commercial farmers. The chiefs were ordered "to supply given kinds and quantities of food on a regular schedule to cities, work-sites, porterage crews and administrative headquarters."97

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91 Wild, 1992, 22.
92 Ibid., 25.
93 Kalinga, 1990, 63. Some was also sold to missions and commercial enterprises such as the African Lakes Company in Malawi, which in turn sold the commodities to its various stores spread throughout the country (Kalinga, 1990)
95 In the 1920s, the production of maize by settlers became so successful that "substantial quantities" were exported (Wrigley, 1966, 243).
96 Indian and European "general trading firms" competed both at the wholesale and retail level (Power, 1993).
97 Suyer, 1987, 32.
In addition to supplies from the African continent, some of the colonies relied on food imports, such as rice from the Orient.\textsuperscript{98} Imported food, for instance, fed a large proportion of the mining workers during the mineral boom in Southern Africa. In Senegal and The Gambia, rice imports from Indo-China were needed to feed the urban population because farmers had specialized in peanut production.\textsuperscript{99} Rice was also imported in countries that were self-sufficient, like Malawi, because the Europeans and Indians preferred Burmese and Thai rice to the locally produced variety.\textsuperscript{100}

In contrast with other parts of Africa, colonial food provision in West Africa was incorporated into existing indigenous marketing systems, and "left outside the sphere of state control to a degree unparalleled elsewhere."\textsuperscript{101} As a consequence, the on-going process of institutional market development gained momentum. Colonialism "tended to favour the growth of daily food markets and their transformation into permanent retail trading. At the same time markets for the collection of cash-crops multiplied."\textsuperscript{102} The spacing of markets became more uniform, whereby "one can correlate the location and the periodicity of the market with the density of the population", taking into account "anomalies due to absence of exchanges, the interference of past economic phenomena or to social and political factors."\textsuperscript{103}

One of these political factors concerned the enforcement of peace by the colonial powers, which allowed traders to go further away from home. Among notable large-scale movements were those of Ibo traders who travelled from their homelands east of the Niger to the north of Nigeria, and Hausa butchers from the north who went to markets throughout the south. Moreover, many traders from Lagos had stalls in the markets of Aschanti, and the Kwasus from the highlands near Nkawkaw were well represented in the Accra markets.\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{98} Kalinda, 1989.
\textsuperscript{100} Katanga, 1989.
\textsuperscript{101} Guyer, 1987, 31.
\textsuperscript{102} Meillassoux, 1971, 83. The most important African-produced export crops during this period were palm and palm-kernel oil (various countries bordering the Atlantic Ocean), groundnuts (Senegal and The Gambia), cocoa (The Gold Coast and western Nigeria) and cotton (northern Nigeria) (Hogendorn, 1975).
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Pedler, 1975. "In East Africa these was less of this kind of movement, but there was some. Trading in Mombasa, for example, was conducted largely by Luo whose homes were hundreds of miles away. Somali traders, too, were much given to travelling about the countryside far from home" (Pedler, 1975, 99).
2.3. New boundaries and transport networks

Not only the enforcement of peace, but also the introduction of new and artificial boundaries between French and British territories affected the evolution of colonial food marketing systems. While freight became easier, faster and relatively cheaper within these territories, trade across international boundaries could become more difficult. It affected the long-distance trade of commodities like kola nuts, for instance: "While on the surface nothing seemed to have changed (the trade in kola nuts continued to be carried out from the south to the north and north-east, and continued to be operate by Hausa merchants), beneath this surface British colonial policies had resulted in marked transformation of the kola nut trade."

The introduction of new boundaries and the increasing importance of overseas export trade caused the decline of many of the old towns in the Saharan region. A famous town like Timbuktu in today’s landlocked Mali "succumbed entirely to a second economic desiccation". As far as coastal centres were concerned, their development was determined by accessibility from the sea and productivity of the hinterlands. The fate of market centres between the coast and the production areas was in the hands of the colonial administrations that had to decide on the improvement of local transportation networks. The trajectory of a railway line determined the rise of certain centres and the decline of others. The newly built railways had three purposes, namely (i) to connect an administrative centre on the sea coast with an interior area for political and military control; (ii) to reach areas of mineral exploitation; and (iii) to reach areas of potential agricultural production. The railways were

106 Ibid., 109.
109 The improvement of roads and railways, for instance, led to the decline of inland ports which were of importance during the early days of trans-oceanic trade (Noah, 1989).
110 Salau, 1979. During the colonial period the British built railways in South Africa, Bechuanaland (Botswana), Rhodesia (Zimbabwe, Zambia), Nyassaland (Malawi), Kenya and Uganda, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and the Gold Coast (Ghana); the French in French Sudan (Senegal, Mali), French Guinea, Dohomey (Benin), Ivory Coast and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), French Equatorial Africa (Congo, Central African Republic), and on three Islands in the Indian Ocean (Madagascar, Réunion, Mauritius), the Italians in Ethiopia, Eritrea and to a lesser extent Somaliland, the Germans in Southwest Africa (Namibia), Tanganyika, Kamerun (Cameroon) and Togoland, the Belgians in the Belgian Congo (Zaire), the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique (Durrant et al., 1981; Wiener, 1931).
usually built by the state, but sometimes a private company took the initiative.\textsuperscript{111} The infrastructural changes affected not only inland centres but also smaller ports, because the latter were robbed of their hinterlands "as spreading networks of railroads and roadways swept up and funnelled export commodities to those few larger coastal ports destined to become the focal points of national economies."\textsuperscript{112}

In some colonies other factors besides population characteristics and transportation improvements were the principle forces behind the evolution of marketplaces. An example is The Gambia, where "purchasing power potentials, associated mainly with groundnut cultivation" were much more important.\textsuperscript{113} The commercial production of groundnuts led to a lack of self-sufficiency in food, which consequently had to be purchased in the marketplace. It explains why, after their brief disappearance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to the slave trade, the market reappeared "as daily phenomenon and not as periodic occurrences they had been in pre-colonial days" in this country.\textsuperscript{114}

Trading centres could also emerge as a result of new laws. In 1936, the colonial government in Kenya declared that all markets in the rural areas were to be set apart from trading centres. From then on "all townships belonged to the central government, the trading centres belonged to the local government, and the periodic markets were left to the Locational Authority."\textsuperscript{115} In the following years, many local governments established new trading centres. At the same time, new periodic markets sprang up around newly introduced stone mills for grinding maize.\textsuperscript{116}

2.4. The post-World War II period

The rate of urbanization remained modest in Sub-Saharan Africa prior to World War II. In 1920, only two to three per cent of the African population lived in towns, while forty per cent

\textsuperscript{111} An example of a private initiative was the railway line that was built by a German company in Kamerun (now Anglophone Cameroon), going inland from the port of Bonaberi to a distance of about 160 km. It "provided transportation right through the difficult forest zone, and enabled the Germans to reach the savannah belt" (Gann, 1975, 240).
\textsuperscript{112} Gagler & Flanagan, 1978, 28.
\textsuperscript{113} Barrett, 1988, 216-217.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 218.
\textsuperscript{115} Obadho & Waller, 1967, 44.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 45.
of them were Nigerians who had lived in towns for more than one hundred years. The reason was that "in contrast with much of European experience in the nineteenth century, the economic development that did take place took the form of the growth not of manufacturing but of agriculture."\(^{118}\)

After World War II urban growth gained momentum.\(^{119}\) "Abolition of direct controls on population movement in French Africa, the increase in investment funds available through the state, and the shift in African political activity from rural protest to urban-based associations, combined to produce powerful incentives for urban migration."\(^{120}\) At the same time, the structure of urban employment shifted towards the informal sector, and post-war governments began to explore indirect interventions rather than direct controls over labour and commodity markets.\(^{121}\)

In West Africa, periodic markets kept on developing in food surplus areas while daily markets were more characteristic for food-deficit areas, especially towns.\(^{122}\) The function of the former was to a larger extent collection, and of the latter distribution.\(^{123}\) Collecting traders came to periodic markets from distant places to buy large quantities of one product but did not generally bring produce from other areas. The latter produce was brought into the market by a few local traders. As a consequence, periodic markets had a limited range of foodstuffs from other parts of the country for sale at high prices, in contrast with daily markets in urban centres that offered a wider range at more competitive prices.\(^{124}\)

In East Africa, the British continued to use their powers to determine the establishment and location of markets. They concentrated on the development of periodic markets "since it was discovered that they would help more in the economic development of the district than would gazetted towns. The most active markets were also made auction centres where cattle in

\(^{117}\) Vennetier, 1972, as quoted by Guyer, 1987.
\(^{118}\) Elkan & Zwanenberg, 1975, 656.
\(^{119}\) The rate of growth would, however, remain generally lower than in the years since independence (Ibid.).
\(^{120}\) Guyer, 1987, 35.
\(^{121}\) Guyer, 1987.
\(^{122}\) Hodder, 1971.
\(^{123}\) Ibid. Periodic markets were not always the linchpin of the trade system in West Africa. So-called landlord systems existed, whereby buyers and sellers of commodities like kola, fish, cattle, sheep and goats, onions and natron were received in the house of powerful landlords (Hill, 1971).
\(^{124}\) Lawson, 1971.
addition to produce could be exchanged." In some parts of western Kenya, new periodic markets were established as part of a plan to redistribute the population.

The more conciliatory and cooperative mood of the colonial governments in West Africa during the 1950s, and the growth and diversification of colonial economies all over Sub-Saharan Africa led to an increasing Africanization of both domestic and import-export trade. Indigenous businessmen were quick to grab the advantages of the openings presented, especially in the wealthier colonies like Nigeria. Farmers found it also profitable "to increase the volume of foodstuffs to meet the growing needs of the domestic market, and to expand export production, which reached record levels in the 1950s, in spite of the fact that in the British territories (...) Marketing Boards (...) retained a large slice of export proceeds."

Within the settler economies the activities of African businessmen were still largely restricted to the "reserves". In rural Zimbabwe, for instance, African business enterprise had remained very marginal until the 1950s, but a rapid growth took place in the subsequent years. Towards the end of the decade, Africans had firmly established their hold on rural trading at the expense of European businessmen. In the urban areas, segregation politics hampered the development of African enterprises. However, here the Asians eroded European control on domestic trade, taking over most of the general stores in the traditional European enclaves.

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125 Obudho & Walter, 1976, 55.
126 Ibid., 54.
128 Ibid., 272.
129 Wild, 1992
The Post-Independence Period

3.1. Rapid urban growth

In 1960, 16 African states became independent, followed by many others in quick succession during the following years. The new independent nations were confronted with a steady population growth and increasing urbanization. The region was not highly urbanized by global standards, but the urbanization process gathered momentum very rapidly. Six major factors have influenced the course of urbanization in post-independence Africa. The first two are population growth and rural exodus, of which the latter has a large range of

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131 In 1960: Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville (now Congo), Congo-Léopoldville (now Zaire), Dahomey (now Benin), Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso). In 1961: Sierra Leone and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). In 1962: Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. In 1963: Kenya. In 1964: Nyasaland (now Malawi), and Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). In 1965: The Gambia. In 1966: Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and Basutoland (now Lesotho) (Dudley, 1984). Prior to 1960, Ghana was the first and only colony in Sub-Saharan Africa to become independent in 1957 (Due, 1971).

132 Nowadays, the rate of growth of the urban population in Africa is the highest in the world (UN, 1989). Inter-regional differences are, however, considerable, with higher levels of urban population prevailing in Southern Africa (Kostinski & Clarke, 1982). In 1989, South Africa had the highest urban population as percentage of the total population (59%), followed by Zambia, the Central African Republic, Liberia, and Mauritania (45 to 50%) (World Bank, 1991). Burundi and Rwanda were the least urbanized (5 to 10%). Cross country comparisons should, however, be made with caution because the figures are based on divergent national definitions of what is urban. Between 1980 and 1985, the average annual growth rates of the urban population were the highest in Mozambique, Tanzania and Botswana (10 to 11%) and the lowest in Mali and Sudan (3 to 4%) (Ibid.).
economic and non-economic causes. Among the economic factors are deliberately skewed prices against the agricultural sector (the urban bias), and a gap between urban and rural expected wages. A factor with both economic and environmental aspects is the rising population pressure on natural resources, as shown by indicators such as accelerating soil erosion, soil degradation and outright destruction, often associated with overstocking and overgrazing, breakdown of indigenous farming systems and smallholdings. Geographical factors of rural-urban migration are the proximity of most urban centres to densely populated rural areas, and the short distance between villages and medium-size towns (step-migration theory). Social factors are marital instability, short-term cash needs for dowries, access to education and availability of consumer goods and services in urban centres, and ease to adjust to the urban milieu due to a support system provided by relatives or kinsmen. Psychological factors are the desire for freedom from control of the older generation, the importance of prestige and the image of the city, and finally, distorted perceptions of the probability of success in the city. The ultimate goal of the rural youth, schooled in the formal educational system, is the acquisition of a "white collar" job in the city. Political factors in some countries are rural insecurity, and the expelling of nationals, mostly petty traders, of one country from another. Additional factors of rural-urban migration for women are the weak social position of childless women in traditional cultures, the desire to escape responsibilities for cultivation, the stifling social position imposed on women by men in the village, and, finally, better chances to find a suitable partner in cities.

Apart from population growth and rural-urban migration, four exogenous factors have influenced the course of urbanization in Africa. One of them is drought, e.g., in 1983/84. The others are related to the global economy, namely price increases of petrol in the 1970s followed by an appreciation of the US dollar in which oil is priced in the first half of the 1980s, the slowdown of the global economy, and the adverse trend in the terms of trade for exporters of primary goods. These international factors led to a concentration of industries

133 Causes of rural-urban migration are discussed in Becker et al., 1986, and UN, 1989.
134 It has to be noted that population pressure on resources does not always have to lead to out-migration. It may also act as a catalyst for technical development in peasant agriculture through reallocation of resources, leading to production intensification (Boxerup, 1966, as quoted by UN, 1989).
135 Rempel & Todaro (1973) as quoted by UN (1989).
137 White, 1989.
138 An additional factor, not mentioned by White, concerns changing classifications of urban areas. The contribution of this factor is, however, minimal (UN, 1989).
and a decline in per capita agricultural production, the more so because of the urban bias in governments' policies.139

3.2. Government interventions in food production and marketing

The growth of urban centres, and the relatively high purchasing power of the urban population, boosted the flow of food from the countryside to the cities.140 According to the ideas of many African governments these flows should be regulated by the state in order to control inflation and replace traditional and private sector distribution systems that were believed to be inefficient.141 Marketing boards were established in Anglophone Africa, Offices de Commercialisation and Caisses de Stabilisation in Francophone Africa, and Emprese de Comercializacao Agricola in Portuguese-speaking countries, to deal with the collection, storage and distribution of selected food commodities. Most organizations focused on durable crops such as millet, sorghum, rice, and maize, because experience had shown that they were unsuitable for the marketing of perishable crops.142 In the first half of the 1980s, as many as 29 African countries south of the Sahara (60%) had one or more marketing boards that were actively involved in cereal trade.143 In six cases, grain marketing boards had an official monopoly in the domestic market.144

139 The international factors also caused increasing national debts, negative balances of payment, and the reliance of many African countries on food aid and concessory capital (White, 1989). The human crush that resulted from the rural-urban migration "often added to the frantic political scene in which one-party states were emerging, and where politicians who had lost out in the zero-sum game of African politics, plotted how to compromise with the ruling cliques or overthrow them" (Skinner, 1986, 194).
140 Purchasing power is most important in the cases of meat, vegetables and fruits, as the general urban trend towards a higher consumption of these commodities is basically conditioned by a rising level of income. This does not mean that urban citizens are always better off. Nutritional deprivation among the urban poor can be greater than in rural areas due to this closer link between food consumption and purchasing power (Delisle, 1991).
141 Manu, 1992.
142 The grain marketing boards followed raw material boards that had already been established under colonial rule in the 1940s and 1950s to deal with commodities like cocoa, coffee, cotton, and oil seeds for export (Dijkstra & van der Laan, 1990). The new boards refrained from trading perishables like vegetables and fruits because of the risky nature of the operations that require a high degree of flexibility (Tilburg et al., 1989), and the limited availability of cold storage and processing facilities (Abbott & Creupelandt, 1966, as quoted by Hesp & van der Laan, 1985).
144 Congo, Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Mozambique and Zambia (ibid.). Some of these countries had socialist regimes, others had not. The monopoly of the board usually referred to inter-district and inter-regional trade, excluding local retail trade which remained the territory of private traders. The boards were not only responsible for trade, but also for the maintenance of strategic reserves, and in some cases for the actual running of marketplaces. The ADMARC in Malawi, for instance, had an extensive country-wide network of some 1,139 markets (Kalowa & Chilowa, 1991).
Many African countries tried to tackle the increasing need for food not only through market intervention, but also by intervening at the production stage. In the former settler areas of Kenya many of the large-scale farms were sub-divided to parcel out land to small-scale producers. The first settlement schemes were already initiated two years prior to independence "to facilitate an orderly transfer of land from European to African ownership with little or no drop in productivity." The number of large-scale farms dropped from 4000 in 1960 to less than 400 in 1982.146

Africans not only settled on former European farms but also in areas that were hitherto sporadically used for agriculture. These settlement schemes, which became quite common all over Sub-Saharan Africa, were, however, not merely aimed at increasing commercial food production and food self-sufficiency of rural households, but at tackling the problems of (1) displaced persons, landless families and squatters in the rural areas, and (2) unemployment and the rise of a lumpensalariat in the urban centres. The farmers in the schemes were subject to scheduled production and mandatory marketing arrangements, or treated like any other small-scale producer.148

In some countries, government interventions at the production stage were more drastic. In Tanzania, a forced villagization programme was carried out "to increase yields and total marketed output". Between 1973 and 1977, approximately 60 per cent of the rural population was moved into villages. On the marketing side, all cereal trade was monopolized by the National Milling Cooperation, but later on cooperative unions were reinstated in an attempt to solve rising urban food shortages caused by speculation and marketing inefficiencies.150

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145 Odhiambo, 1971, 188.
146 Odhiambo, 1971, GOK, 1984. The remaining large-scale farms included individually owned farms, many of them being absentee owned, group-owned farms, including partnership, company and cooperative farms, and, finally, farms of the Agricultural Development Corporation (a Kenyan parastatal responsible for purchase of farms from Europeans and resettling to Africans) (Fookes & Verstrate, 1992).
148 Four basic types of settlement schemes can be distinguished: schemes with individual holdings, compulsory marketing schemes, schemes with scheduled production, and schemes in which production is collectively organized (Chambers, 1969, as quoted by Hoorweg et al., 1991). In Kenya, the first two are most common.
150 The National Milling Cooperation received a monopoly in 1975 whereafter existing cooperatives were abolished in 1976. In 1983 urban food shortages were so acute that the government had to introduce a party supervised rationing system in Dar es Salaam. In 1984, cooperative unions were re-established (Ibid.).
Villagization and cooperative production were also forced on peasant farmers in Mozambique and Ethiopia. In 1976, the FRELIMO government nationalized all land, and, in the subsequent five years, reallocated one million Mozambicans to communal villages. The Marxist government in Ethiopia instituted sweeping land reforms in 1975 which dissolved all existing tenancy and abolished private ownership. Peasant Associations, Service Cooperatives and Producer Cooperatives were established, and villagization, resettlement, and forced quota deliveries of cereals to the Agricultural Marketing Cooperation introduced.

Communist and socialist regimes were also in favour of large-scale production on state farms. Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, sought to make the country a showpiece of African development through mechanized agriculture. Over 200 state farms were established, which focused on export crops like cacao and food crops like rice. In Benin, the Marxist regime established state farms in the 1970s that produced export crops like French beans and groundnuts, and food crops like maize and rice. Large farms were also run by the state in Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola. The governments in the latter two countries nationalized plantations that were neglected or abandoned by the Portuguese to form state plantations.

3.3. Disastrous intervention results

The results of government interventions in food production and trade were usually disastrous. In Tanzania, the reinstated cooperatives did nothing to improve the finances or

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151 Davison, 1986.
153 Habtu, 1994. Private ownership of land was also abolished in Angola in 1975. In contrast with Ethiopia and Mozambique, the Angola government did, however, not reallocate peasant farmers or force them into cooperatives. Smallholders could rent land from the state for 90 years (Azam et al., 1994).
154 Due, 1971.
156 Krishnan, 1994; Davison, 1986; Azam et al., 1994.
157 Under capitalist regimes private plantations were more common. Like most of the state farms, they focused either on traditional export crops like rubber (e.g. Firestone in Liberia), tea and coffee (e.g. Brooke Bond in Kenya), or on food crops for export like palm oil (e.g. Unilever in Cameroon and Zaire), pineapples (e.g. Del Monte in Kenya), and bananas (e.g. United Brands in Ivory Coast and Cameroon) (Dinham & Hines, 1983).
operations of the country's grain marketing. Marketing inefficiency caused huge financial losses among the unions which the state eventually paid for through conscious subsidies or enormous bank overdrafts with inflationary consequences. The main effect was a massive transfer of resources away from peasant farmers.

In Ethiopia, explicit and implicit taxes discouraged farm production. The system of compulsory deliveries of food grains induced farm households to switch towards production of goods which were not covered by the quota system. The inability of the Agricultural Marketing Corporation to carry out the necessary interregional stock movements disadvantaged both consumers in the deficit areas and producers in the surplus areas. Moreover, the subsequent disinvestment in land had disastrous environmental effects. Small-scale production was also hampered by the government's favouritism to state farms. While these farms covered only 4% of the arable land, they received 75% of the available fertilizer and 88% of the improved seeds. Despite the relatively high input levels, they used the land less efficiently than small-scale producers.

State farms were also a manifest failure in Ghana, Angola, Benin, and Mozambique. The contribution of Ghanaian state farms to the food supplies of the local peasants was negligible. Most of the farms were phased out by as early as 1970. In Angola, much of the land of the state farms had been appropriated for individual household farming by the early 1980s, and almost all cattle had been absorbed into smallholder herds. The remaining state farms were dependent on state subsidies to cover sizeable deficits, and basically supplied the military forces. In Benin, the production of the state farms was reduced to practically zero at the beginning of the 1980s, because of mismanagement and lack of spare

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160 Amede, 1994. The farmers also dumped inferior-quality produce on the Agricultural Marketing Corporation which was responsible for the compulsory purchases of farm products (Fleming & Antony, 1991).
161 The consumers had to pay more while the producers received less (Ibid).
165 Konings, 1986.
166 In the aftermath of the first Ghanaian coup many of Nkrumah's programmes were dismantled as quickly as possible. The state farms were no exception. By June 1968 the number of state farms had been halved and the labour force had been reduced by three-fourths (Hill, 1977). By mid-1970 only 38 farms had survived, including those rice farms (Due, 1971).
167 Azam et al., 1994.
parts and capital.\textsuperscript{109} In Mozambique, the bulk of the total agricultural output still came from peasant production, although the FRELIMO government placed priority on state-farm production to the neglect of peasants.\textsuperscript{107} Peasant collectivization was not an overwhelming success under the Marxist regime either. Although one million Mozambicans had been reallocated to communal villages by 1981, only 70,000 were involved in agricultural cooperatives.\textsuperscript{111}

Not only state farms and cooperatives failed to achieve their objectives in Sub-Saharan Africa, the same applied to grain marketing boards. In the 1970s, it became more and more clear that statutory food marketing authorities (incl. the grain marketing boards) acted according to a hidden agenda, that aimed to keep prices low in order to pacify urban populations.\textsuperscript{112} They were rather effective in transferring producers' surpluses both to the state and the urban consumers.\textsuperscript{113} The outcome was, however, achieved at great cost, notably a reduction in the rate of agricultural and rural development.\textsuperscript{114} In Ghana the results were widespread shortages of food, smuggling, hoarding and corruption. Interventions created a class of newly rich people who had preferential access to government officials.\textsuperscript{115} In Zimbabwe, incomes among poor rural consumers were effectively reduced by as much as 30\% because 100,000 tonnes of expensive commercial maize meal were flown into rural areas annually while at the same time grain flew out through the state marketing channel.\textsuperscript{116} The same circuitous movement of grain was common in for instance Malawi, where grain was moved by ADMARC from regions in the north to the strategic grain silos in Lilongwe to

\textsuperscript{109} Godin, 1986.
\textsuperscript{107} In 1985, state farms were responsible for 28\% of the total agricultural output (largely cash crops for export) in the central region of Mozambique, while 12\% came from cooperatives and 60\% from peasants (Davison, 1986).
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{113} Schiff & Valdés, who studied Ivory Coast, Ghana and Zambia, calculated that as a result of the combined effect of direct and indirect price interventions, there was a huge transfer of income from agriculture towards the government and the rest of the non-agricultural economy in these countries, representing a staggering 96\% of their agricultural GDP between 1960 and 1984 (Schiff & Valdés, 1992, as quoted by Valdés, 1995).
\textsuperscript{114} Fleming & Antony, 1991. Schiff & Valdés associated high taxation of agriculture through direct and indirect price interventions statistically with lower agricultural and overall growth rates (Schiff & Valdés, 1992).
\textsuperscript{115} Mana, 1992.
\textsuperscript{116} Jayne & Chaisvo, 1991. The system was very costly in terms of transport and storage, the more so as the price system failed to synchronize supply and demand for grains. Unit handling costs increased because of a vast depot network that was dictated mainly by social and political considerations. Weak accountability processes and the bureaucratic nature of the marketing board further contributed to the high marketing margins (Jiriyengwa, 1993; Takavaraha, 1993).
be stored and moved back in the hungry season for distribution. The operation caused large trade deficits to the parastatal.\textsuperscript{177}

Many grain marketing boards had to face a financial crisis sooner or later. The NCPB of Kenya had billions of shillings of outstanding debts in 1987. Farmers were complaining about excessive payment delays, while commercial banks were unwilling to extend any further credit to the board. The financial problems did not only originate from allocative and operational inefficiencies, but were also the result of the Treasury's reluctance to finance the exceptional losses made by the board in carrying out its price stabilization and food security objectives.\textsuperscript{178} The wide trade margin which the board had to set to accommodate its high costs further encouraged informal sector markets and private sector trading, which reduced the board's ability to achieve its food security objectives.\textsuperscript{179}

The monopoly of grain marketing boards was usually more fictional than real in other countries, too. In Mali, the OPAM handled only 20 to 40 per cent of the total grain market in the country.\textsuperscript{180} Meanwhile, the repression of private trade, while not enough to eliminate it, increased transaction costs. As in other countries, OPAM's official monopoly and the system of official prices also acted as major disincentives to domestic grain production.\textsuperscript{181}

3.4. Structural adjustment

All in all, the involvement of the state in primary agricultural marketing placed an enormous burden on the African economies.\textsuperscript{182} This did not remain unnoticed, the more so as it appeared to be part of a general problem of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of public sector

\textsuperscript{177} Kaluwa & Chilowa, 1991.
\textsuperscript{178} Smith, 1992. The allocative inefficiencies stemmed from the various types of administrative controls in operation, while the operational inefficiencies stemmed predominantly from the board's monopoly position which encouraged managerial slackness and rent-seeking activities. The board's costs were also inflated by the expansion of the depot and buying centre network, a three-fold increase in the number of employees between 1980 and 1987; and the need to finance the strategic reserve of maize (Bates, 1989; Smith, 1992).
\textsuperscript{179} Smith, 1992.
\textsuperscript{180} Staatz et al., 1989.
\textsuperscript{181} Other similarities with boards in other countries were mismanagement and accumulating deficits (Staatz et al., 1989).
\textsuperscript{182} African farmers, for instance, received a significantly smaller part of the final consumer price than Asian farmers, even when taking the higher transport and related marketing costs on the African continent into account (Ahmed, 1988, as quoted by Blackie, 1990).
activities. The situation became seriously questioned for the first time in the mid-1970s, when agricultural stagnation, a hostile external economic environment, and an internal debt crisis had impaired the macro-economic performance of most African countries. The fact that many of these countries were unable to recover from the 1974 oil crisis was at least partly blamed on their large public sectors which, it was argued, robbed these economies of the flexibility they needed to achieve necessary adjustments.\(^\text{183}\) Although changes were generally thought necessary, they did take off very slowly in the following years due to a number of widely-observed factors: vested interests and political factors, unwillingness to give up direct patronage benefits; the belief's prevalent in many LCD's that markets would not work, that peasants would be exploited, etc.; the fact that short-term gains might be small; that some ethnic groups or foreigners would be prime beneficiaries; that piecemeal reform was difficult since complex systems were often at stake; that reformers often did a poor job; and that donor assistance could sometimes allow governments to avoid hard choices.\(^\text{184}\)

Nevertheless, reforms took off to gain momentum after the second oil crisis in 1979. Governments had to look desperately for foreign financiers who, however, set their conditions.\(^\text{185}\) Structural adjustment was recommended, grain marketing liberalization being one of the central components.\(^\text{186}\)

Senegal's parastatal for cereals (ONCAD) was liquidated as early as 1980, while grain marketing in Mali became gradually deregulated since 1981.\(^\text{187}\) In exchange for the agreement of the Malian government to abolish the state's legal monopoly on grain trade, and to encourage private sector marketing, international agencies and donors pledged long-term shipments of food aid to supply the urban areas with grain during the transition period.\(^\text{188}\) The initial actions of the government "were aimed primarily at removing the legal barriers to the private sector's participation in the market. These included the abolition of the OPAM's legal monopoly and the removal of roadblocks that restricted grain transport within Mali."\(^\text{189}\)

\(^{184}\) Berg, 1985.
\(^{185}\) Najib & Nindi, 1988.
\(^{186}\) Shepherd, 1989.
\(^{187}\) The ONCAD in Senegal was also responsible for the marketing of groundnuts. This activity was taken over by the SONACOS (Hoogervorst et al., 1988).
\(^{188}\) Snaaz et al., 1989.
\(^{189}\) Ibid., 709.
Many countries followed Senegal and Mali in the following years. Deregulation took place in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Tanzania, Madagascar, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Somalia, and Ethiopia, while grain marketing boards were phased out in Nigeria, Zambia, Zaire, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone. In some countries the process went very gradually, as in Tanzania where grain trade deregulation started in 1984, to be completed in 1990. The buying monopoly of the Tanzanian cooperative unions was phased out by gradually allowing private traders to handle larger quantities of grain, and eventually permitting them to purchase directly from the farmers instead of dealing with farmers' societies. In other countries the road of adjustment was more circuitous. The Zambian government dissolved the poorly performing NAMBOARD in 1989, to transfer its marketing functions to cooperative unions (as in Tanzania five years earlier). The unions were, however, unable to operate efficiently under a pricing structure based on huge subsidies to maize meal consumers. Eventually, all consumer subsidies were abolished in 1991 and the remaining restrictions on maize marketing removed.

The first results of the deregulation of the African grain trade have been encouraging. To mention a few: in Tanzania, liberalization improved the efficiency of resource allocation, stimulated private enterprise and contributed towards production surpluses; in Mali, liberalization stimulated entry into grain marketing, led to an increase in specialization and scale of operations, and reduced risk premiums demanded by merchants; in Madagascar, liberalization led to growing competitiveness and effectiveness which significantly diminished rice price differences between surplus and deficit areas.

Nevertheless the deregulation process has also exposed the weaknesses of African economies. Due to the long period of suppression in Tanzania, the system which has emerged from liberalization is less efficient than that of many other developing countries. "Wholesale traders characteristically have little capital, handle small volumes (not more than a truckload at a time), and do not invest in vehicles or interseasonal storage of grains. Their operation is hampered by the poor state of roads, a shortage of vehicles, a lack of market

190 Antony & Fleming, 1991; Reusse, 1987. In Madagascar the deregulated commodity was rice, and in Zimbabwe wheat. In other countries more than one type of grain was involved. The phased out marketing boards in Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone dealt with rice, and in Zaire with maize. The others dealt with more than one type of grain.
infrastructure, and above all the absence of any source of formal credit for private trading operations. There is limited integration of the country’s different markets, with restricted spatial flows reflected by high regional price fluctuations. Lack of market information and systems of communication between markets have increased the risk of trading.\textsuperscript{194} In Mali, similar and other constraints hamper most wholesalers to respond fully to the opportunities created by the grain trade liberalization, notably shortage of working capital, lack of political connections, and the riskiness of the trade.\textsuperscript{195} The latter is caused by demand and supply instability, regulatory uncertainty, and the unenforceable nature of contracts. In Madagascar, deregulation of the rice market has been affected by the resistance of ambiguous regulation, continuing limits on free entry, attempts at cartelization, and tenacious resistance of existing stakeholders and institutions. Additional structural constraints are poor roads, weak extension services, inadequate credit systems and input supply arrangements.\textsuperscript{196}

Thus, simply eliminating government controls and allowing resources to be allocated by the market may not yield the desired results. Such is illustrated once more by the case of Malawi, where food marketing liberalization and the increase of private trade have affected food supplies to households in remote areas. These areas have experienced the closure of uneconomic ADMARC markets while private traders have been reluctant to penetrate them.\textsuperscript{197} Even where such traders operate, they typically purchase for sale in other areas, leaving food-deficit households with access to fewer alternative sources of food.\textsuperscript{198}

In sum, it is generally agreed that African governments have to play a role in creating the institutional framework within which efficient and effective grain markets can emerge. Primary factors in accelerating the development of private trading are (1) the development of

\textsuperscript{194} Coulier & Golob, 1992, 421.

\textsuperscript{195} "Political connections were important in the beginning because sales contracts with the OPAM were initially not awarded by an open bidding process but through personal contacts. Obtaining a contract to supply OPAM was very lucrative, because OPAM was buying grain at an official producer price that was considerably above the open market price (Staatz et al., 1989)."

\textsuperscript{196} Berg, 1989.

\textsuperscript{197} "Traders have not replaced ADMARC in the markets which were abandoned as a result of the rationalization of economic activities. Both ADMARC and private traders are competing in accessible markets. This has had an adverse effects in most remote areas in terms of access to inputs and markets" (Mawuli, 1993, 306).

\textsuperscript{198} Kaluwa & Chilowa, 1991; B. Kandoole, 1991. Apart from alternative food crops, these households presently have to rely on other farmers who are able to buy or grow and store excess maize. These surplus-farmers realize high margins by trading maize for labour when the labour supply is high (the hungry season) and maize is short in supply. "By neglecting their own farms, short-term food deficit farmers can find themselves in chronic deficit situations" (Kaluwa & Chilowa, 1991, 116).
marketplaces, storage structures and rural financial markets, (2) long-term infrastructural policies to reduce transport costs, and (3) investment in market support systems, marketing research, quality grades and standards.\textsuperscript{199}

3.5. Marketplaces and private traders

It will be clear that not only grains but also commodities which have not been subject to state regulations, such as vegetables, fruits, roots and tubers, will benefit from an improved institutional framework.\textsuperscript{200} Availability of marketplaces is one of the most important factors in this respect. It has, however, to be remembered that the rise and success of markets is at least partly determined by exogenous factors, one of them being the level of population concentration. With higher concentrations permanent marketplaces become feasible, as shown by the correlation between urbanization and the rise of daily urban markets.\textsuperscript{201} But care should be taken when referring to this correlation, because urban consumers in Africa do not by definition buy food. Part of the urban households produce food by means of urban agriculture.\textsuperscript{202} Moreover, rural-urban linkages within families are usually quite strong, and poor urban households, especially recent immigrants, tend to fall back on their rural connections when food prices increase and access to sufficient food is reduced. "Exchanges often take place between urban and rural branches of extended families, with rural relatives bringing food for their urban kin in exchange for urban manufactured goods or services, such as a place to stay."\textsuperscript{203} Many urban households also have access to land in their native rural areas, although rural relatives usually farm it.\textsuperscript{204} Finally, urban households may own livestock which is managed by their rural kinsmen.\textsuperscript{205}


\textsuperscript{200} The same market constraints and required measures were, for instance, found by Dijkstra & Magori when studying the domestic marketing of horticultural commodities in Kenya (Dijkstra & Magori, 1992; 1994a; 1994b).

\textsuperscript{201} See Chapters 1 and 2 for the rise of urban food markets during the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

\textsuperscript{202} Urban agriculture was found to be of importance in, for instance, Nairobi (Freeman, 1988), Kampala (Maxwell & Zriwa, 1992) and Lomé (Schiller, 1991).

\textsuperscript{203} Braan et al., 1993, 13-14. Urban Africa is predominantly inhabited by men and women with rural upbringing, most of whom consider their rural abode their home (Dike, 1979).

\textsuperscript{204} Andrae, 1992. Things are, however, changing. In African countries with a high level of commercialisation of farm land, like Kenya, families are not always ready to share their rural sources with those who have left for work in the cities (Kengstad & Mikkelsen, 1983, as quoted by Andrae, 1992).

\textsuperscript{205} This is common in, for instance, Somalia (Little, 1992).
Outside urban centres the location of marketplaces is the result of a range of factors, rural population distributions being one of them. Initially, it was believed that the spatial organization of marketplaces in Sub-Saharan Africa could be explained by central-place theory which tries to explain the location of settlements with certain functions in terms of the minimum population required to bring about the offering of a certain good for sale, and the maximum distance over which people will travel to purchase a good offered at a central place. 206 The theory, however, did not hold in Africa, because "the majority of consumers are not supplied with goods and services from a central place. Central-place functions are performed by mobile agents who move from place to place thus giving rise to (...) periodic markets." 207 These periodic markets do not necessarily follow population concentrations. As early as 1961, Hodder pointed out that such markets are independent of village or hamlet distribution: "Some markets (...) have simply been established in clearings in the bush at the junction of paths; others lie athwart a motorable road, sometimes near to, or in a village. In some cases the market has in fact created a village." 208 Whenever the markets are part of a hierarchy, their place on the ladder does not depend on "considerations of size, function, and spatial and temporal location, but rather on the travel patterns, and marketing strategies of groups of different types of traders." 209

The timing of periodic markets was originally thought to be related to their place in a so-called market ring, the latter being composed of markets that operate on successive days. The itinerary of the traders that operate in the ring would be determined by the aim that no hamlet or other settlement is far from a market for more than a couple of days. 210 Later research showed, however, that the rationale of periodic-market timing was more complicated than suggested by the market-ring approach. Lado found, for instance, disparities in the distribution of market days when analyzing periodic markets in Bungoma District, Kenya. One of the reasons was the close relationship between rural periodic markets and agricultural production "as the markets increasingly become collecting points of the local farm produce

206 Berry & Garrison (1958) named the first factor the "threshold population", representing the minimum demand to make an offering viable, and the second factor the "range" of a good, beyond which the inconvenience of travel measured in time, cost and trouble will outweigh the value or need of the good (Carter, 1981).
207 Obudho, 1983, 16.
209 Hollier, 1980.
210 As a result successive markets would not normally be adjacent ones. Early research on this matter was carried out by Hodder (1961) in Yorubaland, Nigeria, and by Skinner (1964) in China.
for domestic consumption and export.\textsuperscript{211} This was also concluded by Akasaka who studied periodic markets in Mali: "the increasing demand for supplies of goods among urban consumers has posed great influence on the market activity for both traders and farmers" in those markets.\textsuperscript{212} The changes are part of a process of regionalization of food trade whereby growing urban centres start to obtain food from areas that were hitherto outside their sphere of influence.\textsuperscript{213}

Apart from the collecting function of periodic markets, Lado mentions one more factor that influences market timing: over two-thirds of the interviewed traders in Bungoma were part-time traders with other occupations such as teaching, shopkeeping, schooling and farming. Porter, who did a similar study in Borno, Nigeria, even found that as little as one per cent of the traders in the periodic markets were full-time professional traders. All other traders were involved part-time: trading up to two or three days per week while returning home every night.\textsuperscript{214} Lado's and Porter's studies endorse the ideas of Bromley et al., who state that periodic markets are in part the product of an economic system where producing and selling have not been divorced, so that time is needed for production and part-time traders demand period markets.\textsuperscript{215} For that matter, time is not only needed for production but also for domestic obligations because in most of the rural markets of Sub-Saharan Africa the majority of the traders are women.\textsuperscript{216}

Apart from the principle of part-time trade, market timing is determined by factors like the length of the week, the days set aside by religion or for rest, the significance of astrology and the inertia of the system.\textsuperscript{217} The inertia slows down the response to changing external conditions like transport developments. According to Porter, it is largely the result of the scarcity of professional itinerant traders in periodic markets.\textsuperscript{218} An additional factor is the importance of rural markets as centres of social interaction. Larson describes periodic markets

\textsuperscript{211} Lado, 1981, 54.
\textsuperscript{212} Akasaka, 1992, 39.
\textsuperscript{213} The term 'regionalization of the food trade' is used by Watts (1987) when discussing the growth of Kano, Nigeria, and consequent increases in trading distances from production areas to the town.
\textsuperscript{214} Porter, 1984.
\textsuperscript{215} Bromley et al., 1975.
\textsuperscript{216} Female traders have more domestic obligations than male traders. Turrittin (1988) shows, for instance, that male traders in rural Mali had more time to go to the market than female ones, even when the women were beyond child-bearing age and had daughters-in-law to assist them in household matters.
\textsuperscript{217} Bromley et al. (1975) as quoted by Carter (1981).
\textsuperscript{218} Porter, 1986.
in northern Togo where young men flirt with young women who may one day become their wives, where people come from far and wide to meet old friends and relatives, where chiefs make their appearance to mingle with their people and frequently make important announcements, where minor court cases are tried by the chief and his council, and where government officials broadcast propaganda and information or sell tickets in the state lottery. Changing the location or the timing of the markets would mean changing the rhythm of life of the entire rural population.

In urban food markets, which as we saw operate on a daily basis, the link between production and sales is less clear than in rural periodic markets. Due to the regionalization of trade, specialized traders enter the marketing chain, assembling produce in the production areas to transport it to towns for distribution. They are usually referred to as middlemen. Although most of them are professional traders who work on their own, such does not exclude backward linkages. In Sudan, for instance, trading families settled in the rural areas in the nineteenth century, to plant fruit trees and grow seasonal crops on irrigated plots along the Nile. Later on younger members moved to Khartoum to look after the trade while the older generation stayed behind to manage the estates. Professionalization does not make the social environment less important either. Marrying somebody from another trading family is one of the means to extend the social network. For that matter, both men and women are active as middlemen and in urban food trade. Women are, however, less often involved in food wholesaling, while dominating food retailing and hawking.

Two prototypes of markets have been discussed so far, notably the urban daily market and the rural periodic market. Before ending the present section, one specific type of market has to be mentioned, namely the border market. Market integration does not stop at national

219 Lanson, 1991.
220 In theory, middleman mediation is profitable not only to the middlemen themselves but also to the producers because of economies of scale during transport. Whether it is actually to the advantage of both parties depends on the level of competition between middlemen. Buying cartels may affect farm-gate prices at the expense of the producers.
221 Steenwinkel, 1986.
222 This is for instance common among the Waluguru traders in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Donge, 1992).
223 In the urban food markets of Tanzania “women traders generally dealt in the grain commodities produced in their hinterland and traded smaller quantities than the men” (Bryceson, 1993, 120). In the peri-urban area of Maputo, Mozambique, over 95% of the small-scale vegetable traders were women (Little & Colom, 1992). In Kampala, Uganda, food trading street hawkers were predominantly women, as male street hawkers focused on non-food items (Nyakanza, 1993). A study in Lusaka, Zambia, showed that trading women tended to be middle-aged married women, or single heads of households (Hansen, 1989). The importance of horticultural trade for female-headed households was also found in Swaziland (Sandee & Weijland, 1986).
borders. Cross-border trade is quite common in Sub-Saharan Africa, not only in the case of second-hand clothing, cash crops (coffee, cotton), durables (batteries, radios, etc.) and precious minerals (gold, diamonds), but also in the case of food. The trade is more often illegal than not. An example is the large-scale smuggling of maize flour, sugar, cooking oil, and eggs from Zambia to Zaire, and of cassava, dried fish, simsim and millet from Uganda to Zaire. The trade is not on barter terms as is often thought, but "lubricated by a sophisticated multi-currency and gold market." Another example is the large-scale illegal trade of rice, dried beans, livestock, dried fish, cassava, kola nuts, fruit and vegetables from Cameroon to Nigeria in return for manufactured goods. The African cross-border trade usually concentrates in and around specific market towns which are accessible by road or rail from both sides of the border. In contrast with other market centres, most of the transactions take place outside the official marketplace to avoid attention by the border police or to negotiate with them in private about the actual border crossing.

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224 In 1982/83 for instance, the average discrepancy between matched export and import values for thirty-five countries in Sub-Saharan Africa was more than sixty per cent (Yeats, 1990, as quoted by Foroutan & Pritchett, 1993).
226 Meagher, 1990, 64.
227 Podmore, 1988, as quoted by MacGaffey, 1991.
228 This was observed by the author in towns along the Ugo-Idoma-I-Aso border, the Kenya-Uganda border and the Kenya-Tanzania border. Apart from cross-border trade of food, various countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are involved in some trans-oceanic food trade to Europe and the Middle East. These trade flows do, however, usually not pass domestic marketplaces. Produce from plantations (bananas, pineapples) is directly exported by the producers, while production of small-scale farmers (French beans, Asian vegetables, etc.) is collected by the export traders who have contracted them. See, for instance, Dinham & Hines (1983), Jaffee (1987) and Dijkstra & Magori (1995) on horticultural exports from Kenya.
Conclusion

In the previous chapters both the evolution of food marketing systems and the urbanization process in Sub-Saharan Africa have been described. The correlation between market evolution and urbanization has been strong from the very beginning of agriculture in the Neolithic era. Agriculture made the rise of urban settlements possible, which in turn led to the rise of a class of merchants who started to trade food with the urban citizens. Thus, urbanization gave rise to marketing channels. However, initially non-market provision of food remained common. Moreover, food trade developed also in regions of Africa without urban centres. Factors of importance in those areas were agro-ecological differences, inter-ethnic boundaries, and demand for specific raw materials like salt and iron ore which were traded in exchange for, among other things, food.

Once established, the evolution of local and regional food marketing networks was stimulated by the rise of the trans-Saharan trade with the Mediterranean countries, and the overseas trade with the Middle and Far East. Later on, Europe and the new Americas became the most important export destinations and European traders the leading intermediaries. The trans-Atlantic trade led to a rapid growth of urban centres and a further intensification of regional and local food trade. However, not the urban citizens were the prime initiators of the rising demand in food, but the carriers of the caravans that brought produce to the coasts and the labourers that worked on large-scale plantations.
During the colonial period, the same process of export-led town and market development continued. Two exceptions existed. In the settler economies new centres of food trade arose due to segregation policies. In the mining economies urban centres, inhabited by a new class of consumers, sprung up around the mines. Elsewhere, food production and trade were stimulated by taxation in kind. Regional trade flows and the location of market centres were affected by the introduction of new and artificial boundaries and the improvement of local transportation networks.

After independence, urban growth resumed its role as catalyst of market development, as it had done prior to the rise of the trans-Atlantic trade. However, the actual structure of food production and marketing systems was determined by government policies. In many countries, cooperatives, state-farms and marketing boards were used to stimulate, regulate or monopolize production and trade, especially of grains. In most of the countries, food trade was deregulated in the 1980s and 1990s again, after two decades of disastrous experiments. Policy makers started to put their faith in the hands of the free market, re-inventing the importance of private trade and rural periodic markets. The latter two have their own rationale, however. Market networks do not necessarily follow population distributions as they are based on an economic system in which production and selling have not been separated and full-time professional traders are scarce. Marketplaces act as places of social interaction and may develop into collecting centres due to regionalization of food trade.

In conclusion, the evolution of food trade and urbanization have been two closely interlinked processes in Sub-Saharan Africa. Sometimes, urbanization was the cause and food trade the consequence, other times both were the consequence of external factors such as intercontinental trade and colonial policies. The evolution of marketing channels and location of marketplaces have not only been determined by population developments, but also by existing agro-ecological and ethnic boundaries, emerging national entities, changing government policies and local social values. When planning future market developments all these factors have to be taken into account.

When studying food marketing, urbanization should be treated as a process of functional differentiation. Urban centres develop in accordance with previous and present functions within regional, national and world economies. Ancient cities, former caravan towns, mining
centres, former settler towns, newly established capitals, border towns, and ports evolve in a different way. The demand for food by their inhabitants and the structure of the food marketing channels that serve them are determined by inherited trade systems, composition and purchasing power of the population, and collecting and distributing functions with region, state and continent.
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