

**SOCIAL RELATIONS OF YAM FLOUR PRODUCTION AND
DISTRIBUTION IN LAGOS AND OYO STATES, NIGERIA**

BY

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A Thesis in the Department of Sociology
Submitted to the Faculty of The Social Sciences
In Partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

AUGUST, 2023

CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to all warriors who stood tall against all odds to be their best. Your unfathomable courage even in the face of countless barriers has been a great source of strength to my weak and faint heart as I forge on. All a warrior can be is nothing but the best!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Immortal, invisible, God only wise, in light inaccessible hid from our eyes, Most blessed, Most glorious, the Ancient of days, Almighty, victorious, thy great name I praise.

I owe this special thanks to Dr Olayinka Akanle for his relentless and unreserved efforts in the mentoring and supervision of this work. Although, I could not imagine how lucky I was when I was assigned to you for supervision, but I am more than convinced that being under your supervision is one of the greatest things that ever happened to me. I pray when you call for one, a thousand shall attend to you. I say a very big thank you Sir.

I applaud Professor Olanrewaju Olutayo, Professor Olumuyiwa Omobowale and Dr Busari for your immense contributions to Development Unit of the Department of Sociology. Together you all made the unit an admirable one for me. To Professor Olutayo (our daddy in development as I secretly call you), I say thank you Sir for your efforts toward the success of students from the unit. Prof. Omobowale, thank you sir for always playing the big brother role on my behalf.

To my husband, Oluwatomisin Olawore, I say thank you for your support in all ramifications. Indeed, you have been a pillar of support to me on this journey. I pray the Lord perfects all that concerns us.

To my dad Mr Ayoade Adedoyin, baba Jọkẹ thanks for your plenty prayers, your prayers mean so much to me. And Mr Adebayo Aderinto I say a big thank you for your push all the time. I really appreciate you both. To a wonderful, selfless uncle Gboyega Oyelowo, I say a very big thank you sir.

I am also indebted to Reverend Femi Omosogbe and family who make me feel home away from home on each visit even without prior notification. I pray your seeds shall not be stranded in the journey of life. Thank you so much sir/ma.

The journey to Saki was made seamless only through the assistance of this great family. Deacon and Mrs Oni, I say a very big thank you Sir and Ma. Iya Şaki, *ẹ seun pupọ* ma (Thank you so much Ma). I also appreciate Alapasa who also served as a local guide

taking me round Saki to collect the data for this work. Oloye Alapasa, e seun sa ((Thank you Sir). I use this medium to also appreciate all the elubó (yam flour) producers and distributors who gave me ample opportunities by cooperating with me on this work to make it a success, I pray help will be available to your seeds and your labours will not be in vain. I also say thank to the research assistants who helped with data collection for this work.

Lastly, to all staff and members of the Department of Sociology who in one way or the other contributed to this work, I say thank you all. I also say thank you to these wonderful friends and colleagues Dr. Tobi, Dr. Tunrayo, Dr. Adejare, Ewajesu, Tomiwa and to all who had contributed in one way or the other to the success of this work.

ABSTRACT

Social Relations (SRs), the network of interactions among members of the society, is a vital component of healthy partnerships among organisations worldwide. Conversely, egoistic motivation for reward and numerous market and institutional failures have challenged healthy relationships among people in informal organisations in Nigeria. Existing studies on SRs have largely focused on formal organisations with scant attention paid to in informal organisations, especially among actors in yam flour (*èlùbó*) production and distribution. This study, therefore, examined the social relations (social organisation, exchange value construction, value chain activities, indigenous practices and the socio-demographic characterisation) underlying yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.

The Social Action Theory provided the framework, while the qualitative exploratory design was adopted. Lagos and Oyo states were purposively selected due to yam production and distribution linkages existing between them. Saki (Oyo) was purposively selected because it is the hub of yam flour production, while Bodija and Orita-Merin (Oyo), Mushin-Alasalatu and Mile-12 (Lagos) markets were purposively selected because of their high patronage of yam flour from Saki. Non-participant observation was conducted among actors involved in the production and distribution of yam flour. Thirty in-depth interviews were conducted with 22 merchants, two each from farmers, peelers and loaders, one each from transporters and farm landlords. Eleven key informant interviews were conducted: one each from farmers, peelers, loaders, transporter and farm landlords, and six with association executives. Three case studies were conducted with an aged farmer, a farm landlord and a merchant. Three focus group discussion sessions were held among farmers, farm landlords and merchants. Data were contentanalysed.

Èlùbó production and distribution activities were organised and regulated through established associations guided by both formal and informal rules. Formal rules were written in the association constitution, while informal rules were unwritten norms and values. Affections and emotions in the trade were ritualised and celebrated annually. Exchange values of transactions were negotiated leveraging on mutually beneficial relationships. Activities and relationships relative to the production and distribution chain were dependent as farmers, peelers, loaders, merchants and transporters relied on one another to complete the production and distribution process of *èlùbó*. The merchants (*olówò*) were the main financiers of the value chain; thus, rendering other actors, particularly the farmers, vulnerable. Indigenous practices, such as traditional mulching, was used in soil management, while drying on mountains, cayenne pepper or cassia leaves were used to preserve the *èlùbó*. Èlùbó production and distribution processes engaged both male and female, old and young. However, farming and transportation were male-dominated, while peeling and trading were dominated by females.

The quest for personal gains, market and institutional failures have challenged social relations in yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria. There is a need for an actor centred policy formulation and implementation by governments. The appropriate authorities should provide more intervention programmes to enhance social relations and yam flour production and distribution.

Keywords: Yam flour production and distribution, *Èlùbó*, Value-chain, Social relations in food production

Word count: 479

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
IITA	International Institute of Tropical Agriculture
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
NPC	National Population Census
FOS	Federal Office of Statistics
WLDA	Women in Law and Development in Africa
ILO	International Labour Organization
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
ACAPAPA	Eastern and Central Africa Programme for Agricultural Policy Analysis
KPMG	Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler
NAFDAC	National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control
SON	Standards Organization of Nigeria
FMARD	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
NPFHS	National Policy on Food Hygiene and Safety
NEPC	Nigerian Export Promotion Council
UN	United Nations
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Social relations which are networks of interactions are vital components of building healthy relationships among actors in business transactions. Social relations are indispensable in all human endeavours and food production and distribution are no exemption. Food production and distribution is also a measuring parameter of development among Nations/States in developing countries. Food production and distribution then become an impetus for development when it entails complex process of adding value to primary products and getting it to the ultimate consumers (Osayande and Ada-Okungbowa, 2014).

The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO, 2014) noted that since food availability and access stability remains a key component of food security in Sub-Saharan Africa, sustainable development is best achieved with sustainable agricultural food production. This is in line with sustainable development goal 2 which is aimed at putting hunger at zero level and goal 10 which is reduced inequality among Nation /States. Food production and distribution activities are not only dependent on the effective and efficient workings of all non-human factors but also on interaction among actors in food production-distribution chains.

In the process of food production and distribution, actors work upon both nature and its resources while interacting with one another based on collectively agreed upon manner of relations. During the course of interacting with one another while producing and distributing food, actors negotiate and re-negotiate actions in various contexts which overtime results in standard of operations among them. Hence, interaction processes among actors become enduring patterns of relationship which is the basis of larger

societal structures (Kumar, 2010; Somerville, 1994). These interactions help actors internalise norms which help organized manner of relations and orderliness in the society through the sustenance of transmitted values as defined in the context of interactions (Ahmad, 1994).

Consequently, because of the inter-connectedness of relationships among humans, founded on social interactions, which are fundamental to everyone's day-to-day existence, especially in developing nations where these interactions fill the gaps left by multiple institutional and market failures (Balogun and Yusuf, 2011), both the household level sustenance and the global food market with its varying attendant needs of food production and food security should be of main concern (Babatunde, Omotesho and Sholotan, 2007).

Yam flour is a derivative product from yam which is obtained through various value adding activities in Nigeria. Although the nation produces a wide variety of foods, yams and yam products are particularly important to the lives, livelihoods, and cultures of people in West Africa and among Africans living abroad (IITA, 2012). Nigeria, being the most populous nation in Sub-Saharan Africa has a forecasted population estimate of over 190million (CIA, 2017) and a rural population of over 78million with a majority in the agricultural sector in rural areas (Olojede, Adekunle and Samuel, 2013). Although, Nigeria is a high producer of yams globally (FAO, 2013), a lot of the yam is wasted due to a lack of proper storage and distribution facilities (Orkwor 1998; Cooke *et al.*, 1988). In the bid to help transform yam into a more durable and nutritious food for distribution and consumption within and across local borders, some actors take up the art of producing and distributing yam flour on a relatively structured chain sustained by interactions among the actors.

The art of yam flour production and distribution make yam flour more durable because of its lack of moist (IITA, 2003; Olutayo, 2005). The durability of yam flour makes the distribution more efficient and effective, as corroborated by Sahel (2014), Saini and Jain, (2014) and Ewah, (2011) that effective food productions and distributions are largely associated with building adequate distribution networks. This adequate networks helps

sustainable food production and distribution, as noted by Somerville,(1994), that a sustainable food system obviously involves strong networks of local and global production and distribution based on actions and interactions among stakeholders.

In view of the indispensability of SRs in human activities and its significant contributions to interactions among food production-distribution actors, it is imperative that the networks of interaction among actors in yam flour production-distribution be properly understood. Through the exploration of the webs of relationships underlying the production and distribution of yam flour, the study brings to bear the importance of SRs among food production-distribution actors as played out in norms, values, structures, processes and practices that influence yam flour production and distribution chain among actors in Lagos and Oyo State, Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Questions about the capacity of food chains and food actors to meet local and global food needs have recently and will likely continue to arise in light of the recent and growing interest in eliminating hunger and decreasing inequality among nations and states as outlined in the Sustainable Development Goals 2 and 10. Although there is a wealth of evidence from years of research on social relations and its unquantifiable import to human interactions and activities, yet important gap remains in the understanding of its importance in the sustainability of the production and distribution of one of the very basic needs of life-food.

Food production and distribution activities like other human activities are organized in one form or the other. Understanding the social interactions embedded in the social organization of its production and distribution gives insight into the social structures that are present in food production and distribution chains as these are crucial to food production and distribution sustenance. There are ample studies from other field of studies but generally, the social sciences and sociology in particular have largely ignored the issue of social relations in food production and distribution as noted by Michaela, (2013).

Conventionally, the study of issues on food has been seen to be the purview of other field of studies but in the 1990s sociologists' attention was drawn to the issues of food particularly to how food strengthen ties (Beardsworth and Kell 1997; Caplan, 1997; Warde, 1997) but the early 21st century researchers focused more on global food politics, the global markets, and the global food systems as noted by (Coveney, 2006). Studies have not paid adequate attention to how intrinsic social relations in the organization of food production and distributions are as noted by Allen, *et al.* (2013). Although, attention was drawn to the issues of food but not particularly to the importance of the interactions that ensue in production and distribution chains that sustain relationships among the actors in food chains at the various local levels before it translates to global level.

Previous studies on yam flour have contributed to knowledge in the area of nutritional value, chemical composition, shelf-life span, physio-chemical composition and production technics (Ige and Akintunde 2007; Amandikwa *et al* 2015; Somorin, Bankole, Omenu and Atanda 2011), but these studies are not from social sciences or sociology, or on the social relations of yam flour production and distribution. The near dearth of data in this line of study is due to the relatively new and empirically distinct status of SRs in food production and distribution study within Sociology (Michaela, 2013).

Lastly, towards the twentieth century the nature and quality of relationships among people became more hierarchical and impersonal while the post-modern phase is largely characterized by breakdown of human relations and purely egoistical motivation for action as noted by (Galtung, 1995). The importance of interpersonal relationship of actors with one another cannot be over-emphasised as it serves as succor from pressures, failures and disappointments from their various environments, hence the understanding of the smallest human interactions is very important. In light of the multiple market and institutional failures in developing nations, according to Balogun and Yusuf (2011), SRs are crucial for bridging gaps in people's daily lives that are brought on by various institutions. Hence, the nature and quality of relationship among food production and distribution actors must be understood to enable sustainable production and distribution of food.

Regardless of the centrality of SRs to all human activities, there are yet few rigorous empirical studies investigating and exploring the social relations embedded in food production and distribution with regards to the organisation and the actors (farmers, producers, transporters, merchants).

Hence, this study attempted exploring the issues of social relations in yam flour production and distribution subsumed under social organisation, indigenous Practices, value chain activities, exchange value construction and the socio-demographic characterisation of actors on the chain.

1.3 Research Questions

Below were the research questions this study answered:

1. What social organization moderate interactions in yam flour production- distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria?
2. How is exchange value constructed among actors in yam flour production- distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria?
3. What indigenous practices underlies yam flour production-distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria?
4. What are the value-chain operations embedded in yam flour production distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria?
5. What socio-demographic characterisation moderates yam flour production distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria?

1.4 Research Objectives

The study explored the social relations of yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.

The specific objectives were to:

1. Examine the social organization moderating interactions in yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.

2. Investigate how exchange value of transaction is socially constructed among actors in yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.
3. Explore the indigenous practices underlying yam flour production-distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.
4. Explore the value-chain operations of yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.
5. Investigate the socio-demographic characteristics moderating yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study covered all actors in yam flour production and distribution chain. The chain entails production and distribution activities in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria. Although the zone is made up of six states (NPC, 2006), the focus of the study was on two of the states (Oyo and Lagos). These two states were purposively selected because of their relevance to the phenomenon under study. Saki in Oyo state was selected because Saki is a rural environment with most of the dwellers as primarily farmers, food processors and food merchants. Also, Saki is endowed with abundant yam which is the raw material of yam flour. Ibadan and Lagos on the other hand, are major consumer markets purchasing yam flour from the Saki axis.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study contributed to the extension of previous body of knowledge through the uncovering of the SRs that underlies food production and distribution chain in Lagos and Oyo state, Nigeria which has been previously undermined. The study also contributes to bridging the gap of near dearth literature on SRs in local food chain studies from the social sciences. Although, there have been numerous research attempts from various academic fields of study including sociology, as evidenced in the works of Rachel, 2013; Yang *et al*, 2014; Holt-Lunstad *et al*, 2010; Gupta, 2014; Umberson and Montez, 2010; Åsa Tjulin, 2010; Elin Olsson, 2011; Sacker, 2013, this study further enrich previous studies on SRs as studies as this has not received ample academic attention.

Theoretically, this study provided an exemplification of how exploratory research from an interpretive approach can contribute to a dynamic dialogue on social relations. Adopting an interpretive approach to the study uncovers the rationale and meanings actors give to their own relationships with one another that have sustained regular and adequate production and distribution of yam flour in Lagos and Oyo state, Nigeria.

Lastly, by exploiting the local food chain of yam flour, the study uncovered the synergy among the chain actors that holds a promising result to the production and distribution chain. The uncovered result is to aid future local policy formulation by the policy makers through actors' inclusion in the area of harnessing local food processing chains, curbing post-harvest losses, and sustainable rural development in Nigeria without neglecting the human factors intricately implicated in human interactions in rural Nigeria and globally. This study help bring to bare the importance of social relations among food production and distribution actors as it is particularly pertinent at this time when the global world craves an end to hunger through adequate food supply and reduced inequality among nation /states.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

Social relations: It is the network of interactions produced from actions and interactions among actors in defined relationship in various contexts. It manifests both as material and immaterial culture, norms, values, practices and rituals resulting from actions and interactions. Social interactions help build up enduring structures of social processes. For this study, social relations are conceptualized as myriad of actions, interactions among various actors webbed in both social and economic transactions that results in processes of structure formation and sustenance.

Yam chips: (ikokoro): this is sliced yam chips which are yet to be milled to flour. In everyday market transactions these are also refer to as *èlùbò*.

Yam flour (*Elubo*): This is a powdered substance made from the milling of dried yam chips. It is usually prepared into a thick paste known as *amala* and a staple by most people from the South-Western part of Nigeria.

Value chain: The value chain is the entire set of processes that add value to production by turning raw materials into completed products that, in turn, satisfy the final consumers. It shows the line of duty among actors in a production and distribution chain.

Merchandising: This is the skillful act of organizing, planning, promoting and presentation of product (finished goods) to the right market, at the right time, and to the ultimate consumers. (Dictionary.com)

Merchants: these are actors who engage in the buying and selling of food commodities both as wholesalers and retailers. These are the marketing agency on the production and distribution chain in food chains.

Sustainable development: This is the development that has no debilitating effect on both the present and future generation. This kind of development can endure the test of time along generations.

Indigenous knowledge system: this is the knowledge accumulated over time by a local community. Indigenous Knowledge is embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships and rituals.

Food production: This is the transformation of raw food material into finished consumable good through various value adding activities.

Actors: These refer to all human involved in one form of activity or the other on the production and distribution chain of yam flour.

Elubo: implies both yam chips and yam flour, *èlùbò* is a local parlance used for everyday market transactions among actors who trade in yam flour.

Olowo: this refer to the merchants on the production and distribution chain of yam flour who are the major financiers on the chain.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Social Organisation of Food Production and Distribution

Social organisation of food production and distribution represent some salient and obvious structures that are put into food systems to make them effective and sustainable. The functionality of a food system is largely dependent on the micro and the macro level structures that are put into the systems. Adequate understanding of social organisations gives better insight into the effectiveness of food production and distribution chain and activities. It is necessary to understand social organisation of food production and distribution as these are forces behind adequate production, distribution and availability.

Social organisation of food system requires the involvement of men and machinery saddled with varying responsibilities in the production and distribution of food products. In the words of Kolade (2018), before the advent of colonial administration, various ethnic groups and traditional societies had a fairly well organised manner of harnessing the various factors of food production. Men, women and children with their various homemade simple farm implements engaged in the production and the distribution of food at the micro levels in various regions. These various arrangements were functional even when they were not usually formally arranged or documented.

There were various informal arrangements among food producers and distributors, these arrangements include communal land ownership, labour sharing or labour rotation. In communal land ownership arrangement, land is held in trust for the members of a community by the community head and same is allowed for farming and other economic activities as the need arises. Labor on the various farms is also rotational among friends who farms. In cases where the family labor is not enough, hired labors are engaged. Food production and distribution activities are mostly distributed based on sex and age among

farming household. Organisation of food production and distribution is an attempt to make food available for both immediate consumption and supply.

2.1.1 Social Relations and Modes of Social Interactions

The issue of social relations is central to human activities. Social relations have been saddled with unclear definitions of concept but has been conceptualized by different writers to suit their own intention of study while a majority of the writers interchange social relations with social interactions.

Rodney (1997), defined social relationship as repeated actions or the persistence of stable, shared features among units which are the various actors in interaction. In his view, social relations consist of normative regulation with relative permanence. On the other hand (kumar, 2010) refer to social relationship as a relationship between two or more individuals forming the basis of societal structures. Recently, Tsikata (2015), sees social relation as the structured and systemic interactions of different groups and individuals for production, exchange, consumption and reproduction governed by institutions such as households, markets, states and civil society.

Social relations have to do with interactions in all aspects of human endeavors and spheres, (Soviet Encyclopedia, 1979). According to Gillin and Gillin (1942), social interactions are reciprocal partnerships that affect the individuals involved as well as the nature of their relationships with one another. Gillin and Gillin (1942), sees interactions between individuals or groups has been predicated upon two basic conditions which are;

1. Social contact
2. Communication

Social contact is the first phase of interactions which then leads to communications among actors. Among the actors, tangible and intangible exchanges repeatedly take in the form of cooperation, competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, known as social

processes (Gillin and Gillin, 1942). Horton and Hunt (1976), also assert that, social process is the repetitive form of behaviors which are commonly found in social life.

Modes of Social Interaction

Co-operations: Co-operation is a form of social interactions where two or more persons work together to gain a common end. This is done through organised efforts (Merill and Eldrege, 1955).

Accommodation: According to Gillin and Gillin (1942), accommodation is the process by which conflicting and competing individuals and groups modify their relationship to one another in order to get over obstacles that develop during completion, contravention, and conflict.

Assimilation: According to Horton and Hunt (1976), assimilation is the process of mutual cultural dissemination through which individuals and communities come to share a shared culture.

Competition: Competition is the struggle for possession of rewards which are limited in supply, goods, status, and power and so on. The power struggle could be based on cultural, economic, political or social grounds (Horton and Hunt 1976).

Conflict: Conflict is a modified form of struggle (Kingsley Davis 1945).

Also, taking from Weber's body of scholarly works, Weber's idea on social relationship as presented in his work on "Economy and society", he introduced the concept of social relations via the concept of social action. In his description of social relationships, Weber (1921) introduced the phrase to refer to a variety of actors' behaviors that are informed by and oriented toward the actions of others. Weber's definition largely considers reciprocity of actions from other actors based on interpretation.

Obviously, all given definitions and explanations laid the foundation of social relations on actor's intentionality and the subjective sense of action. The study of social relations is concerned about the actors and interactions, with what has kept established structures,

stable patterns of relation, how decisions are made, who makes what decision, when the decisions are made, why the decisions are made, what can separate or bind actors together since interaction is patterned through mutually defined structures, shared symbols, roles and expectations.

In this study, social relation is taken beyond class structures and intentionality by conceiving it as an important component of societal structure formation and sustenance.

2.1.2 Patriarchy and Gendering of Labour Relations in Food Production and Distribution

Gender is the term used for processes that are socially constructed in ascribing roles that men and women play and its power structure over certain capacities of human body, these power structures are interwoven with social structure, norms, belief and practices that are largely male dominated (Mensah, 2023, FOS, 1999). Gender is also used to connote economic, social and cultural advantages and disadvantages that come with being male or female (UN-habitat, 2003). The concept of gender is understood as perverse patterns of inequality in advantage and disadvantage, work and reward, emotion and sexuality, image and identity, sexual orientation between men and women that serve to justify this pattern that result in social categories of men and women (Acker, 2005). Sen (1999), noted that the concept of gender encompasses both the male and female species, and their interrelationships which are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated in the context of changing political, economic, social and cultural environments at the local, national and supra national levels.

It has been observed that throughout history, the social relationships around food have been categorized along gender lines since these relationships are important for shaping human civilizations, behaviors, and interactions as well as for activities that are centered around food (Moore, 1993). Social relations of food merchandise is largely gendered and women are the most disadvantaged as they compose the poorest segment of the rural population and make up more than 70 percent of all people living in absolute poverty (World Bank, 1990).

Largely, food supply chain rely on women labour in processing and packaging houses as gender divisions of labor characterizes food production, processing, packaging and distribution (Dolan 2004; Collins 1995; Barndt 1999; Barrientos, 2001). Despite the fact that women handle the bulk of tasks relating to food, they have limited control over resources and minimal influence over how food sector decisions are made (Allen, 1999; Sachs, 2006).

Empirical evidences have shown the magnitude of women's contribution to food production and distribution towards food security across the globe. Also, according to the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development in (Sahel, 2014), women account for 75 percent of the farming population in Nigeria, they manage the farms and work as labourers on the farm. Additionally, this was supported by the fact that women make up between 60 and 80 percent of the agricultural labor force and have a significant role in the management of natural resources and food production (ActionAid 2010; Onyemobi, 2000). As a result, they help maintain the ecosystem, increase family food security, and increase the output of the nation's agriculture (Brown *et al.* 2001).

The contributions of women towards addressing the challenges of food production, distribution and development are quite enormous and prominent that their impact and relevance and therefore cannot be overemphasized (Nnadozie and Ibe, 2000). A lot of the labour relations that goes on the farm and in the course of food production and distribution are mostly done on the informal level and this relations was buttressed by (Macneil and Lazzarini, 2001) when he stated that, "Informal dealings have the advantage of promoting flexibility and responsiveness to changing conditions, avoiding expensive renegotiation of contract clauses in the family," it means labour relations are done on informal level and so women labour are regarded family support and contribution to family well-being or domestic support, by that there are no formally established terms of contract on labor.

Additionally, as observed by (Kemmer, 2000), even though many women continue to make efforts to create this "ideal family," the conventional family structure substantially supports the gendered labor relations in the food production and distribution chain, the

structure of many families is the traditional family, and women's service to their families reinforces women's subservience and liability to other family members' entitlement. Furthermore, married women may be expected to work on their husband's farm in exchange for an expected token, such as land for their own cultivation, due to the gendered pattern of relationships in most African nations, including Nigeria (Moore and Vaughan 1993). A lot of the times the token could be mere leftovers from farm proceed which does not commensurate the efforts put in by the women. Gender inequality is so entrenched into gender roles and has been stereotyped in many processes in interactions (Alexander *et al.*, 2021).

However, few efforts call attention to women's underprivileged positions in the agrifood system, as account of some women farmers shows that they are ignored or treated respectfully by other farmers, family members, and agricultural professionals (Barndt, 1999; Dolan, 2004). Gender issues are essential in the attainment of development goals and poverty reduction as it plays important role in Development Goals (Quisumbing and McClafferty, 2006). Gender and labour relations also determine household security, wellbeing of the family, food production and many other aspects of rural life (Frischmuth, 1997).

Patriarchy is a feature of the African society which helps pronounced social differentiation based on sex and gives the male an edge over the female in terms of access to material assets (Nwokocha, 2007; Makama, 2013). Patriarchy has led to social challenges in marriage which encourages the marginalisation of women, (Inyabri, *et al* 2022). A typical African woman, according to Adepoju (1994), is probably the least privileged, illiterate, with limited access to resources, and subject to prejudice and segregation in both the formal and informal sectors. In addition, Beneria (2003) states that discrimination against women is prevalent, particularly in developing nations, in the areas of economic prospects, access to social and productive resources, education, health status, and family decision making.

Patriarchy is a vast network or system of hierarchical structure that permeates all sectors of life where a majority of upper positions in society are predominated by men, (Okpe,

2005). Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF, 2002) also noted that Nigeria like many other African countries is primarily a patriarchal society where all kinds of authority are vested in the man and gender relations are based on the male's point of view; hence, the marginalization of women.

In other words, the issue of patriarchy and gender relation cuts across local and regional boundaries in all spheres of interactions and is enshrined in the cultural practices of the people, sustained by various cultural practices. Additionally, it was pointed out by (Trauger and Sachs, 2006; Aderinto, 2001) that the patriarchal structure of many cultures has been dependent on women's incapacity to increase their agricultural capacity due to a lack of access to loans and other resources to enhance their well-being. Since all human pursuits, whether agricultural or not, whether direct or indirect, depend on access to and ownership of land, it is crucial for agricultural food production. According to statistics, women in Nigeria often own less land than males do because of traditional authority, gender-biased cultural practices that are codified as patriarchy, and other factors (Chikaire, *et al.*, 2010).

According to 'Gender in Nigeria' (2012), report by the British Council, women own 4 per cent of land in the North-East, and just over 10percent in the South-East and South-South, it was reported that less than 10percent of Nigerian women own land. It is obvious that the cultural environment is largely at play in the determination of how land is appropriated along gender lines and this is largely to the disadvantage of the women. African cultural environment and its enshrined cultural practices work against women access and capacities and when women capacities are undermined, this lead to low productivity and inability to contribute to the welfare of the family and the society at large.

Adeyemo *et al*, (2010), states marriage is the sole means by which African women gain access to land and the means to work upon it and because land is passed down through inheritance it becomes a challenge for women assess to land. Consequently, in a male dominated society as Nigeria, land acquisition and access may only be possible based on either marriage to a man, inheritance from a man or access may be completely denied. By

implication, unmarried women who want to go into agriculture or other related activities centred on land ownership and access might have been strategically cut off access.

Ega (1991), also report that it is not common for a woman to inherit her husband's property but the property can be held in trust for her male children if she has one, or the land will be transferred to her husband's people. Again, the socio-cultural practices as inheritance right in Africa to which Nigeria is not an exception is another major challenge to women's access to land, women who do not have children for their deceased husband who owned a piece of land may not have an automatic access to farm the land after the demise of the husband because of the established, enshrined cultural practices.

Even though the Nigerian constitution guarantees that men and women have equal chances, women still have restricted access to resources and are forced into jobs that are only moderately productive (World Bank, 2002). Bruce and Lloyd (1991), stated that the modern state has failed to adequately address inequality in access to land in spite of the role that land plays in the lives of the women who are increasingly responsible for running and maintaining households, particularly in developing countries. Thus, lack of land ownership and accessibility significantly determines women's position in relations to men in terms of socioeconomic interactions and decision making in food production and distribution process.

2.1.3 Social Relations and Children Participation in Food Production and Distribution

According to the World Bank (2022), 160million children are in child labor which is inimical to growth. Like other developing Nations, Nigeria economy is characterized by small- scale farmers with farm sizes averaging less than 4 hectare, who are challenged by lack of financial capacity to operate commercial farms, and so result to the use of family labour which compose mainly their wives, children and relatives (ILO, 2016). Adekola *et al* (2005), also corroborated the statement that the farm size and the farming capacity will lead to children involvement by the farmers. Both developed and developing nations use child labor in agriculture. This practice is linked to rural poverty and the insecure living conditions of rural families, since the majority of child laborers are unpaid family

members (ILO, 2010). In other words, the tendency of parents involving their children on the farm depends on the farm size since the majority of the farmers' farm on subsistence level which is largely based on manual labour.

Children play a variety of roles in agriculture, according to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA, 2001; Bequele and Boyden, 1988), and their contributions are seen as contributions to family income levels or overall productivity, as well as a way to help children develop a sense of cultural identity and better understand indigenous knowledge practices. Worldwide statistics show that 60% of all children in the 5 to 17 age range who work as child laborers do so on farms, which translates to more than 129 million boys and girls. This practice violates children's rights by jeopardizing the health and education of the young and creates a barrier to sustainable agricultural development and food security (ILO, 2010).

Children are valued in the African context not only as a gift from God but also as a resource for farm work and other economic activities, even when their labor is not rewarded financially. This value is based on an economic justification, as noted by (Caldwell, 1976; Olusanya, 1987), who noted that parents have many children because they financially benefit from them. The participation of children in agriculture and food production is not always dangerous, as some farming operations are non-hazardous. However, such activities have positive effects since it enhances inter-generational transfer of technical and social skills and promotes children food security, which was supported by (ILO, 2014). According to (UNICEF, 2006), traditionally, children have worked with their families, learning skills that they would need as adults.

Although, a lot of international issues has been raised on child labor, but the question here is, are these children's contribution to farm work seen as child labor in Africa? The debates on whether the works children do on the farm should be classified as home training or child labor, looking at the positive contributions of children to farm works raises the issues on appropriate boundaries particularly in a developing, rural clime as Nigeria where a staggering 15million children under the age 14 are working across the country, (UNICEF, 2005). In the light of this, (Adedoyin, 2005), defined child work as

comprising those activities carried out by a child that positively contribute to the production of a family or a business or to the family's public benefits and that the child regards as involving some sacrifice. The issue of what work constitute child labour in Nigeria is a complex phenomenon influenced by cultural practices and the situation of the economy.

Evidence from empirical studies has demonstrated the intricacy of the problem of child labor in Nigeria. In their study, Albert *et al.* (2014) discovered that cultural factors such as passing down farming knowledge and skills from generation to generation, preparing kids for independence in the future, exposing kids to the complexities of life, and passing down norms and values to kids were the main justifications given by parents for involving kids in food production activities.

According to Adedoyin and Torimiro (1998), the majority of these farm children are socialized into these activities as early as age four, therefore the involvement is also done at extremely young ages. Adisa and Adekunle (2007), on the other hand, observed that most farm families in Nigeria start exposing their children to agricultural work at a young age in order to provide relief from demanding farm work and to have successors in their jobs. Also, these children are to participate in all aspects of agricultural activities based on their sex as noted by Ajoke *et al* (2011). These practices are further established from parlanes like ' *kekere ni imale ti nko omo re laso* (literally, the Muslims teaches the Roth education to their wards from tender age", *kekere la ti npe eka iroko* (literally, one prunes the branches of the iroko tree from tender age) among the Yoruba speaking people of the Southwest in Nigeria.

Parents also view children's participation in agriculture and food production activities as a means of passing on customs, tradition, the norms, values and culture of various communities to younger generations so that these norms, values and culture may remain preserved and not lost. Many parents have found comfort in the involvement of their children in farming and food production activities as a result of the high poverty prevalence in Nigerian (Albert, *et al*, 2014).

2.1.4 Apprenticeship Systems and Practices in Food Production and Distribution

Apprenticeship basically has to do with learning of skills and trade from a skilled, knowledgeable and experienced individual in a specialized field. Apprenticeship is usually a contractual and consensual arrangements and agreement between a willing trainer and a willing learner. Apprenticeship affords a new learner an opportunity to inculcate the norms, values, processes and procedures involved in a particular line of trade.

In the words of Adeyeye (2009) and Omole (2004), apprenticeship entails a formalised relationship between a master craftsman and a trainee. The master craftsman who is certified formally or informally accepts to impart knowledge to a trainee who is an intended entrant into a new trade. Invariably, apprenticeship is a method of knowledge transfer. Apprenticeship also allows a learner to learn on a job through observation and participation. Apprenticeship is an age-long practice of engaging the young and old in the intricacies of success in trades, family businesses and crafts.

Invariably, apprenticeship system performs a latent function of preserving lineage trades, customs and cultural norms and values. The intention to preserve cultural values is also one of the reasons for succession in family businesses and trades.

➤ Apprenticeship as a tool of economic and cultural value transfer system

The primary goal of apprenticeship scheme whether formal or informal is to transfer skill and technical know-how to the trainee. People benefit from apprenticeship by receiving training and finding gainful employment (Adeyeye, Falola, Waribo and Akinbode, 2015). In Nigeria, as in other African countries, most people have traditionally acquired their skills, knowledge and attitudes from outside official educational settings (Haan, 2006). In Nigeria, young people participate in apprentice training as a means of developing their skills and abilities to find jobs (Atuwokiki, 2013). Fajobi, Olatujoye, Amusa and Adedoyin (2017) states apprenticeship is a significant active engagement in economic activities. Over the years, apprenticeship has been one of the main methods of bridging the skills gaps.

➤ **Apprenticeship as a tool of job creation**

Nigeria has a large youth population, with an alarming rate of unemployment. Nigeria has one of the highest rates of young people who are out of work in the world (Fajobi, Olatujoye, Amusa and Adedoyin (2017).

The contract of apprenticeship is intended to promote employment and entrepreneurship which will enhance personal income, and contribute to the development and expansion of the national economy (Achugo and Chigbo, 2014). The need for training new entrants in trades and business is to ensure the new trainees have a job and not dependent on the government and can equally provide a means of employment to others. Similarly, Obi and Agha (2012), posits that creation of new enterprises through apprenticeship creates new businesses, and new businesses, in turn, create new jobs, increased competition, and higher productivity.

Many nations depend on job creation to maintain their social order, thus the government and its agencies make an effort to find employment for their population. Over time, it has become clear that the government cannot produce all the employment required to employ people, so private individuals must use a variety of strategies to create job possibilities. In Nigeria, it is the best way to acquire informal skills. According to Fajobi, Olatujoye, Amusa, and Adedoyin (2017), apprenticeship in the unorganized sector is very common in Nigeria; it accounts for about 85% of skill training and transfer in most regions of the nation, which provides jobs through knowledge acquisition and skill development. The apprenticeship contract is intended to foster entrepreneurship and job creation that will increase personal income, and foster development (Achugo and Chigbo, 2014).

Apprenticeship is a framework of earning some income in the short-run and invariably a business venture in the long run. It is estimated that the informal sector created 93% of new jobs in sub-Saharan Africa during the 1990s (Sparks and Barnett, 2010). Other studies attest to the rate of rural-urban migration across all frontiers globally and this trend is a major contributor to the continuous supply of apprentices in urban areas where

the new migrants receive training through apprenticeship (Haan, 2006; Walther, 2013). In the trend of apprenticeship, women are notable and significant segment of the informal economy (Williams and Martinez.2014).

➤ **Gender Parity in Apprenticeship Arrangements in Yam Flour Production and Distribution**

Women are a major constituent of the informal economy in Nigeria due to some cultural factors as traditional myth of no need to educate a girl child and their dual role in managing the home front. The informal workforce consist of about 50.3% of women as workers engaged in informal sector business in Nigeria and correlate with several studies showing women as active players in the informal sector (NBS, 2010). Apprenticeship remains one of the most commonly used means of capacity building, knowledge transfer and training in most informal sector settings (Haan, 2006; Ainley and Rainbird, 2014). This informal mode of training has been used to pass down business skills and empowerment from one generation to the next generation. The apprenticeship model has proven reliable and beneficial in developing social network for business and nurturing new and graduating apprenticeship through their chosen business life cycle.

In yam production and distribution chain, women play prominent role in the effective and efficient production and distribution of yam flour. The women largely dominates the marketing cluster on the chain.

2.1.5 Succession as a tool of Economic and Cultural Value Transfer System

Succession is an enduring process of engagements in multiple activities (Handler, 1994; Sharma, *et al*, 2003, Parrish, 2009). There has been various studies in line with how trades are succeeded in Nigeria and the various factors that contributes to succession. According to Longenecker and Schoen (1978), training for successors happens throughout childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Their main argument is as follows: "Family successors are gradually prepared for leadership through a lifetime of learning experience. Parent-child succession in the leadership of a family-controlled business entails a long-term diachronic process of socialization. Ogundele *et al*. (2012) in a study

on trade succession challenges identified the multi-cultural nature and succession rules as the main obstacles to smooth succession in trades. It was also noted that the ambiguity of the current succession regulations are detrimental to succession because they are ambiguous.

On the other hand, Obadan and Ohiorenoya (2013) discovered that the majority of small firms or trades lack a succession plan and do not take the competency and aptitude of successors into account when making decisions about succession. Similar findings were made by Onuoha (2013), who discovered that inadequate succession planning is frequently a result of the health of the trader, the lack of interest on the part of the potential successor, ignorance of the details of succession planning, and worry about managerial error. Sardeshmukh and Corbett (2011), also examined successors understanding of succession as an opportunity recognition in family enterprise, and found education, and work experience as major factors of perception of succession as an opportunity.

In a similar vein, Musa and Semasinghe (2014) discovered that the majority of business founders neglected to plan for succession because of concern for losing control of the company to subordinates or successors. Inheritance disputes among family members also work against the continuation of family businesses. Similar to this, Lam (2009) stated that the topic of succession is crucial because family businesses cessation can be harmful and devastating because it could result in the loss of employees and family assets. Lorna (2011), asserted that family businesses account for a sizable amount of employment in many countries, it is crucial to consider family company continuity when planning for succession.

The grooming of the potential successor, however, is a crucial step in the succession process that is required to make sure the successor is qualified and experienced enough to take over the company (Fiegenger, *et al.*, 1996; Sharma, *et al.*, 2003). Many academics have recognized the importance of early grooming in the succession process as a key method of passing on specialized knowledge that is crucial to the growth and upkeep of the company from a founder to a successor (Cabrera-Suarez, *et al.*, 2001).

2.2. Value Chain operations in Food Production and Distribution

Food value chain is the systematic organisation of food and food products from the producers to the consumers. Farmers and other players in the production and distribution chain strategically collaborate with one another along the food value chain. This is because through the activities of production, processing, storage, marketing, distribution and consumption, food products passes through the actors of every production cycle to the end users (Downs and Fanzo, 2016; Gomez and Ricketts, 2013).

Value chains are important path in the production and distribution of food, as noted by (Hawkes, 2013) when he stated that value chain is becoming a highly important component in development of agricultural landscape. According to Adam, Tropp, Barham, Muldoon, Kiraly, and Cantrell (2014), value is obtained in the manufacturing and distribution of food and food products as a result of the efficiency brought about by the actors in the chain working together as effectively as possible to make different products available to consumers based on demand. Availability of products to consumers is only made possible based on designing, marketing and distribution strategies from the start to the final delivery of products and services (Harrison, 2019; Tardi, 2020).

The food value chain must be sustainable in order to improve food systems. A sustainable food value chain is defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization (2014) as "the entire range of farms, firms, and successfully coordinated activities that add value from the production of raw agricultural produce to transformed food products sold to the final consumers and disposed of after consumption in a profitable manner that is beneficial to the society without permanently depleting natural resources."

Recently, local value chains have received less attention recently while the global value chain has received greater attention. In many studies, the Global Value Chains are seen as crucial to getting the intended results (Helmsing, Sietze, 2011). According to (Melle, 2007; Kaplinsky and Morris, 2000), the value chain is "a full range of activities that are required to bring a product or service from conception, through different phases of production, delivery to final consumers, and final disposal after use." Michael Porter's view of the global value chain served as the foundation for these definitions and

perspectives. On the other hand, Miller and Jones (2010) define the value chain as the entire spectrum of tasks and parties involved in transferring agricultural products from input suppliers to farmers' fields, to producers, and finally, to consumers.

These definitions implies that all production, distribution activities are incomplete without the human participants, since value chains aim to produce value added products or services for a market, by transforming raw materials into consumable products within a given context. According to Getachew (2012), a value chain is an economic unit of analysis for a specific good or collection of related goods that are connected vertically or horizontally through market interactions. Value chain promotion is a successful strategy for building rural-urban links, according to the Eastern and Central Africa Programme for Agricultural Policy study (ECAPAPA, 2006), and the notion offers a helpful analytical framework for market and sub-sector study.

In a bid to buttress the necessity of the human factor in the production and distribution activities (Ahmed, 2007), refers to a value chain as “a structure of physical, economic and social transactions between individuals or organizations engaged in the transformation of raw materials into end products’. Value chain is generally based on human interactions as a result of the links between actors and the production and distribution activities. Iddi, *et al*, (2018), explained that value chains encompass all phases of the technical production process as well as the interactions that take place within them. This buttresses the view that activities on the chain are not void of human interactions as interactions are embedded in the chain activities. Various works has been done in the area of food value chain, these works include among others: (Damulak, 2012), study of The Yam Value Chain, (Trienekens 2011), Agricultural Value Chains in Developing Countries (Philip *et al*, 2013), Yam value chain analysis, and (Phiri *et al*, 2013), Lake Malawi Fish Value Chain among others.

2.2.1 Yam Flour Production and Distribution Chain

Since the turn of the millennium, it has been widely acknowledged that the informal sector is a significant and growing feature of the modern global economy (Charmes,

2009; Schneider, 2008; Feige and Urban 2008; ILO 2002, Rodgers and Williams 2009) as actors in this sector are primarily responsible for food production and distribution.

Food availability is a function of food production, stock holding and food marketing, hence food distribution and marketing has been a major challenge to the rural food producers who cannot get their produce to the market at the right time and to the right places and people, (Olayemi, 1982; Von Braun *et al.*, 1992). Ladele and Ayoola (1997), noted that the involvement of rural people in food marketing could improve the livelihood of the rural populace, enhance their economic, social well-being and improve food security at all levels.

Yam is a significant staple food in Nigeria and most of the yam produced around the globe comes from Nigeria, which makes the country the 'highest producer and exporter of yam worldwide followed by Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire (FAO, 2010). According to studies by Ayodeji, Olabanji, and Adeyeri (2012), Ibana *et al.* (2009), Somorin, Bankole, Omemu, and Atanda (2011), and the United States Agency for International Development (2016), Nigeria, the world's greatest producer of yam, produces at least 66 percent of the world's yam production. Yam production is very significant in Africa and other continents. This is because Africa produces 97 percent yam products in the world and this has made over five million people in countries where yam is produced to depend directly on yam value chain for food livelihoods and security (Mignouna, *et al.*, 2020). The production of yam is one of the profitable businesses in Nigeria as over 30% cultivate yam primarily as revenue despite its costly production. This has attracted farmers in Nigeria to become yam producers and this has resulted to the country being the number one producer of yam in the world with about 68% global production of yam (AgriBiz, 2017; Damulak, 2012; Odunze, 2019; Ufondu, Maziya-Dixon and Okonkwo, 2021).

The farmed yams can only stay for a limited period of time before it begins to rot due to the presence of moist in it, but the life span of yam can be enhanced through processing from one form to another. Yam value chain has become important to food security and safety, since there is increased post-harvest losses due to inefficient harvesting and post harvesting handling practice, inappropriate or ineffective technology used for food

processing, poor transportation, lack of storage facilities and poor market practices (Ayodeji, Olabanji and Adeyeri, 2012).

The transformation of this yam from one form to another other help reduce post-harvest wastage (Olutayo, 2005). It may also help curb food insecurity and provide employment opportunities to the stakeholders in the production value chain through its various value chain activities. Asides, the moisture content of yam which could lead to yam rot, the need for value addition is also due to the rapid rate of urbanization, high demand for nutritious food, expansion of processing and packaging industries and the emergence of instant food markets.

Yams like other food crops are susceptible to many diseases at any stage from planting to post harvest (Somorin, Bankole, Omemu and Atanda, 2011). To prevent the perishability of yam it is then processed into powdery form as flour. The production of yam flour is a means of protecting yam tubers to make it possible for storage especially during it off season so as to reduce loss, transportation and marketing costs (Abiodun and Akinoso, 2015). Yam flour is one of the processed results of yam which is favoured in West Africa especially among the Yoruba in Nigeria known as *Amala* (Akissoe, 2001; Babajide, 2006). According to (IITA, 2003), processed yams can be conveniently kept in storage for at least 12-18 months in the absence of moisture.

In the production of yam flour, value chains are crucial as they consist of links that perform ranges of activities at different stages such as production, processing, packaging and distribution. Each value chain activity is unique as they perform roles that are indispensable to sustainable food production and supply. These chain activities are supportive to one another and results to efficient and successful output. Food value chains are deemed successful, effective, and beneficial to producers and distributors alike when they provide benefits based on value addition to a product that are both financial and social in nature, according to Adam *et al*, (2014). To improve financial returns through the differentiation of products that promote environmental and social values, actors in the agricultural value chain that produce food work together strategically with other actors, including distributors (wholesalers and retailers), processors, and consumers.

The first step in understanding and analysing a production and distribution chain is mapping out of the core processes and activities in the chain (Mmasa and Msuya, 2011). There are different operations within the yam flour production value chain. This includes the input stage, production stage, packaging and transportation stage, wholesale and retail stage and the processing stage (AgriBiz, 2017; Damulak, 2012).

➤ Input stage

This stage of production includes the seedling and the use of technical equipment necessary for producing a particular product (Iddi *et al*, 2018). This input stage includes the use of fertilizers, crop protection products, machinery irrigation equipment and credit insurance to ensure the efficient cultivation and harvest of crops (KPMG, 2013).

➤ Production stage

This is the stage whereby the yam is planted grown and cultivated. Factors put into consideration by actors at this stage are soil type, temperature, planting materials, planting methods, crop management and pest and diseases management (AgriBiz, 2017). The machines used in the production of yam include the yam seed, labour, land, land preparation equipment, agricultural chemicals and staking materials (Iddi *et al*, 2018).

➤ Handling and storing stage

After harvesting, yam produce are either stored or prepared and packed for transportation. Due to the seasonal nature of yam produce storage becomes an important part of the chain activities, but adequate storage system is lacking (Akangbe, Oloruntoba, Ayanda and Komolafe, 2012). For efficient storage of yam produce, healthy yams must be selected, properly protected from rain and direct sunlight, proper preservation with fungicide treatment and proper ventilation system. Most yams may be consumed if the production is at a subsistence level but when production is on a large scale, there is a need for adequate processing for durability.

➤ Processing stage

Generally, the activities of food processes input value to agricultural products and it is notable that in the manufacturing sector, it has the highest multiplier of economics (Hansen and Mullinix, 2021). Food production processes can be done in either of these two ways, these are the local and modern ways of processing (Damulak, 2012). The local method of processing is done in the market locally with a dry grinding machine, measured and sold with a small bowl while the modern method requires the purchase of yams in large quantities, formal registration, proper packaging and standards. There are different types of yam flour in Nigeria: yam flour popularly known as ‘*èlùbò*’ and pounded yam flour, known as ‘poundo yam, starch, and flake. In the processing stage of yam flour production, there are different operation activities. To produce *èlùbò*, the processes involve harvesting, sorting, washing, peeling (steam, mechanical and chemical peeling), slicing, soaking, blanching, drying, milling, bagging and packaging (Abiodun and Akinoso, 2015; Oluwalana, Oladeji and Bello, 2019). The processes involved in yam flour are summarized as follows

Sorting: This is the selection of good yams from the spoilt ones after harvesting the yams.

Washing: The selected tubers of yam are properly washed and drained to remove dirt from the yams.

- Peeling: This is a process of removing the outer skin of the yam. Yam peeling can be mechanical or chemicalised. The mechanical method involves peeling of yam tubers with equipment such as rotary laid mounted rim peelers, abrasive peelers.
 - Slicing: this is done after the yams are peeled and washed. Slicing is cutting the yams tubers into smaller bits.
 - Soaking: After the yam tubers have been cut into smaller flakes, it is then parboiled
 - Drying: After the yam is been soaked, it is then dried to reduce the moisture in the yam chips, and to also preserve the freshness and quality of the yam.
 - Milling: The dried flakes are then grounded into fine and smooth powder.
- Packaging: The powdery yam flour is then packaged in sacks or nylons.

➤ Packaging stage

The aim of packaging is to prevent yam produce from damage during transportation and storage (ArigBiz, 2017). Packaging materials includes nylon and plastic bags. But, before food products can move to packaging stage, it must *meet all* the requirement of food safety (Vaspia, 2021). After the processed yams are packed, then it is taken to the warehouse, where the wholesalers/retailers and the final consumer can have access to it (Damulak, 2012).

➤ Distribution stage/Wholesale and Retail

According to Hansen and Mullinix (2021) the distribution stage includes all the activities from the producers, retailers to the consumers. It is further explained that the distribution stage involves the equipment, people and the networks involved in the transportation of food products from storage, aggregation and processing facilities to places it will be purchased and consumed. After yam produce are transported, they are distributed to the necessary wholesalers and retailers. These distributors add value to the food item by managing inventories, selling food items and reducing costs. The wholesalers most of the time do not necessarily sell to the final consumer. The wholesalers consist of middlemen and traders who sell in large quantities to either processors or retailers (Damulak, 2012). Sometimes they sell to processors who turn the raw farm produce to finished goods. The products are sold to retailers who in turn sell to the final consumers. The retailer most of the time bring the yam produce to the final consumers.

➤ Transportation stage

The transportation of yam produce is an important part of distribution process. After yam produce is packed and processed or even in its raw form, it is then shipped to its final destination. Sometimes, yam produce are sold and bought directly from the farm. Farmers can also choose the place they want to sell.

➤ Consumption stage

This is the stage where the produced products are directly utilized by the direct users. This is where yam products are consumed and disposed after use. In Africa and Nigeria yam produced can be consumed by boiling, frying, pounding and roasting.

It is a complex and lifelong exercise to study the social relations embedded in food production, distribution and marketing chains. In order to have an adequate understanding of the social interactions in food production-distribution chain, a local food chain of yam flour was studied to give insights into the interactions that are intricately implicated in social relations as it affects food (in)security, inclusive rural development and sustainable development. A study as this is necessary since achieving a food secure society is presently one of the major issues facing Nigeria and elsewhere in West Africa (Irohibe, Agwu, 2014).

2.2.1.1 Actors of Value Chain Operations in Yam Flour Production and Distribution

In whole system of food production and distribution entails a lot of value adding activities among various actors in the process of production, processing, distribution, consumption and disposing of food products. The actors in the yam flour value chain play crucial role in yam flour production and distribution. For efficiency and effectiveness actors must collaborate with one another. In yam production and distribution, major actors include farmers, transporters, wholesalers, retailers, input suppliers, processors, regulatory agencies, financial institutions, importers/exporters and consumers (Ghanamma, 2012). The major actors in yam value chain are only slightly different from the actors in the yam flour value chain.

Farmers/Producers

At the production level, farmers activities are crucial and fundamental in yam value chain. They are the ones that plants, cultivates, harvest and make yam available as raw material for further value adding activities. This actor can be small, individual, middle or big sized owners. In the long supply chains, farmers are usually one of the actors that are

often pressurized by other players in the value chain by losing purchasing power over enormous suppliers and buyers and also the freedom to select what, how and for whom to grow (World Farmers organization, 2019). The prices at which farmers will sell their farm products are largely dictated by market forces of demand and supply. Ibana, Odoemena, Akintola, Ihedioha and Paul (2009) noted that farmers sell their produce many actors ranging from retailers, wholesalers, collector agents and other farmers directly.

Being a farmer/producer comes with numerous challenges, as farmers are challenged in the course of production and distribution. Some of the challenges are high cost of production, financial constraint among others. According to Kleih, Phillips, Mignouna, Ogbonna and Siwoku (2012), farmers, producers and marketers lack support from the government, capital for the expansion of business, high cost of transportation and inaccessible roads especially during rainy periods.

Processors

The processors are the ones who transform raw yam produce to finished products. Yam produce can be processed into different forms, such as yam flour which is later consumed as *amala* or *poundo* yam which is instant pounded yam. Odunze (2019) confirmed that in Nigeria, 90% of yams produced are processed to food, 10% is for industrial production purpose and less than 1% is exported. In Nigeria, yam flour is widely consumed.

Bill and Melinda (2014), notes that there are the different categories of processors. In Nigeria, these processors are broadly classified into formal and informal.

Formal processors

Formal processors operate on a relatively mechanized scale. Their operations require formal certifications from authorized agency like National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). They process yam products into yam flour, pounded yam flour, yam chunks and yam fries.

Informal processors

These processors produce more manually or they use locally made simple implements in production. In Oyo state, there are farm families who process yam produce to large amount of yam flour and yam flakes during the dry season. In Nigeria, yam flour producers are mostly situated in the Southwest of the country, especially Oyo and Kwara state.

It is also worthy to note that food processors are faced with numerous challenges which include lack of funds, lack of good water supply, high cost of yam, inconsistent supply chain, high cost of equipment and machinery, weak distribution networks, high cost of power supply, and high cost of registration and delayed certification from NAFDAC. Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2014) added that the processing level of agricultural produce is very low due to time consuming procedure of regulatory policies, unfavourable government policies, inaccessibility to good roads, lack of good quality water, inconsistent power supply, inadequate distribution and marketing channels and harsh business environment.

Input suppliers

These actors are small, medium or big sized business organization (Iddi *et al*, 2018). These are the suppliers of farm implements needed for the cultivation and growing of yam produce. The inputs include light and heavy machinery such as hoes, cutlasses, tractors, ploughs, insecticides, pesticides, fertilizer and herbicides. KPMG International (2013) explained that the supplies of input is to ensure that the potentials of crops are genetically set by providing them with the necessary nutrients to grow and improve the effective cultivation and harvest of crops to provide services in form of credit and insurance for farmers and producers.

Transporters

These actors are involved in the movement of yam produce from the farms and processing points to the point of distribution to final consumers across the country. Rural-

urban food transportation across the country is not void of challenges as transport operators are faced with challenges as bad roads, multiple fare payment as dues and haulage permits, illegal tips of security personnel when goods are in transit. Also, vehicles get warred out because of bad and dilapidated roads and high tax rate.

Wholesalers and retailers

Wholesalers are involved in food distribution across the country. In the value chain operations, wholesalers act as market intermediaries by selling in smaller bits to retail customers and consumers. They purchase food products in large quantities from the farmers and resell in smaller quantities to retailers or processors. Retailers in turn sell in smaller quantities to consumer. Wholesalers and retailers are challenged with high cost of transportation, bad roads, lack of credit facilities, inadequate storage

Regulatory Agencies

These are food regulatory bodies that ensure the standardization and the improvement of food products for safe consumption. Ezirigwe (2018) noted that food safety is ensured only with effective establishment, regulation and control of food products for the protection of the quality of food for consumption both globally and locally. They monitor and regulate the activities of actors in food value chains in food production through policies. These agencies are either governmental or non-governmental organizations. These bodies include National Agency for Food Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), Standards Organization of Nigeria (SON), Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD), National Policy on Food Hygiene and Safety (NPFS) and so on. Regulatory agencies are challenged with lack of laboratories, poor equipment, poor monitoring and evaluation of food products and sub-standard regulatory standards. Odunze (2019), noted that yam produce potential has not been maximized in the export market because Nigerian sector has not been able to meet up with the standard quality requirement in the international market.

Financial Institutions

In Nigeria, there are institutions enacted to support farmers, some of these institutions include banks, micro finance institutions, private institutions like FADAMA and government owed agricultural institutions. These institutions provide loans to actors in the value chain. There are also various private financial institutions that give agricultural loans with interest.

Importers/Exporters

Global and local food production has rapidly grown beyond meeting subsistence or household consumption need to a more complex need to take food across local and international borders. For food to be available in countries where they are not produced based on demand, food production and distribution actors take up the task of local and global distribution through importation and exportation. Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2014) noted that in Nigeria these actors are relatively few but are very important part of yam value chain. In Nigeria, export activities are regulated by the Nigerian Export Promotion Council (NEPC) and others.

Consumers

They are the final users of yam produce. Iddi *et al* (2018) noted that although consumers do not partake in any activity in the production process of yam produce nor add value, they are not exclusive from the chain because they are the driving force of the total process. These actors determine the amount, quality and the kind of yam products.

2.2.1.2 Constraints to Yam Flour Production and Distribution

According to studies by (Ayanwuyi *et al.*, 2011; Kleih *et al.*, 2012), low soil fertility, bad road networks, and a high cost of labor, among other factors, limit the maximum production and distribution of yam flour. One of the main obstacles to the manufacturing of yams and yam products has been the high cost of labor. Smallholder yam farmers have been unable to increase productivity due to it (Ayanwuyi *et al.*, 2011; Kleih *et al.*, 2012). These various constraints largely after yam production which in turn affects other

secondary and by-products of yam. In situations where farmers have no capacity to overcome these constraints, then there is low output and productivity. Also, poor and healthy relationships among the various actors on the production and distribution chain also largely contributes to low productivity of yam and yam by-products.

2.3 Food (In)security and Sustainability in Developing Countries

Food insecurity and hunger are age-old issues that continue to this day, despite the fact that there is enough food produced globally to feed everyone adequately (Stringer, 2000). The need to pay attention to local food systems, particularly in developing countries, arises from the growing understanding among nations that the problem of food security transcends national borders, spreading hunger, instability, environmental disaster, and social threats throughout the region and around the world (Stringer, 2000).

Global emphasis has recently been placed on the need to end food insecurity and hunger everywhere (Babatunde, Omotesho, and Sholotan, 2007), particularly in underdeveloped nations where persistent chronic hunger and malnutrition still exist. According to Gomatee, Waseem, and Ashraf (2013), food insecurity is mostly caused by unemployment and poverty in many nations, particularly in rural regions. Nigeria is no different. In particular for the disadvantaged rural residents who are prone to misfortune, food production is a prerequisite for eliminating hunger and guaranteeing food security.

Increased food production is the cornerstone for alleviating local and global food shortages and insecurity, so it is imperative to note what food security is, and what food insecurity connotes, what various factors can cause insecurity and probable way forward.

Globally, food security has a complex definition but a few of the definitions and the various dimensions to the definitions will be looked into. At the 1974 world food summit, food security was defined as, “availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuff to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices” (UN,1975). Although, the definition of food security was given it was largely with some short comings, the definition considered only global availability neglecting the local level availability, neglecting the fact that food

flows from the bottom up and not the other way round, forgetting only a local security can translate to a global security. This definition like others have hinged the issue of food security largely on the issue of availability and access as lot of policies focuses attention on food availability in the past but (Sen, 1981; Webb *et al.* 2006), called attention from the thought to a need to focus on the access dimension faced by millions of people, household and individuals.

Empirical evidences have shown that although availability is important, access is of a greater essence (Sen, 1981; Ravallion, 1987; Dreze and Sen, 1989; Dreze and Sen 1990; Ravallion 1997). The access of households and individuals depends largely on access to resources, technology, markets, social networks, social institutions, social structures, and government programs.

By 2001, the definition of food security evolved to, “a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO 2002). The definitions keep changing after a look at compatibility of policies with the realities, hence the need to look at the various dimensions to food security.

➤ **Dimensions of Food Security**

Food availability: the initial focus was on ensuring that sufficient quantities of appropriate kinds of food were available from domestic sources, imports, or donor sources (FAO, 2003; Webb *et al.* 2006). The focus global focus was on removing constraints to food availability, availability is important though, but it is not enough to get food to the table of final consumers.

Food access: The focus shifted to the ability of households to obtain food in the market place or from other sources (Webb *et al.* 2006). Accessibility is largely dictated by having physical access to a place where food is available economically or socially. It is important to note that in many developing countries, the availability and access dimensions of food

security are strongly linked as access is ensured by either economic viability or social attachment to network of production.

Food utilization/consumption: This third aspect of food security speaks to the proper usage of food and includes processing, storage, and consumption. The means of transforming food from one form to the other affects nutritional value and the health of the individuals consuming the food which affects the ability to absorb and use nutrients. In developing countries, the attention is less on utilization while the focus is more on the availability, access and stability.

Stability of access: The fourth aspect of food security addresses the stability of household access to nutritious food. Food stability takes place when consumers have access to enough food at all times, food stability can, therefore refer to both availability and accessibility (FAO, 2006).

➤ **Food security and its determinants in Nigeria**

Food security and food production are closely related in a country like Nigeria with a very large rural and agrarian population; therefore, factors that affect the agricultural industry also have direct impacts on food security. In Nigeria, researches have established some factors that can pose threats to food security and sustainable development; (Akinyosoye, 2005; Adejoh, 2009; Idumah, 2006), notes land and water related factors such as pollution, desertification, and erosion climatic factors, while (Egwuda, 2001; Ojo, 2005; Adejoh 2009; Peke, 2008), found scarcity and high cost of quality inputs as a threat to food production and food security, (Adewuyi, 2002; Oseni, 2001), asserts that farm management and cropping patterns can also affect food production and threatens food security, also (Fasoranti, 2006; Okafor, 2004, Adewuyi and Okunmadewa 2001; Yusuf *et al.* 2009; Peke, 2008; Adewuyi 2006), noted that inadequate storage and marketing facilities, inadequate extension services, poorly organized rural input, output, financial markets, and substandard rural infrastructure can all affect quality food production, distribution and marketing. Lastly (Adewuyi, 2001; Okafor, 2004, Usman and Ijaiya

2010; Egwuda, 2001; Oviasogie, 2005), all noted that economic policies are of high importance here if food security is to be attained.

In reality researches have shown that Sub-Saharan African countries have made notable progress visible in the food production indexes particularly in the 1990's including Nigeria, yet there is still poor agricultural food production due to droughts, social strife and social unrest, inappropriate rural development policy, overall mismanagement of natural resources and distribution problems (Badiane and Delgado, 1995). It is important to note here that food in the first instance can only be made available when there are stable structures of relation between and among food producers and distributors.

Also, Nigeria like other developing countries has a high rural population who live below the average recommended means of livelihood, that is high poverty rate and high unemployment rate, consequently, the majority of the population cannot afford to access food even it is available. This condition only poses threat to the possibility of ensuring sustainable food and nutritional security in the region. This particularly calls for redefinition of our concern for our own traditional culture, local knowledge and home-made policies based on the peculiarity of the environment without neglecting the global goals.

This was captioned by (Vilakazi, 2002), when he asserts that “Healthy and genuine development policies in Africa must be founded upon the principle and pattern of African civilization; as the greatest cause of distortion of African development policies is that policy makers have crafted development policies for Africa out of the principles and patterns of western civilization”. Nigeria is a populous country with over 218 million people, (UN, 2022) and over 80 percent of the people dwelling in the rural areas live below the poverty line, and agriculture is the mainstay of the economy employing approximately two-thirds of the total labour force and contributing 40percent to the Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (IFAD, 2012).

Oji-Okoro (2011), also noted that the agricultural sector has been an important sector in the Nigerian economy in the past decades, and is still a major sector despite the oil boom. Also, in the 1940s and early 1950s, the country did not have to contend with the issue of

food insecurity, during this period, food produced in Nigeria was not only enough to feed her citizens, but also there was surplus food items to export and yet the environments were not neglected (Ojo and Adebayo, 2012).

A local food system is a collaborative network that integrates sustainable food production, processing, distribution and consumption in order to enhance the environmental, economic and social health of a particular area, (Food First, 2010). Sustainability on the other hand, is described as continuing improvement in human well being, whilst not undermining the natural resource base on which future generations will have to depend (UN, 2004). Indeed, it can be argued that the goal of development is essentially to enable its beneficiaries gain a more effective form of control over their environment (Wackernagel, 2002).

Nevertheless, the complex and subtle analysis of understanding both local and global food production issues, specifically the sustainability and the reactualisation of rural life remained deficiently explored because most scholars lack an appreciation of actor's actions and capacities to negotiate and even extract political and economic benefits for themselves (Marsden *et al*, 1993). Nations will have to work out their own concrete policy implications due to the variations in social, economic, political, geographical peculiarities for irrespective of these differences, sustainable development still remain a global objective (UN, 1987). The concept of sustainable development through sustainable agriculture will remain ever evolving and it is important to identify the basic underlying web of relationship sustaining the actors in food production.

Empirical evidence supports a shift of attention to food production and distribution among the rural populace, for instance, a study of 16 countries by community wealth.org shows that shifting attention to local food production increases food security, environmental health, generated employment and wealth for the local region (Food First, 2010).

2.4 Indigenous Knowledge System and Practices in Sustainable Food Production

All man strives to adapt to their immediate environment whether it is, traditional or modern society. In the course of exploration of the environment for adaptation, discoveries are made and when such discoveries are made and found helpful, such discoveries are then documented if possible or transmitted orally to younger generations, these knowledge are considered by (Pawluk, *et al.*1992) as bodies of knowledge that develop as a certain culture or ethnic group strives to meet subsistence goals in a particular ecological setting, that is indigenous knowledge.

Although it is noted that indigenous knowledge has been difficult to define because of the peculiarity of the origin of the concept, but efforts have been channeled towards its definition and here are some attempts. Serote (2001), sees it as human experiences, organized and ordered into accumulated knowledge with the objective of utilizing it to achieve quality life and create a livable environment for both human and other forms of life. Mishra, (1989) calls it accumulated experience. In the same light (Odhianbo and Jahan, 1990; Osunade, 1992; Warren, 1992), refers to the peculiar knowledge as the local knowledge, which has been institutionalized, built upon and passed from one generation to the next.

From the foresaid, it can be said that indigenous knowledge has as its foundation in culture, so what then is culture and how has indigenous knowledge played out in the various part of the people's culture? Taylor (1972), sees culture as that complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Pawluk, *et al* (1992), stated that culture used here presupposes indigenous knowledge is culture-based. In the same vein, (Otite and Ogionwo, 1981) terms culture as the total way of life of a people. Basically, in the course of exploring the environment men learnt to adapt to the same environment.

Ajibade (1999), submits that indigenous natural resource management techniques are not primitive, destructive or ineffective. Biggs and Clay (1981), also noted that some of the most successful innovations in Asian agriculture have had their origin in traditional

knowledge. Empirical evidence shows the success and sustainability of indigenous knowledge system across the globe, among these includes:

Farming practices-

- Shifting cultivation: this is a practice employed by farmers to help the ground regain its strength after a farming season. Farmers plant on a piece of land for a particular season but will not plant on the same piece of land in the following season in order to allow the ground regain its restoration naturally without any chemical application. For example in Northern Burkina Faso, the people uses zaṛi, a specific agricultural technique to rehabilitate dry land for better cultivation (Reij, 1991).
- Multi-crop: this practice helps the farmer cultivate different kinds of crop on the same piece of land during the same planting season in order to help the ground tap nutrient from the various type of crops planted and helps avoid soil erosion.
- Plant Stalking: farmers traditionally have a system of preserving the seed plant from unprecedented wind when sprouting as they cut tree branches and stalk them beside the sprouting plant to give them support to withstand storms.
- Mulching: this practice helps the farmers manage and preserve the nutrients of the soil for better productivity. Mulching is done particularly during the dry seasons to help the soil retain its nutrients. It is also believed that mulching help with weed control.

Food Production and Preservation:

- Fermentation: some local foods are produced through fermentation, a process which is used to reduce the chemical substance in some foods, this also serves as a preservation method.
- Drying, Roasting, Frying, Salting, all these serves as method of preserving food by the local food producers. African man from time immemorial have always preserved their plant, food and fruits in order to allow them have good food to eat round the year and also have seeds, seedlings to plant for the following planting season. One method of food preservation is the transforming of yam tubers to yam flour(*elubo*) which can stay much longer than the yam because of the dryness and this allows for

food availability round the year and over 96% of the production process of yam flour was done manually by the producers (Adedeji, 2010).

- Sunning: this practice is believed to help with pest management. In order to wade off pest from farm produce some farmers adopt exposing of farm produce to sunlight.
- Leaves: for better and a more durable farm produce, farmers adopt the use of certain leaves in the course of production to better enhance the lifespan of the produce.

2.4.1 Indigenous Practices and Technological Adaptation in Food Production

Man since time immemorial has been known to be a master of his environment through exploration and adaptation to the environment. Unfortunately, the potential contributions of indigenous knowledge to the growth and development of livelihood of the local people is still regarded as backward, conservative, inferior and ineffective, (Kolawole 2001; Titilola 2003). The relegation and lack of regard for the wealth of knowledge possessed by the rural people especially the non-literate rural dwellers have to a large extent contributed to the neglect of indigenous knowledge systems in the process of technology development.

Nigeria like many African countries have been blamed for their rigidity in non-utilization and non-adoption of modern technology developed from modern science (Tripp 1985). The blame emanates from a general assumption that technological advancement will lead to an exponential development in agricultural production, particularly food production. However, the technology development approaches over the years have not reckoned with the wealth of knowledge possessed by the rural dwellers. The presumption that the rural dwellers have no solution to their challenges has largely contributed to the neglect of indigenous knowledge systems in technology development. It is a common ground that technology initiatives are without the involvement, contributions or consent of the rural dwellers (Roling and Pretty 1995). Invariably, agricultural food production technologies are construed and designed as a one size fits it all model without the consideration of variations and the uniqueness of the economic, social, cultural and ecological conditions of the rural environments.

In the words of Rajasekaran (1993), lack of proper integration between technology and indigenous knowledge is a major reason for non-adoption of scientific technology. Ashby, (1998), also noted that the non-adoption and non-utilization of scientific technology and its effective usage has been marred by mismatch between users' knowledge and available technology resulting from lack of research into users knowledge and technology compatibility,

In recent times, concern towards agricultural and sustainable development have given increasing attention to the practices and participation of the rural people in the process of sustainable development. However, indigenous knowledge which is found to be predominant in every environment is underrated in development efforts, particularly in the area of technological design (Phillips and Titilola 1995).

It has become pertinent therefore that scientists and other development practitioners harness rural knowledge through collaborative research to enhance sustainable development and encourage vast technological acceptance.

2.5 Social Construction of Prices and Labour Exchange Value

Pricing

Prices serve as essential compass points for participants in market exchange that enable comparison of a variety of goods and services (Aspers and Beckert 2008; Fourcade 2004; Luhmann 1988). However, the importance of prices extends beyond coordination to association. From the viewpoint of market participants, transaction prices represent the expenses to be incurred or the money generated by a good or service, and are consequently directly related to the creation of income or the distribution of wealth. If prices are anchored in institutions, the social organization of markets, and meaning, then the distribution of wealth is not just a function of inequalities in an actor's economic capacity, but also of the forces that shape market trade. Weber (1978), in his view see prices as the result of conflicts of interest and of agreements among market actors; prices and value thus result from power play. Invariably, prices are dependent on the structure of relationships in the market (Zbaracki, 2004).

The sociological approach to understanding prices as the outcome of conflict between actors taking place within market fields is the sociological vantage point from which price formation is best analysed. In this light, a good point of explanation of prices diverges from the economic narrative of prices as the outcome of individual preferences, but of the social and political forces of market actors' interactions (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Bourdieu 2005; Fligstein 2001). First, it is important to understand that economic activity is "embedded in ongoing networks of personal relationships rather than being carried out by atomized actors" (Granovetter and Swedberg 1992). Prices, in this view, are "dependent on the structures of relationships in the market" (Zbaracki, 2004). In a similar thought, according to Velthuis (2005), prices originate from the transacting actors adhering to established rules rather than appearing out of thin air during market transactions.

Contrary to the fundamental tenet of economic price theory, Beckert (2011) asserted that prices are a function of how deeply ingrained market transactions are in social networks, institutions, and culturally specific frames of meaning. The importance of supply and demand in setting and modifying prices is not being disputed; rather, supply and demand are influenced by political and social factors in market operations as well as by the preferences of individuals in diverse sociocultural contexts. It is imperative to understand prices as the result of negotiations and compromises between transacting actors, as this gives a better sociological view of price formation.

In a study by Beckert, (2011), prices and value formation emanate from various sources which includes; social networks, institutions and cultural meaning.

➤ Prices from network

Pricing done within a network is usually more stable when unregulated and competitive price fixing is negatively sanctioned regardless of who benefited from it- sellers or buyers.

In Durkheim's opinion the objectivity of prices emerges not from an aggregation of individual preferences but from social norms, this is a divergence from the economic

theories and view of prices as purely an issue of demand and supply. From prices been viewed as emanating from networks, Durkheim, (1947) asserted that prices are social facts. Firstly, he states prices are external feature confronting market actors. Steiner, (1992) in the same vein states prices are something the individual demanding or supplier in a market cannot solely influence.

When prices emanate from networks, there is little or no room for price discrimination because of the rapid exchange of information. Granovetter and Swedberg (1992), states prices in traditional societies fluctuate less because economic relations “are embedded in networks that restrain pure economic forces”. Social network is also a means of social control in tradition market transactions.

➤ Trust and price

Prices can sometimes also emanate from trust between and among market actors. Ronald (1992), observed that, price fluctuation in market transactions does not automatically affect the relationship among actors. In the case of price fluctuations, negotiations are established based on built trust. Actors are equally interested in maintaining relationships as well as buying and selling at a good price. In a study by Uzzi and Lancaster (2004), it was found that social relations affect prices between buyers and sellers. In other words, it is believed that social embeddedness may influence prices.

2.5.1 Labour Value Construction

Exchanges are forms of social interactions involving trade of tangibles (objects) or intangibles (sentiments) assets, this was noted by Dingwall and Hoselitz,(1981), when both stated that voluntary trades between individuals implies that both parties to trade subjectively perceive the goods or labour service they receive as being of equal value to the goods or service they give away. In other words, the value of the goods exchanged for labour or the value of the labour exchanged for goods is sentimentally agreed upon by the actors through a process of negotiation in the course of interaction.

In the same vein, Zelizer, (2010), a prominent contributor to the study of values and worth, opined that before value is attributed, there must be appreciation of the item in question. Prices and values of goods and items are arrived at based on the perception of importance of such good to both the buyer and the seller. In the light of Zelizer explanation, preference is one of the basis of prices and value measurement of goods and items.

On the contrary, Durkheim diverges from economic perspective on pricing, he considered prices under “normal” circumstances as reflecting public opinion on the value of a thing; he sees the objectivity of prices as arising not from the accumulation of individual preferences but from societal norms.

Frederick, (2008) notes that worth and values of items have cultural undertone because of the intersection of the meaning attributed to the items or goods and social stand of the buyer or seller. He views the construction and variation in prices and values as based on the familiarity of the actors to the item in question.

In the thought of Granovetter and Swedberg (1992), economic actions are rooted in ongoing nexus of social relationships rather than being carried out by non-interacting actors. Human beings define situation and act based on their understanding and interpretation of others action, so worth and value measurements can be said to be largely subjective based on the value attached to a transaction by interacting actors. The measure of what reward is enough for what labour is subjectively agreed upon based on actors’ own definition of what is enough for what.

Lamont (2012), Jens Beckert and Patrik Aspers (2011) in their own view states production and exchanges of goods is only made possible because actors value and assess products in relations to other items and goods.

From the various contributions on worth or value, the idea of what is worth what is sentimentally or emotionally construed. The value or worth of goods are socially constructed with leverages on interactions and relationships. In other words, moral values and cultural inclinations influences both the economic and social value of goods. That is,

the pricing of an item and its value is preconditioned not only on economic inclinations but also on cultural inclinations. In this light, According to Espeland and Stevens (1998), commensuration is the primary method used in social interactions—rather than a natural process—to determine if items are comparable in size or extent. Pricing of products and labor is a socially entrenched, meaningful action that is influenced by and utilized to signify social position and group membership, according to Sparkle (2012).

The offer to work for one another and the acceptance to do the work is largely based on the subjective interpretation both parties involved in the exchange attach to both the offer and the acceptance. Actors in the course of interacting with one another over time have reached agreement on how labour value is to be ascertained both economically and socially. Sentiment and emotions has been part of the sustaining factor of production and distribution of yam flour in Southwest Nigeria. In the words of Felluga (2002), exchanges of goods and services in the capitalist market are based on comparison with their universal equivalent. This means the value of goods and services are based on both economic and social rationale. Although, this system of value measurement could be likened to a barter system where goods and services were exchanged for other goods and services with informally agreed upon standard of exchange like money appears a practice in the past, but it is interesting to note that even in this industrial era, some aspect of food production and distribution activities among merchants is based on both monetary and non-monetary exchange system.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

Max Weber Social Action's Theory

Max Weber was a German Sociologist who had been credited with scholarly works in the field of Sociology and a figure to reckon with in the substantive sociology. To Weber, action is a behavior to which the actor “attaches a subjective meaning” and is social in so far as its subjective meaning takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course (Weber, 1922). Human beings have reasons for their actions and intentionally act based on those reasons. For proper understanding of actor's actions in

its fullness; interpretation should be done from the actor's point of view. Social action can be oriented to the past, present or expected future of one's behavior and it is characterised by the following: relationship with the action of others, non-isolation of action, oriented action and subjectiveness of action.

Social action theory helps to understand the ways people in particular settings understand, account for and manage their day-to-day interactions with others. Actors' actions are in consonance with one another since actions are based on mutual orientation. Meanings in actors' own definition is central in the theory of social action, hence Weber posits the interpretation of actor's actions in its subjective meaning (Weber 1921).

To further expatiate on social action, Weber made a distinction between different types of action and the rationality embedded in them; Means-ends rationality, Value-rationality, Affectual action and Traditional action. To Weber (1921) means-end- rationality is action "determined by expectation as of the behaviour of objects in the environment and of other human beings: these expectations are used as "conditions" or "means" for the attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends". From the foregoing, the success or failure of an individual's goal is largely dependent on the response such an individual gets from the environment and other actors involve. Consequently, a solitary act of meditation is not social action (Trueman, 2015).

Central to social action theory is the idea that actors give meanings to their own actions based on underlying rational calculations and so act subjectively based on this rationally construed purpose. In the course of decision making, the expected response or the reactions of others are taking into consideration. From the foregoing, social actions are neither meaningless nor casual occurrence, as actors' actions are laden with either an intrinsic or extrinsic motive. For actors in yam flour production and distribution chain, being a part of the chain is subjectively construed as a means to achieve an end and so actors act in consonance with one another based on mutual orientations as this enhances social organization among them. Yam flour merchandise is a conscious and an intentional organisation by the actors in interactions. The need to achieve some intended ends by the

interacting actors has been a major sustaining factor of social order in the organisation of yam flour production and distribution.

Actors in various contexts are confined in interactions by norms and values that serve as guide to their actions with one another; this was buttressed by Harvey, (2012) when he stated that social action is confined to situations where actors' behaviour is meaningfully related to the behaviour of others. The meaning actors attach to conformity to the cultural norms, values and beliefs which are prevalent in the production and distribution of yam flour chain serves as the binding force among the actors as it has helped coordinated actions among the actors, and in turn have aided regular production and distribution of yam flour in Lagos and Oyo state, Nigeria.

The attachment to yam flour as a staple and cultural symbol has led to affection to the merchandise of yam flour by the actors on the production and distribution chain. This affection in turn has led to actors attachment of cultural and egotistic importance to the merchandise of yam flour. This importance and egotistic feeling is informed by the nature and structure of interactions among the actors, and this is played out in the entry criteria placed on the trade and their preference for offspring succession on the trade. This affection is equally played out in their organisation of annual festival where there is an aesthetic display of pride and culture by the actors.

Traditionally, in a context as Nigeria where yam flour production and distribution takes place, patriarchy plays a role in both the ascription of role in division of labour between the male and female gender and in selection or election of leaders into offices. Among the actors in yam flour production and distribution, actors unanimously and unconsciously play out their attachment to tradition in interactions with one another in the distribution of task or roles on the chain based on gender differentials. In leadership election or selection to offices, men are regarded superior to women and so are elected into higher positions in the organisation of the trade.

In the yam flour production and distribution chain, multiplicity of rationale underlie interactions on the chain.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Chapter Overview

In order to achieve the set objectives, the study adopted the qualitative method of data collection for proper insight into the phenomena under study. This method was adopted for the proper understanding of the construction of social processes by the respondents, as the method allowed deep insight into the norms, values and beliefs which were elicited through prompts, probes and observations. The data collection was done with the aid of In-depth Interview (IDI), Key-Informant Interview (KII), Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Case study and secondary data which were sourced from relevant books, journals and all necessary avenues. Observable patterns were keenly observed and appropriately documented with the help of seasoned field assistants. The collected data was properly analysed with Nvivo qualitative data analysis software, version 10 and results presented thematically.

3.1 Study Area

The study area was Oyo and Lagos states in Southwestern Nigeria. Oyo state is divided into 33(thirty-three) local government area and three senatorial zones; Oyo South, Oyo North and Oyo Central. Saki is one of the thirty-three (33) local government areas and falls in Oyo North senatorial district. The local government council is bounded in the north by Oorelope local government, to the south by Atisbo and Olorunsogo to the East and Saki-West to the West; it is referred to as the food basket of Oyo State because of its agricultural activities. Saki-East local government covers a land area of 1,569 km², National Population Commission (NPC, 2006). For the purpose of this study, data was collected from Saki, Ibadan and Lagos state respectively.

The choice of Saki was informed by the availability of vast agricultural activities in the area and it is also the hub of yam flour production. Ibadan is an ancient city in Oyo State which is largely dominated by the Yoruba speaking people of Nigeria and this environment may be characterized by large consumption of local food items. Bodija and Orita-merin markets in Ibadan North are known for the sales of yam flour and other food items and this was what informed the choice of these two markets in Ibadan.

Lagos state on the other hand is an urban centre with heterogeneous population characterized by large consumption of finished products. The state comprises twenty (20) local government and thirty-seven (37) local council development areas with over 18million inhabitants (NPC, 2006). Lagos state markets are popular for their specialty with the sales of specific wares. The Alaslatu market in Mushin and the Irepodun market in Mile 12 are known as the major yam flour markets and this was what informed the choice of selection. Lagos and Ibadan were purposively selected because both markets are recognized as large buyers of yam flour from the Saki axis.

3.2 Study Design

The study was an exploratory research. The study adopted the interpretive approach to data collection as it helps with valuable insight into the various processes underlying actions and interactions among yam flour merchants from the field of production to the market where distribution to the final consumers take place. In order to study the actors within their own social context data was collected with the following instruments; KeyInformant Interview (KII), In-depth Interview (IDI), Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and Case study. All collection was aided by interview guide and interview schedule.

3.3 Study Population

The population for this study comprised of actors (males and females) in the yam flour production-distribution chain. These included the yam farmers (those who farm yam used for yam flour only and those who farm and make yam flour), the merchants (those who are presently in the trade), the heads of associations, transporters (those presently in business), peelers, loaders and farm- landlords. Key individuals as retired farmers,

merchants, transporters, loaders, association heads whose views are useful to the study were also part of the population.

3.4 Method of Data Collection and Research Instrument

Data collection was done with various qualitative data collection techniques as In-depth Interview (IDI), Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Key Informant Interview (KII), Case study and observation. All data collection was done with the aid of a detailed interview guide, interview schedule as it helps the researcher stay focused.

3.4.1 In-depth Interview (IDI)

The set of interviewees were selected from the various actor clusters based on relevance and assumed knowledge, availability in their various positions and experience in the trade. A total of Thirty (30) In-Depth Interviews was conducted. The interviewees were selected across the production and distribution chain. All the interviewee cut across Saki, Ibadan and Lagos.

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

The sessions for the focus group discussion were made up of homogeneous (all male in the same age range and occupations, all women in the same age range and occupation) groups of male and female with relevant experience on the trade. A total of Three (3) focus group discussion sessions was conducted. All interviewee were chosen based on their positions as actors on the production and distribution chain.

3.4.3 Key Informant Interview (KII)

Key individuals as yam flour traders' association heads, and yam flour transporter association heads were identified and interviewed. Interviewees were purposively selected based on their knowledge of the trade, this help give incisive insight into the production and distribution of yam flour. A total of Eleven (11) key informants comprising both male and female from various actor clusters were interviewed.

3.4.4 Case Study

Those interviewed were keenly identified and purposively selected. The choice of these individuals was informed by their vast experience and knowledge on the whole process of yam flour production and distribution. Interviewees were retired actors in the yam flour production and distribution chain. A total of Three (3) individuals were interviewed.

3.4.5 Observation

The researcher adopted a non-participant technique while on the field and took comprehensive note of gestures, cues and all non-verbal communications prevalent among the actors in yam flour production and distribution chain.

Table 3.1. Methodological Matrix of specific objectives and specific data collection method

S/N	Objectives	IDI	KII	FGD	Case Study	Secondary Data	Observation
1	Examined the social organization moderating yam flour production-distribution in Southwestern Nigeria	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
2	Investigated how exchange value of transaction is socially constructed among actors in yam flour productiondistribution is Southwestern Nigeria	✓	✓	✓			✓
3	Explored the indigenous practices underlying yam flour production- distribution in Southwestern Nigeria	✓				✓	✓
4	Explored the value-chain operations of yam flour production-distribution in Southwestern Nigeria	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
5	Investigated the socio-demographic characteristics moderating yam flour production-distribution in Southwestern Nigeria	✓		✓			✓

Table 3.2. Schedule of Research Instrument Administered

	ACTORS	IDI	FGD	KII	Case Study	Total
1	Farmers	2	1	1	1	5
2	Peelers	2	-	1	-	3
3	Loaders	2	-	1	-	3
4	Transporters	1	-	1	-	2
5	Farm-landlords	1	1	1	1	4
6	Association Heads	-	-	6	-	6
7	Merchants (Wholesalers/Retailers)	22	1	-	1	24
	Total	30	3	11	3	47

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The qualitative data collected from the field with various qualitative data collection techniques were subjected to thematic and interpretive analyses. Responses were also transcribed verbatim. Narrative account of the participants was detailed through ethnographic summaries. Emerging themes were analysed as they relate to one another. The collected data was properly analysed with Nvivo qualitative data analysis software, version 10.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Permission was sought from the association and settlement heads before entry into the field proper. A reconnaissance visit was made to the field prior the main study, this was to familiarize the researcher with the study area and also acquaint the researcher with the interviewees. The fundamental ethical principles of informed-consent, anonymity and confidentiality were observed in the course of the research. The respondents were notified of the objectives, methods and anticipated benefits of the study, and oral consent was obtained from all interviewee before the interviews were conducted. For inclusiveness, the researcher intends to communicate the result of the research to the representatives of the communities where the research was conducted.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Social Organisation of Yam Flour Production and Distribution

All aspects of social interactions and social situations are organised in one form or another. Understanding how actors organise their activities in food production and distribution chains give deeper insight into the nature of their membership of various associations and how this organisation had sustained food production and distribution activities overtime. Obinne (1994), defined an organisation as structures created to achieve a set objective and how it can be achieved. Organisations in agriculture are very important to food safety and security. In agriculture, food organisations can be in form of associations or institutions for effective food production and distribution. The formation of an association becomes an integral part of the trade, as the trade largely depends on the various functions of the association for trade coordination.

This social relationship among the individuals forms the basis of societal structures (Kumar, 2010), which are largely reciprocal and predicated upon social contact and communications, (Gillin, 1942). Some of the structures among the yam flour production and distribution actors are played out in various forms varying from role ascription, association formation, shared identity to shared norms and values. These structures function through the interactions of different groups and individuals for production, exchange, consumption and reproductions (Tsikata, 2015). The diverse nature of activities on yam flour production and distribution chain created the need for an association to cater to the various needs of the actors on the chain.

4.1.1 Yam Flour Production and distribution Traders Association

The association serves as an umbrella body for the various actors in the trade. There are two major associations which are open to the actors in the trade. The two associations are United Yam flour Sellers Association of Nigeria and *Boluyo* Yam flour and Food stuff Sellers Association of Nigeria. These two associations are headquartered in different towns, with *Boluyo* in Ilorin and United in Saki. Members of both associations are however spread across different towns in Southwest Nigeria where actors are present. The association is also open to grain and nuts traders alike. The criteria for membership and the governing of the association are discussed by various interviewees. One interviewee stated thus:

We have two associations; we have Boluyo with the headquarters in Ilorin and United here in Saki. They are both open to anyone who wants to trade in products that are bagged, mostly food stuffs, like yam chips, yam flour, grains and nuts **(IDI/Farm landlord /M/Saki/2019)**.

The association is chaired by the association president or “*Are Egbe*” (president) as they are popularly referred to by the actors. The association head does the governance of activities in the trade by regulating the trade activities at various local levels. He is also assisted by other members of the executives for effective running of trade activities. One interviewee stated thus:

We have our president, *Are Egbe* who is always in our secretariat to attend to issues relating to the trade at large. We have other executives too who work hand in hand with the president. We have the various state chairmen. We also have secretaries, “*akowe egbe*, P.R.O, “*alukoro egbe*” Treasurer, “*akapo*” financial secretary, and the security officers we called them “*olopa egbe*” **(IDI/Merchant/M/Saki/2019)**.

Another interviewee also states:

The security officers serve as a check on the activities of the actors in the trade at various points of transactions, and are mostly interested in arresting illegal entrants into trade. In the course of trading, the security officers look around traders who

buy at unregulated price rates, those who generally break the association rules and regulation at any point in time **(IDI/Farm landlord/M/Saki/2019)**.

The association is saddled with numerous responsibilities which ranges from dispute resolution to trade regulations among the actors. The importance of the numerous functions of the association as stated by various interviewees cannot be overemphasised. These were alluded to by various interviewees. One of the actors interviewed stated thus:

Well, I cannot imagine that the trade does not have an association particularly because of the population and the diversity in our mentality and behaviour. Creating the association has helped more than we can describe. The association performs so many functions all to help the traders and the trade at large **(KII /Merchant /M/Saki/2019)**.

Another interviewee also said:

Well, like other trade people need to be guided particularly as population increases. Unlike before we can identify ourselves in case of any issue but these days it is not the same. People come from far and wide and being part of an association is the only means of identification **(Case Study/Yam farmer/M/Saki/2019)**.

Population increases which is associated with diversity and dynamic nature of population composition is a possible explanation for the creation of an association for proper coordination of activities on the chain. Aside the obvious effects of population increase as stated by some interviewees, it was also noted that an increase in human greed is another reason for the need of an association. The association functions as a protection from fraudulent behaviors of fraudulent actors. One interviewee stated: *The size of the trade called for the need for coordination, so in order to coordinate ourselves and the various trade activities we need an association* **(IDI/Merchant /M/Bodija/2019)**.

Another interviewee said:

Hmm, there is so much exposure. "Greed is maturing and knowledge is moving forward", the idea of don't let them cheat us is the idea behind association formation. The buyers caused us to organize ourselves too, before they buy from the farmers

too they meet in their own association (**Case Study/Farmer /M/Saki/2019**).

Yam flour production and distribution is an economic activity which connotes actors are in the trade to make profits. The quest for profit making may sometimes result in subtle or even obvious competition among the actors. This competition is what Horton and Hunt (1976) noted to be a struggle for rewards which are limited in supply. In order to curtail unhealthy and harmful competition in the trade, adequate dispute resolution mechanism has to be in place. The merchants have a functional association under which their quest for profit maximization is realised through common negotiation terms as agreed at the association level. Although, the farmers do not have an association as large the traders association but there is also a farmer's network which is based on spatial location. The association then serves as a mechanism of dispute resolution to the actors.

In an interviewee's response: *The creation of the association helps in dispute resolution among the actors, it help monitor actors' activities. It has helped in sustaining the trade. We cannot totally talk about the importance of the association* (**KII /Merchant /F/Saki/2019**);

Alare o san, elebi o san, (both the defaulter and the complainant pays at the court) so we always prefer that we do our dispute resolutions at the association level". This is a big function of the association, so the importance of the association cannot be over-emphasised (**IDI/Farm landlord/M/Saki/2019**).

Another benefit of the formation of associations in yam flour production and distribution is the unity it fosters among actors and the relationship birthed from the constant interactions with one another. This relationship among actors also makes for smooth transactions as actors through the associations have agreements on how business is to be conducted. One interviewee stated thus:

It helps unite us and cement love among us. We also celebrate children weddings, weddings and burials with one another based on our membership of the association. The association also makes buying and selling among us easier since transactions are monitored among actors as agreed (**KII/Ass head/F/Itamerin/2019**).

The association and its function is pivotal in the continuous relations among the actors in yam flour production and distribution as the formation and the organisation of the trade is seen as an effective device to the effective and efficient running of the trade. The prominence of association in the word cloud below shows the importance of association to the actors in the trade as the traders cannot do without the association in their daily activities. Hence, the continuous mention of the association in the trade.

Figure 4.1. word cloud shows responses of actors in yam flour production and distribution showing the two major associations (United and *Boluyo*) and their importance in the moderation of the trade activities among various actors in the production and distribution chain of yam flour. Membership of either of the associations serves as a means of identification with the trade.



Figure: 4.1. Word Cloud visualization of yam flour traders association.

Source: Field work (2019)

4.1.2 Entry and Exit Criterion into Yam Flour Production and Distribution Chain

In order to regulate and monitor the activities of traders in the trade, the association has some stipulated measures in place for proper cross referencing of an intending entrant into the trade. Hence, an intending entrant into either *Boluyo* or United as popularly called by the association members is expected to be willing to adhere to the rules and regulations guiding the activities of the trade. Entry through the apprenticeship route gives ample opportunities for training and affords actors adequate knowledge of the trade before venturing into the trade proper. It is believed that learning the trade will in the long-run lead to trade sustainability. A new entrant can be a member of either of the two associations once such a one meets the entry criteria. Entry into the association is often done via either of two routes. It is done through either of the two under listed routes:

1. Apprenticeship
2. Succession

Entry into the association through the apprenticeship route can be done directly or indirectly. Direct entry requires that a new entrant be physically available to learn the norms, values and skills needed for the trade based on agreement between the master or trainer and the apprentice.

The indirect apprenticeship entry on the other hand requires that the apprentice does not necessarily have to be physically available to learn the trade but can learn from a distance. Aside trading from a distance, apprenticeship via the indirect route will not be allowed to enter into the farms to buy yams chips on their own without the guidance of the master. The masters are the ones who buy yam chips and flour on behalf of their apprentice.

➤ **Operational System of Apprenticeship in Yam Flour Production and distribution Chain**

Training fee: Most of the times training arrangements were done on informal grounds than formal grounds. The amount paid are not fixed as it is based on relationships between the parties involved. Training fee is paid both in cash and in kind as some items are also required before the training begins. The required items are mostly based on internal arrangements between the intending entrant (apprentice) and the master.

Training mode arrangement: the training mode is usually “on the trade” training as apprentices are allowed to see to the affairs of the trade. Apprenticeship sometimes goes to the interior farms with permission to buy yam chips on behalf of their masters. The training is mostly informal since there are no documented structure training of the apprentice. Trade skills and secrets are usually orally transferred between the apprentices and their masters.

Training period: The period of training in the business is dependent on the arrangement between the trainer and the master. The period ranges from 6 Months-3years or more. After the agreed period of training lapses, the trainer can employ the trainee who is now assumed to be a master as a sales person or shop keeper for a period of time before the trainee make ready his/her own space as a master. This is also a way of keeping the new trainee away from the unemployment net.

Entry through the apprenticeship route into yam flour production and distribution chain requires a guarantor and this is a major requisite to entry via the apprenticeship route.

One interviewee stated thus:

An apprentice must be ready to be truthful and abide by rules and regulations. Those who did not enter through apprenticeship will only be able to trade through members who joined the association through apprenticeship. **(KII /Merchant/F/ Mushin/2019)**

Another interviewee said:

Apprenticeship is also very important in the relationship and trading of yam flour. In the course of learning the trade, new entrants gradually learn the norms that guide our activities in the trade to understand how the trade has been sustained overtime **(FGD/ Merchants/Saki/2019).**

A possible explanation to the traders' emphasis on apprenticeship is the necessity associated with learning the norms that regulates activities in the trade. Apprenticeship goes beyond just learning the trade as norms and values are transmitted through generations in the course of learning the trade. The skills needed for both the production and marketing of yam flour is transmitted orally and practically through apprenticeship, these findings among yam flour production-distribution actors corroborates Dibia and Nwosu (2014) who noted that in the history of traditional knowledge transfer, oral sources have been a major means of knowledge transfer. On the other hand, indirect entry route is an avenue for intending entrants who could not join the trade as a physically present apprentice; this was alluded to by one interviewee who said: *Those who did not enter as an apprentice cannot enter into the farm to buy markets on their own. They must enter the farm only with the assistance of those who joined the trade through apprenticeship* **(IDI/Merchant/F/Ita-merin/2019);**

To buy yam chips from the farmers involves going into the farms with a means of identification and an obligatory apprenticeship training. A member who gets into the trade via any means other than apprenticeship is not allowed to go into the farm directly to buy farm produce from the farmers. Such people are only allowed to buy farm produce from the farmers through an individual who got into the trade via the apprenticeship route.

This was further alluded to by an interviewee:

Those who want to trade but may be because of their age, education and status cannot be physically present mostly enter the trade through the indirect route. They trade through their masters, the master buy goods for them on the farm because they are not allowed to enter the farm themselves. The master too must have joined the trade through apprenticeship. **(IDI/Merchant/M/Bodija/2019).**

In a transporter statement, he said;

To be a member one must have learnt the trade, register with union and pay necessary dues and be willing to make the business succeed. Vehicles and drivers must be registered with unions before they can operate as transporters and the person must have knowledge of the trade through learning **(IDI/Transporter/M/Saki/2019)**.

Aside the willingness to be obedient and remain loyal to the association by an intending entrant, a guarantor is another crucial requisite for entry into the association. Before an intending entrant is allowed to be a part of the trade, such a one must be introduced to the actor cluster of interest. This is necessary as this serves as a form of security check. One interviewee stated thus:

For someone to join us on the farm or where we work somebody must introduce the person. Someone must know the background, parents, where the person lives and why the person is interested in the trade, this is for security and reference sake, a guarantor must introduce the person to the farm or mountain, we expect the person to be trustworthy and be willing to work **(IDI/Peeler F/Saki/2019)**.

A merchant stated that *someone cannot just walk up to us and say I want to trade in èlùbọ, we must know where you come from and we must have someone to stand for you in case of anything* **(IDI/Merchant/F/ Mushin/2019)**,

A transporter also stated that;

Haa, transportation of peoples good is a big risk, so anyhow person cannot join us. We must know the person, because someone must introduce and tell us about the person, why the person want to join the trade and someone must introduce the person to us before we can allow the person join us. At times some people will think because they have the money to buy the trucks they can just buy and put on the road, we don't allow that at all **(IDI/Transporter/M/Saki/2019)**.

Figure 4.2. shows from the actors responses that a guarantor is a must and mandatory before anyone can trade in yam flour. The guarantor does the introduction of the new and intending entrant to the intended master and invariably to the association. The guarantor

is liable in case of any misdeed by the new entrant and so the importance of a guarantor cannot be over-emphasised in the yam flour production and distribution chain.

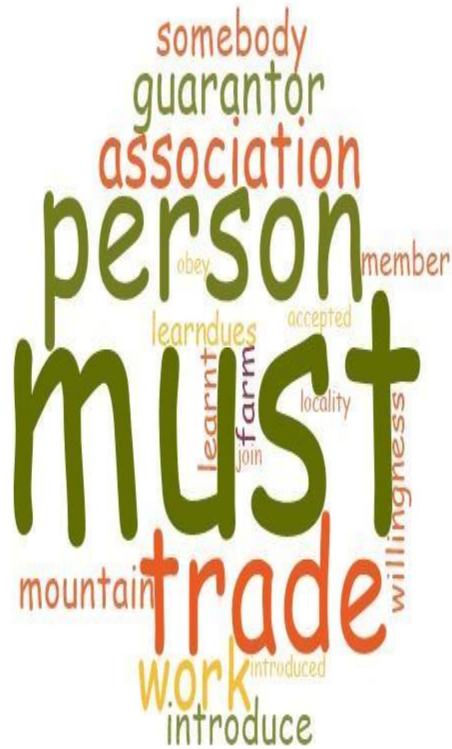


Figure: 4.2. Word Cloud Visualisation of Entry Criteria into Yam Flour Production and Distribution

Source: Field work (2019)

➤ Succession as an entry route into Yam Flour Production and Distribution chain

Man since time immemorial is known to have engaged in one occupational activity or the other. During the traditional era, individuals exuded their convictions of satisfactions and accomplishments so that they christened their offspring after their chosen occupations and encouraged them to carry on same. During these traditional periods, individuals derived relative satisfaction and prestige from their jobs (Dike, 1985; Smith, 1994). During these periods, it was almost near automatic for children to take up their parents occupation but as the society become more industrialised and occupation now becomes one of the measures of assessing an individual achievement, informal succession patterns particularly in occupations that are regarded as jobs with low esteem, have been drastically affected.

According to Miller and Form (1957) who opined that occupation choice is rare for the decision-making process is based on accident. This implies that occupational choice is a compromise between interest, capacities, values and employment opportunities. Although, the dwindling economy have adversely affected formal employment opportunities, the informal economy has yet 6 billion people in informal employment, which represents 61.2 percent of the world population (ILO, 2022). In Nigeria, the importance of the informal economy regardless of the many challenges cannot be over emphasised. According to the World Bank (2021), 80.4 per cent of Nigeria's employments are in the informal sector. This employment rate shows the importance and the vast opportunities in the informal sector.

Succession is another form of direct entry route into the yam flour production and distribution chain. This route is found to be more preferred among the actors as they see the trade as “our own thing for our own children” in one actor's voice. Among the yam flour production and distribution actors, succession has become a strategy for securing the future of the parents and the children and it is also a security for the family wealth. One interviewee explained that *I have been coming to the shop with my children particularly the ladies. I want them to take up the trade when I am much older and*

cannot do the trade again. I also took the trade from my mother, I only change my location after I got married (IDI/Merchant/F/ Mushin/2019).

Another interviewee also said:

We were born into the trade. I took up this trade from my mother, I see my mother as the major financier of the home with what she gets from selling yam flour and so I began to develop interest too. I go to the rural farm with her when she was younger and also come to the market with her, my younger sister joined me gradually after she graduated from the polytechnic **(KII/Merchant/ F/Bodija /2019).**

One other interviewee also said *I took up this trade from my mother, I have been coming to the market with her since I was a child and immediately, I finish my secondary education I joined her fully, (IDI/ Merchant/M/Ita-merin/2019);*

One interviewee explained:

Farming was the sole occupation we knew our father with; we were born into farming. I cannot even say this is the time I took up from him particularly because we were not even taught to think we can do any other job apart from the farming. My father specifically farms *ikokoro* (the specie of yam for yam flour) because he produces yam chips with few other species like water-yam for family immediate consumption **(Case study/Farmer/M/Saki/2019).**

The cultural and egotistic importance actors attach to yam flour and yam flour trading is seen in their willingness to have their children succeed them in the trade. Succession in the trade becomes an automatic route to the trade as it is assumed that the children whose parents are or were traders already have adequate knowledge and skills to trade and so apprenticeship is not enforced on such ones. From the foregoing, the possible explanation for succession is that there an economic and a social rationale to succession, as it observed that some children take up the trade because of the profit they see their parents make from the trade. On the other hand, parents wants succession because they believe the trade is prestigious, this is evident in some psyche ups as *àgbè loba*, (the farmer is the king) and *olówó ló lówò* (the one who has money succeeds in business). The presumed prestige being a yam flour trader accords the actor is a possible reason for encouraging their wards to take up same trade, this explanation corroborates Adedoyin, (2008),

findings that parents want wards succession when they perceive a trade as prestigious. Invariably, economic and social reasons are the basis for succession among actors in yam flour production and distribution chain, this corroborates Lank *et al* (1994) findings when they stated that parent's occupation are important economic and social pillars to children throughout the world.

It was also noted the unemployment situation in the country has prompted parents willingness of their wards succeeding the trade as they see as avenue for job creation as stated by an interviewee:

The population is expanding by the day, how many people can the government provide jobs for? This trade is a ready-made job for my children especially the ladies and I have been encouraging them to be interested in the trade **(IDI/Merchant/F/Mile 12/2019)**.

Interestingly, some of the actors, particularly the farmers are really willing that their children succeed the farming trade mostly because of some of the challenges they encountered in the trade and believe the educational background of the children will be an advantage in alleviating such challenges. This was culled from some interviewees:

Me I am not schooled in Western education, I only had Quaranic education, but my children went to 'Poly' (The Polytechnic), they have Western education and I know this will help them do this farm business very well more than I did it. We find it difficult to change the way we were doing the farming business because we don't have much understanding of technology, but since my children went to school they will do better in the farming business because of their education, **(Farmer/M/Saki/2019)**

It is worthy of note that some of the farmers are really confident that the educational opportunity their wards have is really an advantage and will have a positive effect on the success of operations of the farm business. Also, there is an understanding among them to some extent that when the use of technology is embraced by their children in farm operations, better success will be recorded.

4.1.3 Teachers Influx into Yam Flour Trading

Around the Saki axis it is worthy to note that there is an observed influx of government school teachers into the merchant cluster on the production and distribution chain of yam flour. Actors on the chain noted that government teachers are many in the trade, although, most of them enter through the indirect route as they could not go through apprenticeship because of their age, status and time as they are mostly still in government employment. *Well, most of us did not go to school but we know this trade in and out, we don't know why teachers are now joining us. They want to use their biros (writing pen) to steal from us. (IDI/Merchant/F/Saki/2019);*

We are not schooled but some of our children went to school and we also have some of their teachers in this trade. I don't want to say all of them but most of them cannot begin to learn as apprentice so they trade through some of us. We help them buy markets from the farms. They usually don't go to farms. **(IDI/Merchant/M/Saki/2019).**

A possible explanation to teachers' influx into the trade could be a form of retirement plan or just a side hustle. One interviewee who was a teacher and also a merchant gave an explanation to some probable causes of teachers' influx into the trade. She stated thus;

Well, I think as teachers we can learn anything, and yam flour trading is about forecasting, so we buy the yam chips when it is cheaper and wait to sell when it is scare. Also, we know we will retire from teaching someday and we need something to do after retirement to augment our pension so we see yam flour trading as a viable trade and that is why we are in the trade. **(IDI/Merchant/F/Saki/2019).**

➤ Exit criteria from yam flour production and distribution chain

A member of the association may be asked to leave the trade on some plausible grounds if found wanting. There are many reasons for which an exit may be the only option or resolution by the association. When an actor flouts the association's rules and regulations or exhibits behavior contrary to the values and norms of the association, such a one is suspended or asked to leave the trade altogether. Various misdeeds are stated as the grounds for exit from the trade as culled from some interviewees. One interviewee stated:

On the mountain if we see that somebody is behaving badly, quarreling, or stealing yam chips or yams we will report to those who bring them and if they persist, we will tell them to excuse us. (KII /Peeler/F/Saki//2019). Another interviewee said: *Most times it is in cases of fraud or continuous warning to a member without result. The person will be banned from trading and others will be warned to desist from trading with such a person (IDI /Merchant/M/Mile 12/2019).*

Although, various reasons have been stated as the grounds upon which an individual can be asked to leave the trade, most of which are on negative grounds as exit is seen as a form of sanction. However, all exits are not on the ground of inappropriate behaviors. Other non-fraudulent reasons have been stated as ground for exit from the association. Actors may possibly exit the trade on economic grounds either to divest, old age or due to lack of satisfaction from participating in the trade. Satisfaction or lack of satisfaction is a relative reason for leaving the trade by the actors.

4.1.4. Behavioural Norms and Values of Operation among Yam Flour Production and Distribution Actors

It is obvious that the achievement of an organized economic, political and social life is largely dependent on specified standard of operations based on agreement among a people in a sociocultural political or economic context. Scholarly works have accrued over the years on the importance and functions of norms and how it influences actors' behaviour in various social contexts, (Kalkstein *et al*, 2022; Durkheim 1893; James Coleman, 1990; Parsons, 1937; Parsons and Shils, 1951).

Norms and values serve as guiding principles of behavior among actors in yam flour production and distribution chain. In the social organization of Yam flour producers and distributors, some norms and values also exist to ensure smooth relationships among members. Trust, fairness, integrity and respect are found to be some of the most important norms and values among actors in the Yam flour production and distribution chain. According to some of the actors, it is expected that traders would be fair to one another, this is important because more transactions are now being carried out without the physical presence of actors. According to the actors, norms are said to be useful whether

they are proscriptive or prescriptive. These corroborate the scholarly works of Brennan, Eriksson, Goodin and Southwood (2013), who stated that norms are functional and allows for accountability to one another.

One interviewee stated thus:

We believe so much in fairness because most traders don't even see one another most of the time people just send their money to others to purchase goods. Fairness is of a great importance to us. We don't like fraudulent acts **(Case Study/farmer/M/Saki/2019);**

Another interviewee said:

The binding norm is to behave to others the way you want them to behave to you, so I think I will say love is the ultimate. We must love ourselves, because all of us (the farmers, traders, farm landlord, and transporters) need ourselves in this trade **(KII/ Assistant Head/F/Bodija/ 2019).**

Cultural practice or culturally acceptable norms are not necessarily formal rules, but are expected ways of behavior. One of such norms is the compensation of farm landlords when merchants go to purchase goods in the farm settlement. The farm landlords serve as intermediary between the farmers and merchants. It is not expected that a merchant will boycott the farm landlords and go to the farmers directly. In terms of norms, it is expected that members should behave to other the way they want others to behave to them, and expectedly this should be a behavior influenced by love for one another, not just those in the same value chain activities but to all actors along the value chain.

One interviewee noted that:

Among actors we know 'there are rules and cultural practices but we prefer to go by the way of culturally acceptable norms than by way of rules'. For instance when we get to the farms to buy goods we ask for the farm landlords before entering the farm to buy yam chips, we also mandatorily compensate farm landlords for their roles as intermediary between yam flour merchants and farmers, we must not be dubious in our activities. **(IDI/ Merchant /M/Saki/2019).**

A farmlandlord agrees in a focus group discussion that *we should respect ourselves, for instance the merchants know that they must not go to the farmers directly, we expect that they must reckon with us as important* (FGD/ Farm landlord M/Saki/ /2019).

On the other hand, norms are not the only means of *modus operandi* among the actors as the actors have some values that are also core to the existence and sustenance of the trade at large. These agreed upon values are fundamentally grounded in various culture in context as they serve as social means of assessing what is wrong or right among a people. Some of the upheld values among the actors are stated thus;

We love people who have integrity, when they say a thing you meet it like that. We hate liars. One trade with rest of mind when dealing with people who have integrity and the trade too can grow and expand. Liars are problem to the trade. Trading with people who are not truthful will continually lead to a loss (IDI/ Merchant /M/Mile 12/2019),

Another interviewee also said:

Trustworthiness is very important. We must be truthful to one another. Many times some of merchants may not even go to the farms to see what we want to buy, we send money and trust that our goods will be sent to us. We are against deceit, we don't want people to be deceitful. Between the transporter, farmers, farm landlord and the merchants, we cannot do without one another so we must be truthful to one another (KII/Ass head/F/Ita-merin/ 2019).

Figure 4.3. shows how actors hold in high esteem the value of truthfulness in dealing with one another. It shows the norm of trust is germane to the sustenance of relationship on the chain. Actors are expected to be trustworthy in their dealings with one another.



Figure 4.3: Word Cloud Visualisation of Guiding Norms and Values among Actors in Yam Flour Production and Distribution

Source: Field work (2019)

Understanding the underlying norms and values behind actors action in food production-distribution is very vital; as norms influences market behaviours (Akerlorf 1980; Young 1998a) and also prevent market failures (Jules Coleman 1989). The value of honor and respect are also upheld among actors in the Yam flour trade. It is expected that a new entrant into the trade, for example a new farmer coming into a farm settlement, would acknowledge the head of the settlement or association in the case of a new merchant.

As stated by one interviewee;

We know in the farming profession you give honor to whom it is due, we don't just get to a farm settlement without acknowledging the heads and observing how things are done. The ultimate thing we value is truth, we are expected to behave truthfully with ourselves (**FGD/ Farmers /M/Saki/2019**).

Corroborating this view, it was stated that:

We must not boycott farm landlords because we think we can influence a farmer, we must buy only at the agreed rate and not buy above the agreed rate because we want to make sure we buy goods at all **cost (IDI/ Merchant/F/Mile 12/2019)**.

➤ **Constituted Rules in Association**

Rules also exist to guide behavior of members within associations to ensure that actors do not cheat one another, illegally enter farms or take things from another without permission. These rules are reiterated during association meetings. In yam flour production-distribution chain, there are consensual rules among the actors as they have been created in various contexts. These rules have been formulated overtime and are written down in the association booklet for every member's use. These rules also involves the duties and responsibilities of actors as members of the association in regards to meeting attendance, payment of dues and moral expectations. Consequently, these rules become a guide and the binding force among the actors as culled from various

interviewees: *For us we meet from time to time, and we are guided by “do not cheat others”, “do not enter anyone’s farm without permission”, and “do not take others things without permission” (KII/ Farm Landlord /M/Saki/2019);*

One other interviewee also states:

We have many of them listed in the association booklet for members to see. They are rules that have been looked into overtime. Some of the rules are related to attending meetings and the penalties for non- Do not just enter the farm to buy markets, we go through the farm landlord on the farm to buy our markets, No drunkenness during business. No fraudulent behavior **(IDI/ Merchants/F/OritaMerin/2019).**

As another interviewee stated: *Attendance, dues payment and penalties for non-payment. (Case Study/Farmer/M/Saki/ 2019).*

At the association level, there also exists a rule about how buying of commodities should be conducted on the farm. As this merchant stated, it is expected that farm landlords should be contacted before goods are bought. When selling in the market as well, merchants are expected to desist from fraudulent behaviors and ensure that they do not conduct business while drunk.

With regards to protecting the interest of other actors while conducting one’s own business, a merchant explained that once another merchant has paid for a good, they would put a sign on it to show that it has been bought, no other merchant seeing this sign should then pay for the goods again. Failure to adhere to this leads to punishment at the association level. This also applies to transporters who are not expected to transport goods given to another driver because they want to make fast money or extra cash. To allow for smooth operations, the transporter should also pay all fares before transporting goods from the farm.

One of the interviewees stated: *We must be truthful to ourselves, no one should buy others goods, if I buy my goods and I have put my signs no one is expected to buy the same goods. If another buys another’s good he or she will be punished by the association (FGD/ Merchants/F/Saki/ 2019).* Another interviewee also said: *We must not transport*

markets that has been given to another driver to carry, we must pay all necessary fares at every point before transporting goods out of the farms, it gives room for peace and smooth operations of the business (IDI/Transporter/M/Saki/ 2019).

> Compliance and Non-compliance with Association Rules

Compliance is abiding by the rules and regulation guiding a people in context. When rules and regulations are obeyed and norms and values are upheld, it often foster smooth relationship among members of the association and aids better interaction. Compliance also creates an enabling environment and a clear level playing ground for all actors to make profits.

An interviewee stated:

Compliance with these rules gives us an enabling environment to trade and make good profit. Compliance makes us trust one another and we can then trade without fear of losses. Keeping to these values will lead to good production and distribution. If we are all honest and truthful there will be enough confidence in one another. **(IDI/Farmers/M/ Saki/2019).**

One interviewee also stated thus:

Complying with the laid down rules is what has kept yam flour merchandise this far, if not for the rules that guides our behavior I don't think we will last this much. Compliance with the rules has really helped us operate smoothly **(FGD/Merchants/M/Saki/2019).**

During a Focus Group Discussion, actors also agreed that compliance with these rules has helped to build a long-lasting profession. However, there are cases where the rules and norms are not adhered to by actors and this leads to disagreements and complaints. An issue such as increase in price of service that is not consensual is bound to create frictions along the value chain. Complaints are taken to the association office to be settled by the leaders in the association. Giving an historical account, a farmer in a case study explains what has led to rifts in the associations in time past.

In the farmer's voice, he said:

A lot of times it is when an act of fraudulence like swindling others takes place among the actors that disagreement occurs. People come to the association office to lay complaint and appropriate actions are taken by the executives. Also, when there is an increase in price of service by one actor in the chain it may lead to friction except it is consensual. For instance, before a split into two associations, that is Boluyo and United there was power tussle in leadership of the association. Some actors believe Saki should be the headquarters and also produce the president while others feel Ilorin should be the headquarters and produce the president. Also, there was a time the transporters decided to increase transport fare without informing the merchants that led to a serious problem then because the merchants felt the new proposed price was too much and the transporters too refused to allow the merchants bring other drivers aside the registered drivers to move their goods their goods from the farms (**Case Study/Farmer/2019**).

There are also those who feel above the rules of the association and therefore do not comply, mostly because they have money to buy their way through. They have therefore introduced a bidding system in the purchase of goods from farmers. There are merchants who have entered the trade not to make gains but to show off. Their nonchalant attitude towards the mode of operation agreed upon in the association has jeopardized the chances of those who have little and want to make ends meet from the trade. This noncompliance affects the progress of work as time meant to be spent working is used instead to settle issues and peace is lost. It also reduces level of trust among actors such that everyone becomes a suspect. Various actors as merchants, peelers and transporters alluded to the effects of non-compliance:

In the merchant's voice, he said

Those who feel they have their money do not see the need to comply with the stipulated rules and this has negatively affected the trade because they have almost turned the market to the issue of highest bidder. When people break rules it affects the relationship among the people, Non-compliance with the stipulated rules have led to some people going out of the trade because when they don't have much money and those who have money are threatening them using their money to buy their ways with either the farmers, transporters and other people. Noncompliance has led to distrust, pride among women which is

the cause of the trouble, and some don't even care if they get gains or not but just want to show off **(FGD/Merchant/Saki/2019)**.

According to a peeler, she said: *It leads to fight always. It will slow down our work because we will keep settling issues instead of working. There will not be peace among us* **(IDI/Peeler/F/Saki/2019)**.

There will not be room for business because there will be troubles everywhere. If people are deceitful then everybody becomes a suspect to the other and this is not good for the business at large. We will be suspecting one another. We will be afraid to trade with one another **(IDI/Transporter/M/Saki/2019)**.

4.1.5 Disciplinary Measures

The disciplinary measure to adopt depends on the severity of the offense committed and also on whether the offender is a first-time offender or a regular offender. Among the various clusters of actor, there are various disciplinary measures that are meted out to offenders when an offense is committed. These measure ranges from fine, suspension to outright expulsion from the trade. When an offense has to do with non-attendance of meetings and lateness to meetings, fines are mostly the penalties for such for offense. The stricter penalties like suspension and outright expulsion are for inappropriate behaviours that can mar the image of the association or defraud other actors. Outright expulsion is mostly an option for fraudulent behaviours. An actor who refuses to desist from fraudulent acts even after several warnings is bound for expulsion. The various grounds for sanctions are alluded to by various actors.

One interviewee stated thus:

The punishment depends on the kind of offense committed by a trader or others. If it is about meetings most times it is fine. It is not always big amount. But when it about stealing from others, it is usually suspension **(KIIMerchants/M/Saki/2019)**.

Similar view was shared by another participant:

For transporters, in cases where it is because of inappropriate behavior like stealing, and the driver has been warned many times but refuse to change, then the person is called to the association meeting and informed of the reason for dismissal (KII/Transporter/ M/Saki/2019).

4.1.6. Gender Relations in Leadership Election or Selection Process

Leaders of associations are often selected based on personal characteristics; they are selected into various offices based on other actor's judgment of their character as being good. Among the members of United Yam flour traders' association, the Headship of the association is occupied in 4-years tenure and changed through elections. However, in *Bphuyo*, leadership position is held till death. In most cases, leadership positions of associations are held by men. Some of the interviewees stated different reasons for this. While women are considered members and key workers in the Yam flour trade, they are not given the topmost position like that of the president/chairman of the association. The possibility of a woman taking on the primary leadership role is also moderated by which category of actors she belongs to. As an example, one interviewee stated that transporters association does not give room for women, since women are not part of the association, they cannot head it. One interviewee stated thus: *We elect them into various offices and they stay for four years. After four years we elect other people into offices again. And all of us know that is how it should be done* (KII/ Transporter/M/Saki/2019).

An account from a case study with a farm landlord reveals the farmers and merchants does not have a common association and so there is no joint issue of leadership selection, but election or selections are done differently. It is noted that the two major associations do not entail the farmers. An interviewee said: *Among the farmers there is no issue of leadership selection because among the farmers the headship position traditionally goes to oldest settlement settler. Also, nothing of such among the farmers and the merchants* (Case study/Farm landlords/Saki/2019). *Our interactions over time with one another and the knowledge of everyone's ability to take up a task is what help us with role ascription not ethnic group* (IDI/ Farmer/M/ /Saki/ 2019).

In choosing leaders, attention is paid to the previous interactions with the members and their ability to effectively perform and deliver in the roles that are available. Capability and competence is given credence over ethnic differences. In some instances, the marital status of the proposed leader is considered alongside their competence because it is believed that married people are responsible. *We believe that married people are more responsible but we still don't select people into offices based on their marital status we consider their competence (IDI/Merchant/F/Saki/2019).* Adding to this another participant stated that: *We believe having a family will make one more responsible, sometimes we put some married people in position of authority based on their marital status (IDI/ Transporter/M/ Saki/2019).*

Figure 4.4. shows gender differences play out in the selection and election of leaders into various leadership position in the production and distribution chain of yam flour. Patriarchy which is an attribute of African society subtly play out in the selection or election of officers into the apex position of the association-president, or chairman as women are neither selected or elected into these positions.



Figure: 4.4. Word Cloud Visualisation of Gender Relations in Leadership Election or Selection Process in Yam Flour Production and Distribution Chain

Source: Field work (2019).

For the peelers, the head of the group or leader on the mountain is often among the first set of people who start working there. Age is therefore not given much consideration. Rather the duration of experience and time of entrance to the farm or mountain. The selection of leaders by farmers is done through general consensus and not through election. Responses from a cross section of actors reveal age is not a major criterion in leadership selection among the actors. Also, the responses reveal some cluster of actors do leadership selection into offices while some others do election of leaders into various offices. Responses as culled from various interviewees: *Our heads are the first set of people who starts working on the farm or mountain not based on age (IDI/Peelers/F/Saki /2019); What matters is knowledge on the trade, not the actor's age. We need both old and young to carry on the trade (KII/Assistant association head /F/Bodija/2019);*

Well over time some positions have been mostly held by a particular gender, for example the post of the president or chairman of the association has never been held by a woman but men, but the assistant position goes to the women mostly. But in other cases, I will say we don't really consider gender except in the place of the chairmanship of the association. **(KII/Ass head/F/Mushin/2019);**

haa, "Atari ajanaku ni ipo chairman o, ki ise eru omo de" literally meaning, the chairmanship position is a big task and not meant for toddlers. Women have never been our chairman o, we are men so no room for women **(KII/Transporter/M/Saki /2019).**

Figure 4.5. shows responses from actors referring derogatorily to women as toddlers because men claimed that the apex position of the association requires rigorous activities of travelling across various localities and this a tedious task for women. Also, the responses shows that actors has unanimously and unconsciously agreed that women take assistantship positions. Responses as 'we always choose men and not women', shows how the male gender has been constructed as superior to women in leadership selection and election. As an example, in the transportation cluster that is solely male dominated, women cannot head what they are not involved in.

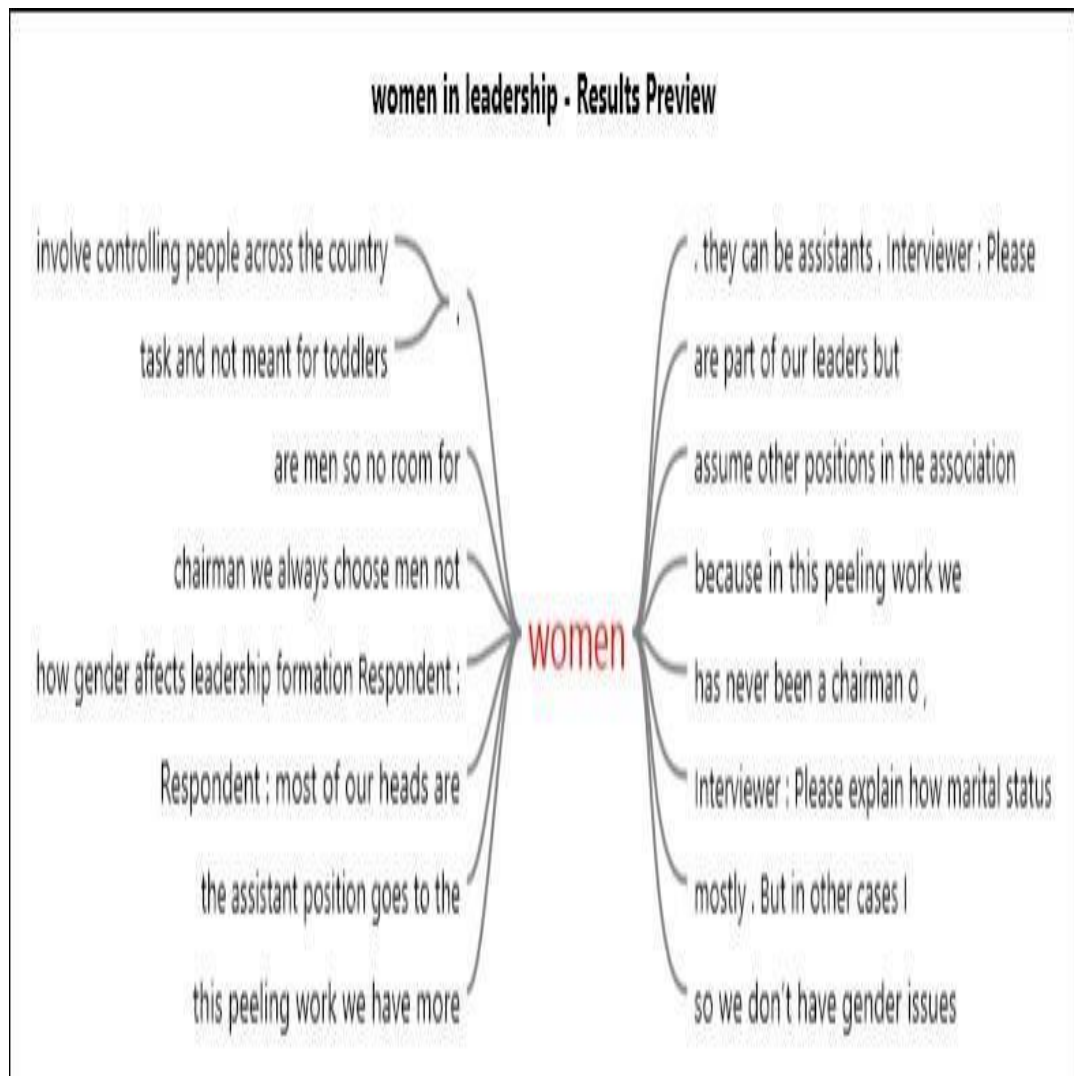


Figure: 4.5. View of Responses on Gender Relations in Leadership Selection and Election Process in Yam Flour Production and Distribution Chain

Source: Field work (2019).

In the peeling category however, women form a larger percentage of the actors and also hold most of the leadership positions in the association or on mountains. For loaders, women are selected as part of their leaders but are also not given the headship position because of the requirements and responsibilities of the position *Most of our heads are women because in this peeling work we have more women so we don't have gender issues (IDI/F/Peelers/Saki/ 2019); Women are part of our leaders but only they don't take headship position because the position needs travelling a lot and it is stressful (IDI/Loader/M/ Saki/2019).*

In Bodija market however, the *Boluyo* association is headed by a woman but this is not allowed in the united association. One interviewee also reiterated that this is because of the demands of the position. Instead, women are given assistant positions to provide support and also represent their gender. Although, women cannot take the topmost position of the association, but they are well recognised particularly because the trade consists of both men and women and women also constitute the largest population in the trade. Women are elected into positions as *Iya-egbe* (women leader) and also honored with positions as *Iyalaje* (matron). These women oversee the affairs and represent the women at various levels according to one interviewee;

Iya-egbe (women leader) oversees the affairs of the women at the various local markets. When we are the general meetings the *iya-egbe* (women leader) of various local markets is markets must report to the *iya-egbe* (women leader) at the national level. **(IDI/Merchant/M/Saki/2019);**

Iya-laje (matron) is more of an honorary position. *Iya-alaje* (matron) are mostly recommended by *iya-egbe* (women leader). *Iya-alaje* (matron) assists the *iya-egbe* (women leader) in running of the women affairs in various local markets **(IDI/Merchant/ F/ Mushin/2019); Women and men can be leaders. In Boluyo for example, a woman is the head, but in United we don't choose women as the head because we believe it is a demanding position but women can be vice (IDI/Merchant/M/Bodija /2019); we consider gender partially. When we want to choose key positions like the president and chairman we always choose men not women. They can be assistants (IDI/ Merchant/ M/Saki/2019).**

4.1.7. Celebration of *Odún Èlùbó* (Yam Flour Cultural Festival)

Odun èlùbọ is an annual event among the yam flour producers and distributors. It is observed in November every year. This event helps foster good relationship among the actors. Although, there are other festivals like the new yam festival which is celebrated across various cultures to commemorate the beginning of another harvest year and also Saki Parapo which involves the participation of all traders and indigenes of Saki. This event affords the actors ample opportunity to appreciate the influence of a supreme being in their trading activities. The traders acknowledge the supremacy of “God” in their trading activities with regards to the performance of the trade in terms of trade boom or downturn.

The yearly event serves as a time for performance appraisal of both the business and the executive officers of the association at large. Although, the *Odún èlùbó* is celebrated annually and serves as a time of thanksgiving to a ‘supreme being’ who is assumed to have intervened and sustained the trade through the trading year but prayers can be called for at any time during the year if there is a noticeable down turn in business activities. Responses culled from interviewees’ shows the actors indeed belief in a supreme being.

An interviewee stated thus: *when market drags, our leaders may ask that we come together to pray, they call clerics, kill goat, pray. We do yam flour day to celebrate ourselves and show our pride in the trade. We also have ‘Saki Parapo’ and (FGD/Farm Landlord/Saki/2019).*

In addition to this, a merchant stated that:

We believe “God” is the one in control of everything. Some years ago when we saw that market did not do well or we perceived bad things are happening to our people, I mean like when we hear death here and there, our leaders will call for prayers and invite Alfa, Pastor and traditionalist to pray with us **(IDI/Merchant/M/Saki/2019).**

During the festivals there is always sharing of food, dancing to music and appreciation of leaders of the associations, members and also God. This appreciation is expected to serve as an encouragement to all parties in the trade to improve on their dedication to the growth and sustenance of the trade in subsequent year.



Figure 4. 6: Word Cloud Visualization of Some Cultural Practices among Actors in Yam Flour Production and Distribution Chain

Source: Field work (2019).

Figure 4.6. shows that actors believed in a supreme being to whom they offer prayers as a form of appeasement for favourable trade and trade year. Offering of prayers is a cultural practice that has been patterned as a response to some observed favourable or unfavorable situations. Offering of ‘prayers’ is an age long is an age long cultural practice among people around the world.

Actors involved in the production and distribution of yam flour have a communal relationship where interaction is often smooth. Participation in the festive occasions is therefore considered necessary for every member of the association as it speaks to the loyalty of the members to the trade. *Annually we come together to celebrate ourselves and thank “God” for the safety through the year ...haa, we must be part of the celebrations because it shows our loyalty to the business. We see ourselves as a part of one big family (IDI/merchant/F/Saki/2019).*

The functions of the associations is not just for decision making and trade control, but also the creation of a social platform where actors meet to wine and dine. One of such platforms is the festive celebration and display of culture by the actors. On such festive days there is also room for discussions on how to improve the leadership and functions of the association and the trade at large:

We always look forward to the festival because we eat, drink and it is also a general platform to discuss issues that affect the trade at large. This platform gives room for wider deliberations and we most times come up with solutions that can move the trade forward **(IDI/Merchant/M/Bodija/2019)**.

As a show of pride and attachment to culture and the importance attached to local delicacies, the common delicacy at the festival is often products from the association, *àmàlà* (yam flour pudding). Members have party uniforms to identify themselves during the festival and they engage in craft making using yam chips as materials for earrings, bangles and necklace.

For all the actors on the chain except the farmers, we come together once a year to thank God for seeing us through a market year and also appreciate our leaders and everyone who has done well. We buy party uniform (*aşo-ẹbi*), make craft with

yam chips, make a lot of yam flour pudding (*àmàlà*) eat and dine with one another (**IDI/Merchant/ F/Orita-merin/2019**).

Although, the *odun elubo* is celebrated in November yearly, the festival does not necessarily usher in the sales of yam flour as traders can continue to sell the products as soon as it is available after production.

4.2. Social Construction of Exchange Value

Social interactions involve the exchanges of both tangible and intangible assets like physical goods and emotions among various interacting individuals in various socioeconomic contexts. These exchanges cement relationships among the actors along the value chain and help build a cordial relationship that helps the business and give the actors a sense of oneness, as stated by an interviewee; *We have been able to stay in business for many years because our relationships have been cordial with one another* (**IDI/Transporter/M/Saki/2019**);

In some instances, these interactions involve monetary exchanges among various actors on the value chain, and the success or failure of these exchanges is largely based on the cordiality of relationships among the actors as stated by an interviewee;

Haa, well it depends on the people involved, merchants lend transporters money and they use it to cover transport cost. This arrangement is based on trust and the relationship between the actors. Also, the farmers and laborers exchange goods for service too based on trust that none will breach the contract, but when there is a breach of contract there will be trouble in the community where it happens because the laborers have police to check for cheating on them (**KII/Assistant head/Bodija/2019**).

4.2.1. Pricing and Payment Decision of Goods

Although, goods and services have their economic values, the process of determining the economic values are often socially construed, jointly decided by members of the association based on mutual agreement. When a particular group of actors decide to fix or increase their prices or change the method of offering their services, it is expected that they inform the group of actors who are in need of their goods and services. The measure

of what reward is enough for what labour is subjectively agreed upon based on actors' own definition of what is enough for what as stated by an interviewee;

Decisions are mutually made among the actors; the transporters must inform the merchants if they want to fix prices or increase prices and this has helped smooth relationship among us. Also when there was a need for bags to be introduced, there was an agreement between the merchants and the farmers on the bag size and price **(KII/assistant head/F/Bodija/ 2019)**;

Pricing decisions are made based on negotiation between parties. Also, among the farmers and the merchants, when the farmers are taking decisions on what to produce they may ask for help from the merchants (KII/assistant head/ Ita-merin /2019)

One party cannot solely make decisions on pricing without negotiations with the other actors on the chain. The pricing agreement is to create uniformity in trade and negotiations takes place between and among groups based on acceptable standard as agreed among the actors

The association will come together and decide what the pricing will be so that there can be uniformity in the trade. We then negotiate same with the farmers and the transporters. Each group decides within themselves what amount to pay for what service. How to pay is between the actors in every transaction. The actors themselves decide what and how to pay for labor services **(KII/President/M/Saki/2019)**;

What services goes for what payment is standardized by various associations based on agreement among the members to protect their members' interest (KII/Merchant/F/Mushin /2019).

Figure 4.7. shows that exchanges and transactions among the actors are largely based on negotiations among the various actors in various contexts. Agreements on produce, prices, services emanates from negotiations among the actors. Merchants and other actors on the chain come to terms on what is paid for what measure of products or labour.



Figure 4.7: Word Cloud Visualization of Exchange Relationship among Actors in Yam Flour Production and Distribution Chain

Source: Field work (2019).

4.2.2 Negotiation of Labour Contract

In negotiations between actors, there are some standard measurements which have been agreed upon overtime, and these are used to determine the worth of labour services to make wage rate uniform. This includes the use of sacks, drums and various sizes of containers for portioning yam flour for affordability to consumers. The sack is a 100kilogram sack, while the metal or steel drum is a 100litres drum. The sack is used across all stages of price negotiation, by farm landlords, transporters, and merchants. The sacks and other containers are not standardised in terms of the weight of the produce but are rather measured in quantities and volume. The 100kg inscribed on the sack is only for identification among the actors as agreed in the trade. This was alluded to by an interviewee:

We have sacks, so all actors work their charges based on the sacks. The landlords are paid based on the sacks, the transporters charged based on the sacks and the merchants negotiate based on the sack too. All involved in such transactions will negotiate with themselves and come to terms on what goes for what **(KII/Assistant head/F/BODIJA/2019)**.

The sack is a 100kg sack but used to package yam flour in two major quantities. These different quantities have their agreed upon specified prices. According to a transporter, at the point where they have to carry sacks of yam chips for merchants, what they are paid is the decision of the association not the individual merchant or transporter. The pricing of the produce and services are agreed upon after all other costs of logistics has been factored into the cost of production. In the words of an interviewee:

The sack and the quantity of yam flour packed in it have their specified prices that we have all agreed on and we work with that. The merchant association and the transporter association decides the pricing and not the individual merchants or transporters **(KII/Transporter/M/Saki/2019)**.

Peelers are paid per drum based on agreement with the farmers they work with. This negotiation is done between the farmer and the head of peelers for all actors. This does

not often apply to the children and wives of the farmers, who help out on the farm as stated by a peeler,

We are paid per drum based on our agreement with individual farmers. We measure yams with drums and our charges are based on how many drums we peel. The farm owners and our peelers head will negotiate. But the farmers who are fathers can decide what they pay to their children and wives if they work with us. Although, we are compensated with small pieces of yam chips sometimes but not in all cases, but our main wages is with cash **(IDI/Peeler/F/Saki/2019)**

Every actor will negotiate with one another, except for our children whom we decide for. Being young or old with exemption of our own children negotiates their rewards for the labour provided, (IDI/Farmer/M/Saki/2019); age does not matter, except for children when they work with their parents the parent choose what to pay to them. (IDI/Peeler/F/Saki/2019).

Figure 4.8. shows how children and wives of actors are rewarded when they render services on the chain. On the chain rewards are negotiated among actors, but children and wives are paid based on familial relationship not based on negotiation. Their labour most times go unrewarded or are inadequately rewarded.

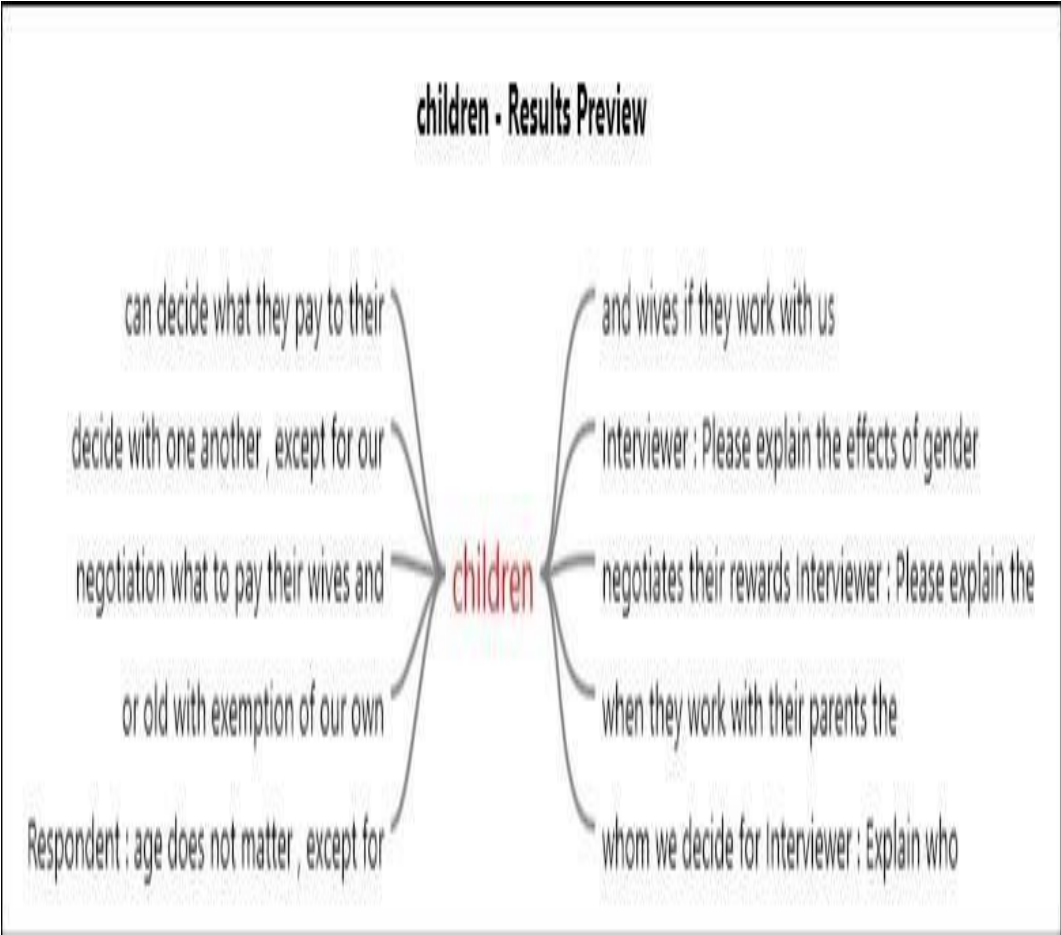


Figure 4.8: Visualization of Labour Reward Relationship Decisions to Wives and Children

Source: Field work (2019).

As relationships are built and actors relate with the same service provider over and over again, negotiation becomes easier while more care is taken when relating with new actors.

For the merchants, except the farmers, transporters, and peelers, we agree on the price to pay for goods and service as agreed by our association for uniformity and we negotiate same with the other actors. For the actors we have been relating with over time it is easier negotiating with one another but care will be taken when negotiating with new actors **(IDI/Merchant/F/Saki/2019)**.

This measurement standard has existed over time based on negotiation and renegotiation among us. Although, there are rifts sometimes about how full or unfull a sack is packed by the loaders from the farms but we usually have a way of getting compensated in cases of sacks not fully loaded or paying some compensations to farmers whose loaders over loads sack. In various instances where merchants are not satisfied with the loaders, actors make peace with one another by settling with statements as ‘fingers are not equal’. However, at the point of exchange with consumers, the locality determines how measuring containers are used in price negotiations with final consumers. For instance, measuring containers in Ibadan markets and Lagos markets differs.

According to an interviewee: *There are measuring containers, sacks which have been agreed upon by all involved except the consumers. The way Ibadan measures is not the way Lagos will measure when selling to final consumers* **(KII/Merchant/F/Mushin/2019)**.

In Ibadan here, our measuring containers are different from that of Lagos, so also our prices because other cost of carrying goods down, government fare and others vary from state to state, so there are no totally uniform price we sell to consumers **(IDI/Merchant/ F/ Bodija/ 2019)**.

In order for there to be uniformity in the pricing of yam chips from the farms and point of purchase, there is a standard sack size with which traders buy and transport yam chips to their various markets. This sack is a 100kg sack but can be filled in two sizes and named according to how full they are loaded, they are referred to as *àpò olóri ñlá* (extra-capped sack) and *àpò olóri kékeré* (capped sack) as agreed at the association level.



Figure 4.9: Image of Extra-capped Sack of Yam Flour Chips

Source: Field work (2019).

Figure 4.9. shows an extra-capped sack of loaded yam chips. The same 100kg sack is loaded as extra-capped or just capped bag. The loading is in volume and not in the actual weight of the sack.

Figure 4.10 shows the image of various sizes of pans and bowls for portioning of yam for affordability to consumers in a local market. What prices the various portions are sold for is contingent on the cost of the chips from the farm and the cost of logistic to the various markets.

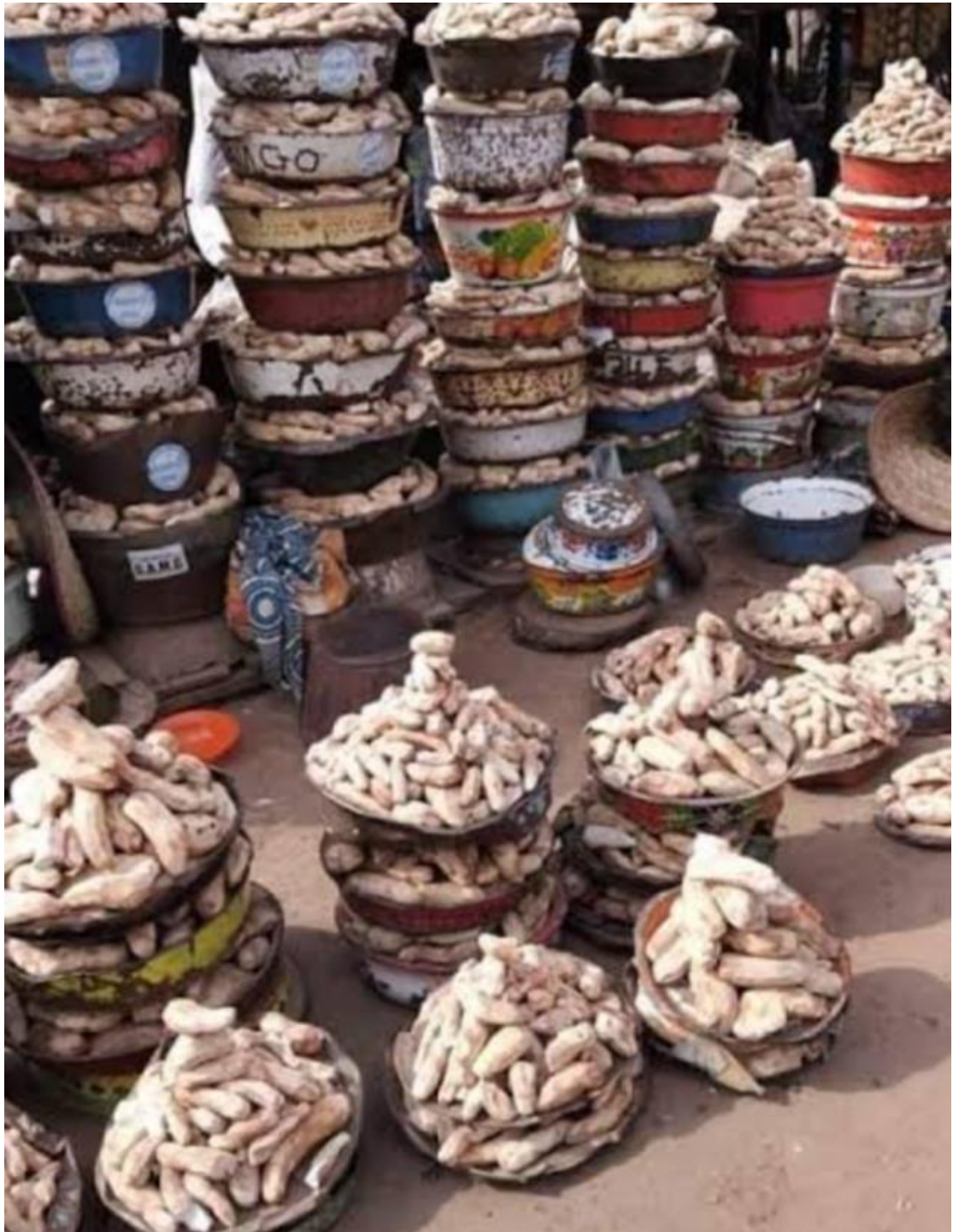


Figure 4.10: Image Portioning Pans of Yam Flour Chips in a Local Market

Source: Field work (2019).

4.2.3. Social Relationship as Informal Form of Collateral

Negotiations also exist between actors which involve the exchange of service for service or money for goods at a later date. These arrangements exist between laborers and farmers and also farmers and merchants. In such situations one actor's immediate need is met in exchange for the future need of the other actor according to this interviewee;

We sometimes have these arrangements between the merchants and the farmers and the laborers and the farmers. There were times the farmers will go to the merchants when they are in need of money and promise to pay back with goods during harvest. On the other hand, farmers and laborers have agreement that laborers work and get an agreed items like new motorbike, grinding machines and so on. **(FGD/ Merchant/F/Saki/2019)**;

In another perspective, this interviewee stated that:

Hmmm, yes we transporters have an arrangement sometimes with the merchants, when we are broke we ask the merchants for help financially and in return we sort with the cost of transportation among ourselves. Or other arrangements like paying when we have the money that is outside the payment for transportation **(KII/Transporter/M/Saki/2019)**.

Among the merchants, they perceive the upfront help farmers and transporters sometimes ask from them as a form of collateral for preference during harvest and transportation of goods.

Well, the laborers see taking goods in return for service as an investment, because most times those goods are for their families back home. For the merchants and farmers, giving money to a farmer can as well serve as a cover that a merchant will be given preference over others in trading season **(KII/Assistant head/F/Ita-Merin/ 2019)**.

As another participant added:

You know the merchants are king. They have the money and they make most decisions. When they borrow us money most time, they will dictate to you how you must give them preference once the farm produce is ready. In fact, they will even borrow us money to farm to secure markets for themselves once it is harvest time **(IDI/Farmer/M/ Saki/2019)**.

4.2.4. Changing Payment Relations

Before the advent of money' people had a need to exchange goods for services and vice versa. Although, this form of exchange has largely weaned off but there are still practices that can be likened to this barter system

Well, before payments were made with cowries and so on but these days we pay cash, times have changed, who still pays with cowries again these days? We all use money. Although, farmers and laborers exchange items with labor, but the laborers request are too much and their demands are killing the farmers and so the arrangement is not really working again, it led to a lot of fight among us (**KII/Farmer/M/Saki/2019**).

Farmers report that laborers demand for Bajaj motorcycle in exchange for labour services is gradually fading out. Bajaj are motorbikes that farm labors demand for as reward for their labour after working on a farm during a farming year. The labourers are mostly foreigners from neighbouring countries, babaj motor bike is demand among the labourers because labourers sees the motorbike as a form of capital to establish their a biking business or give same to wives for ease of transportation or to work on their own farm. Whether a labourer will get a Bajaj motorcycle is largely dependent on the number of years worked for. When a laborer requests for Bajaj, he has to work for two years but these days they just want to work for a year and get Bajaj motorcycle,

Hmm, what we use to measure is the number of years they work. When they place their request as return for work done, we will both agree on the number of years they will work before they get what they want. If they request for bajaj motorcycle they usually work for two years. Farm owner would have calculated how it will not negatively affect him. Also, the agreement must not fail. But these days the agreement fails o. There was a time when a farmer hired three labourers and he was expected to buy the three of them Bajaj motorcycle after the year's harvest but he could not because that year there was no rain and crops did not do well, it was a serious issue that year (**Case Study/Farmer/M/ Saki/2019**).

Peelers were also paid with yam chips for their services before which they had to convert to cash for themselves if they needed to purchase other goods. *We collect full cash for our*

services these days unlike before when we were paid with cash and yam chips. In fact, some pay with just yam chips which we sell and make money from too (IDI/Peelers/F/Saki 2019).

➤ **New Payment Mode in relations to exchange of items for labour wage**

After negotiations have been done, different payment modes exist which is then left to the parties involved in the transaction. Some parties prefer to be paid in cash while others would demand for goods or services in return. This trade by barter mode of payment has become less popular while the use of cash for payment for services is now more acceptable. However, transactions are still made on personal relationship and sentiments basis.

Well, we know that people will always pay for what they buy or services they receive somehow, like other trade we pay with money and some have other means like paying for services with items based on agreement. This is mostly with the farmers. Times have change and we are in the era of cash and no longer using items for exchanges, although may be the farmers still do but it has reduced drastically too. We use cash more but at the same time people deal with one another based on personal relationship and so lend themselves money and pay with goods or services. This is done sentimentally, most times, and based on market situation **(KII/Merchant/F/ Mushin/2019).**

Technological advancement has also affected the mode of payment among the actors, as payments are also being made through electronic transfers among the actors. Although, electronic transfer has been embraced due to supposed insecurity in the country, there are still a few challenge of bad network services. *For safety of our money these days we carry less cash and do more transfer of cash among ourselves (IDI/Loaders/M/Saki/2019).* In the explanation of this interviewee merchants may transfer money to farmers.

Everything is changing, so it is technology. It has helped our transactions well too. These days we can transfer money to the farmers ahead of our visit to the farm and sometimes we don't even go to the farms at all if we have known the farmer for some **time (IDI/Merchant / Orita-Merin/F/2019).**

In the view of this participant:

Among the merchants we use cash to pay when we buy from the farmers or pay the transporters. We buy and sell and all our own transactions are done with cash payment or we transfer money to the farm landlords or farmers. **(IDI/Saki/Merchant/M/2019)**.

➤ **Satisfaction with trading arrangements**

When asked about the level of satisfaction with the way transactions are made in the Yam flour chain, interviewees report that an agreement to sell good or provide services shows that the person is satisfied with the offer. The disposition to payment therefore shows a level of satisfaction with the payment arrangement.

Well, we have been doing the business for many years and we do pricing as the economy changes too. Once a farmer agrees to sell his goods it means he is satisfied and once merchants buy too it means he is satisfied too. Merchants buy once they are satisfied with the price. Transporter will agree to transport the goods once they are satisfied with the amount merchants' offer. Before people will offer to sell or buy at a particular price they must have calculated what they stand to gain and once that is done, they should be satisfied **(FGD/Merchant/Saki 2019)**.

Willingness to transact shows some level of satisfaction of the actor as noted by Dingwall and Hoselitz(1981), when he stated that voluntary trades between individuals implies that both parties to trade subjectively perceive the goods or labour they receive as being of equal value to the goods or service they give away. Satisfaction of the service provider also influences the choice for new transactions in the future. Actors want to trade with those who have treated them well and provided the right services.

An interviewee stated thus: *People will want to work when they are satisfied with the arrangements among the actors. When people are not satisfied about the transactions arrangement, they will be reluctant to do another business again* **(IDI/Transporters/M/Saki/2019)**, Another interviewee also stated that: *There is no way to measure satisfaction because people just do business at times* **(IDI/ Merchant/M/ Mile2/2019)**.

However, inference from various actors shows that satisfaction cannot be measured because sometimes people decide to keep a chain of transaction just to do business or make ends meet. Although, it is said that satisfaction can be measured through repeated transactions, yet some still stay in the trade even when they perceive the profit from the trade as non-satisfactory. The possible explanation for such action is that staying in the business is possibly fulfilling a psychological and a social function of belonging to an association to the actors.

4.3 Indigenous Practices Underlying Yam Flour Production-Distribution

Traditionally, people acquire skills for adaptation in the course of relating with their local environment. In the course of exploration of the environment for adaptation, discoveries are made and when such discoveries are made and found helpful, such discoveries are then documented if possible or transmitted orally to younger generations, this knowledge is considered by (Pawluk, *et al.*, 1992) as bodies of knowledge that develop as a certain culture or ethnic group strives to meet subsistence goals in a particular ecological setting. It is noted that even before the advent of modern machineries; actors have been producing yam chips and equally milling same into yam flour with available simple tools in their local environment. Yam which is the sole raw material for *èlùbọ* production is still indigenously produced with hoes and cutlasses as there are still no mechanized implement or machines to make yam ridges. Based on the assumed crudeness of the farmers cultivation method, the farmers are classified as “*àgbẹ̀ olóko ñlá*” (commercial farmers) and “*àgbẹ̀ olóko kékeré*” (subsistence farmers).

4.3.1. Indigenous soil and Pest management Practices

The discussion of the indigenous method of production and distribution of yam flour is subsumed under the following headings:

Farming is an age-long profession. Stakeholders in the farming and production of food produce adopted various indigenous practices to management both the soil for planting and wade off pest from farm produce. Before the advent of modern technologies and the introduction of chemical pesticides, stakeholders, particularly farmers adopted mulching as a way of preserving soil nutrients to enhance better yield of their crops. A farmer stated

how the soil is managed to give maximum output on produce: A farmer stated that; *The soil is the foundation for our yam planting and when we have good soil, we are confident that our yams will do well (IDI/Farmers/M/Saki/2019)*, Another interviewee also stated that: *We also try to plant other food items beside our yams, this helps the soil to do well too. We grew up with this idea from our fathers, (IDI/Farmers/M/Saki/2019)*,

Another interviewee also stated that:

We also weed and use the weed to cover our soil most times in the dry season. This helped us protect our soil nutrients and give us good yields. To scare away pest like rodent from destroying our yams, we use locally made traps, light up fires and atimes bur dry pepper with fire, the smoke sends the animals away (IDI/Farmers/M/Saki/2019).

4.3.2. Yam flour Production

Yam flour is a secondary product of yam which results from the processing of yam. Yam flour is one of the processed results of yam which is favoured in West Africa especially among the Yoruba in Nigeria known as Amala (Akissoe, 2001; Babajide, *et al* 2006). Yam flour chip is produced from cultivated yams. The production of yam flour is a sequential process which flows from yam cultivation to yam milling.

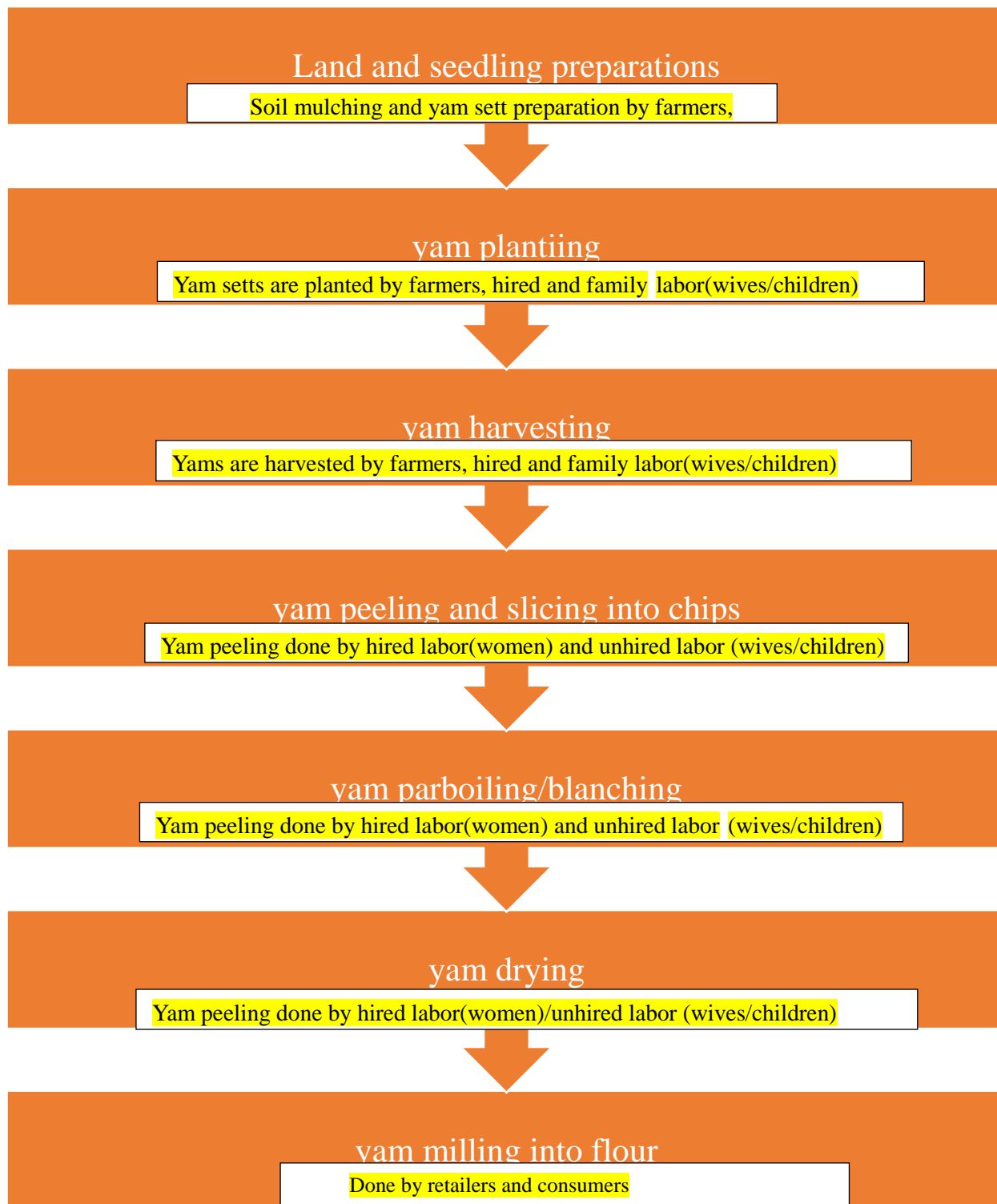


Figure: 4.11. Yam Flour Production Process Flow

Source: Field work (2019).

Figure 4.11 shows the flow of production of yam flour from yam planting to yam milling and the various actors involved in the production process. The flow shows the interactions and the dependence of actors on the chain.

The whole process of farming and producing yams into chips and then into flour is largely manual as stated by an interviewee;

You mean our old and traditional ways of making yam flour? Yam farming was done manually with hoes and cutlasses by our husbands and fathers. Although, few aspects of the process have changed now, this is because of technological advancement. Farmers use big drums now to boil yams not small clay pots like before. We harvest manually, peel manually, boil the yams and preserve them with cassia leaves, then dry the chips on the rocks for days before they become dried. We also used to grind the yam chips into flour with mortar, but we grind with machine now, **(Case Study/Merchant/2019)**;

Another interviewee also stated thus:

We make ridges with hoes and cutlasses till date and peel yams manually too. There are no alternatives to this part of the production of yam chips. Technology has taken over the aspect of preservation but not ridges making for yams **(IDI/Farmers/M/Saki/2019)**,

Figure 4.12 shows the preservation method of yam flour chips.



Figure 4. 12: Word Cloud Visualization of Yam Flour Preservation Method

Source: Field work (2019).

After yams have been peeled, it has to be parboiled. The indigenous method involved parboiling with mud pots but this has been taken over by the use of iron pots. After parboiling, the yam is taken to the mountain for sun-drying.

In the peeling of yam, we use our hands, in parboiling it we do it manually, the only changes in the parboiling process is that in the old days we use to use mud pots but these days we use iron pots, we sun dry by taking it to exposed rock surface and when it is dried we go and pack them. **(Case Study/Farm Landlord/2019).**

Farmers also attest to the sustainability and preference for the indigenous methods of production although little changes like the use of iron pot and machines to mill have been introduced. Exposed rock surface are still used for drying and the cooking of yam is still done with firewood. This farmer also stated that the old method of preserving yam flour – with the use of pepper and cassia leaves is healthier than the present method of using chemicals.

Yes, we still largely use the indigenous system, although some few aspects have changed. We no longer use clay pots, we now use *ikoko irin* (casted aluminium pots), we still dry on mountains, we cook with firewood; we peel manually, although we use machine to mill it now. The indigenous system was what we met our own parents using so we have no alternative means or knowledge. That was what we were taught by our parents to do and that is what we have means of doing **(Case Study/Saki/Farmer/2019).**

The quality of the yam chips and yam flour is largely dependent on the production process by the peelers and the farmers. During the peeling, peelers are expected to do a neat job and change water frequently to ensure yam is neat and clean.

We use *ikoko irin* (casted aluminium pot) to boil the yam. We know we should be clean, avoid sand when peeling the yams, and change the water frequently. It makes the yam neat and clean. We use dry pepper with fire to preserve the yam chips **(IDI/Peelers/F/Saki/2019).**

Figure 4.13. shows the image of casted molten metal pot made from aluminium and some other materials. The pot is used for parboiling of yams as it is perceived to be better than some metal drums used in parboiling of yams, because the aluminium is assumed to retain heat more and this makes it more effective.



Figure 4.13: Image of Casted Aluminium Pot for Parboiling Yam

Source: Field work (2019)

Figure 4.14. shows the improvised 100 litres chemical drums used by the actors to parboil yams after peeling to make yam chips. The drums are bought, cleaned and used as boiling pots. It is believed that the drums may rust or may not produce chips that are very clean.



Figure 4.14: Images of Steel or Metal Drums for Parboiling Yams

Source: Field work (2019).

Figure 4.15. shows the image of sun dried yams chips that stacked up on the exposed rock surface. The color of the dried chips are lighter as the chips is void of moisture and is safe for keep. After the chips have been ascertained to be properly dried, the chips are still left on the rocks for a couple more days, this may be a form of quality assurance check by the actors.



Figure 4.15: Image of Sun-dried Yam Chips on Exposed Rock Surface

Source: Field work (2019)

Figure 4.16. shows how yam chips are spread on the exposed surface of rocks for them to dry. This process takes a minimum of a week or more to dry properly depending on the intensity of the harmattan or sun before they are packed from the rock. The exposed rock surfaces are chosen and preferred because of its ability to retain heat during the day and sustain same even when the sun is set in the evening.



Figure 4.16: Image of Yam Chips Drying Process on Exposed Rock Surface

Source: Field work (2019)

4.3.3 Indigenous Method of Yam Flour Preservation

After the production of yam chips there is a need to preserve the chips before they get to the final consumers due to the time lag between production and distribution. Traditionally, there are methods adopted by the actors. This traditional method of preservation gives merchants the confidence that the produce would not get spoilt and it is always healthy for consumption at any time. To the actors the indigenous method of preservation is of great advantage because it is harmless in terms of consumption and has a long shelf life.

Sellers are more concerned about keeping the yam chips. We preserve them the traditional way by using cassia leaves or dry pepper to preserve yam chips. We can sell the yam chips at any time without fear of any harm of consumption to the consumers. We use cassia leaves soaked in water and we spray it on the yam chips or we use dry cayenne pepper, put it in and around the yam chips. The traditional preservation method helps us build confidence among ourselves because we will not ask question when buying. We still use cassia leave for preservation just for small quantity that can be consumed by a family. The safety of selling at any time after purchase without harm to the consumers makes us prefer it **(IDI/ /Merchants/F/Saki/2019)**;

A farmer also stated that:

Anyway, in terms of using indigenous method to preserve yam flour I prefer that because the preservation method have no harmful effect... unlike the chemicals people use these days when we use our pepper or cassia leave we can eat our yam flour whenever we wish to eat but not with chemicals it has to take a long period before it can be eaten **(Case Study/Farmer/M/ Saki/2019)**.

Preservation of the yam chips is also important during transportation. Hence, yam and yam chips have to be covered with leaves and waterproof tarpaulin respectively to prevent damage from rainfall during the journey. This helps to preserve the produce till it gets to the destination where it can be properly stored away for sell.

A transporter explained that;

We just cover yam chips with waterproof tarpaulin but we cover yams with leaves when transporting to avoid direct sunlight or

rain from spoiling the goods. I know if the yams or yam flour chips are not well covered it may get spoilt from rainfall before delivery. It has worked for us overtime so we keep using the leaves and waterproof tarpaulin (IDI/Transporter/M/Saki/2019).

➤ **Chemicalised Method of Yam Flour Preservation**

The major change in the production of yam flour is in the area of preservation of yam chips. According to a farmer, when yam flour is not preserved with anything, there is often insect damage and this could also lead to loss for farmers and merchants. Now chemical preservatives like “*gamalin*” and “*trebor*” are used for preservation. It is believed that these chemicals make the yam chips last longer without getting spoilt. And as demands for yam flour increases and merchants also want to keep it for a longer period, the use of chemicals also increased. These chemicals however have to be used in moderate measure to allow for healthy consumption.

A farmer in his explanation stated that;

In the old days when we don't preserve with anything we use to go through troubles of insect damage, but these days with the introduction of chemical preservative we may use “*trebor*” or “*gamalin*” in moderate measure so we can keep and sell at any time...We produce plenty these days and also keep it for long, so we must add chemical. The application of the chemical preservative has time frame but it can be eaten, so if we want to eat in a short time we don't apply the chemical. You the educated will say “step by step”, it is all encompassing, then we had less demand compare to what we have these days (Case Study/Farmer/2019).

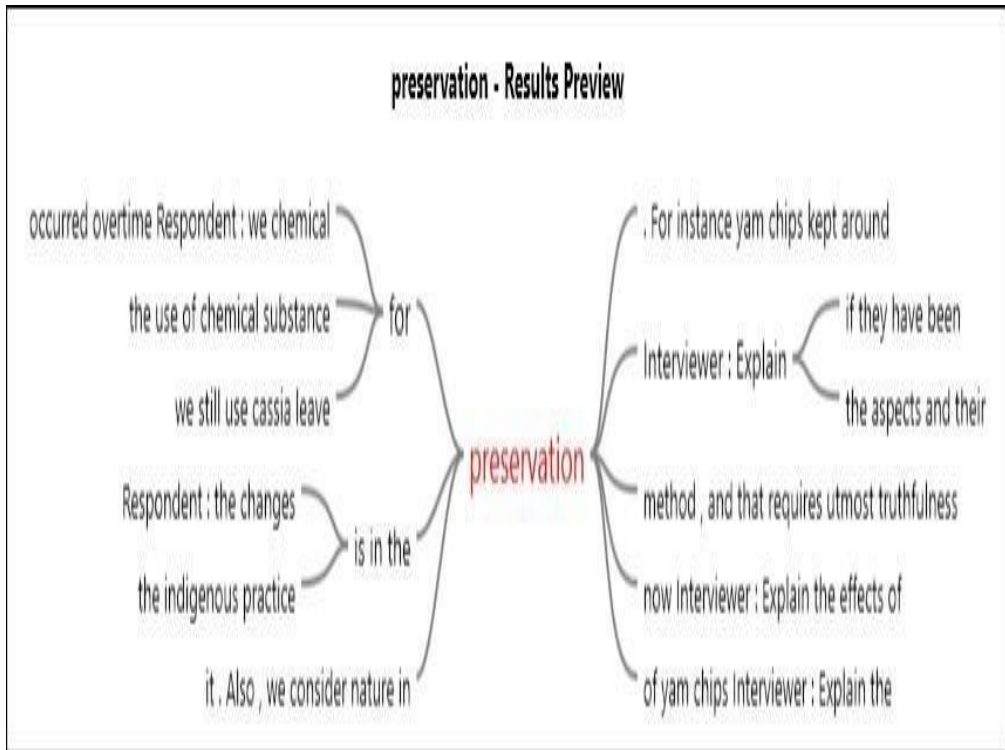


Figure 4.17: Text Search Result on Indigenous Method of Yam Chips Preservation

Source: Field work (2019)

Figure 4.19. shows that the indigenous method of using various leaves as cassia and dried cayenne pepper is still very much in use, particularly when the production is at subsistence level and so there is no need to keep for a long period. The farmers still largely uses the indigenous method in the preservation process of yam flour chips. Although. A few of the actors claimed they have preference for organic method of preservation but their patronage of chemical substances is fueled by their quest for profit.

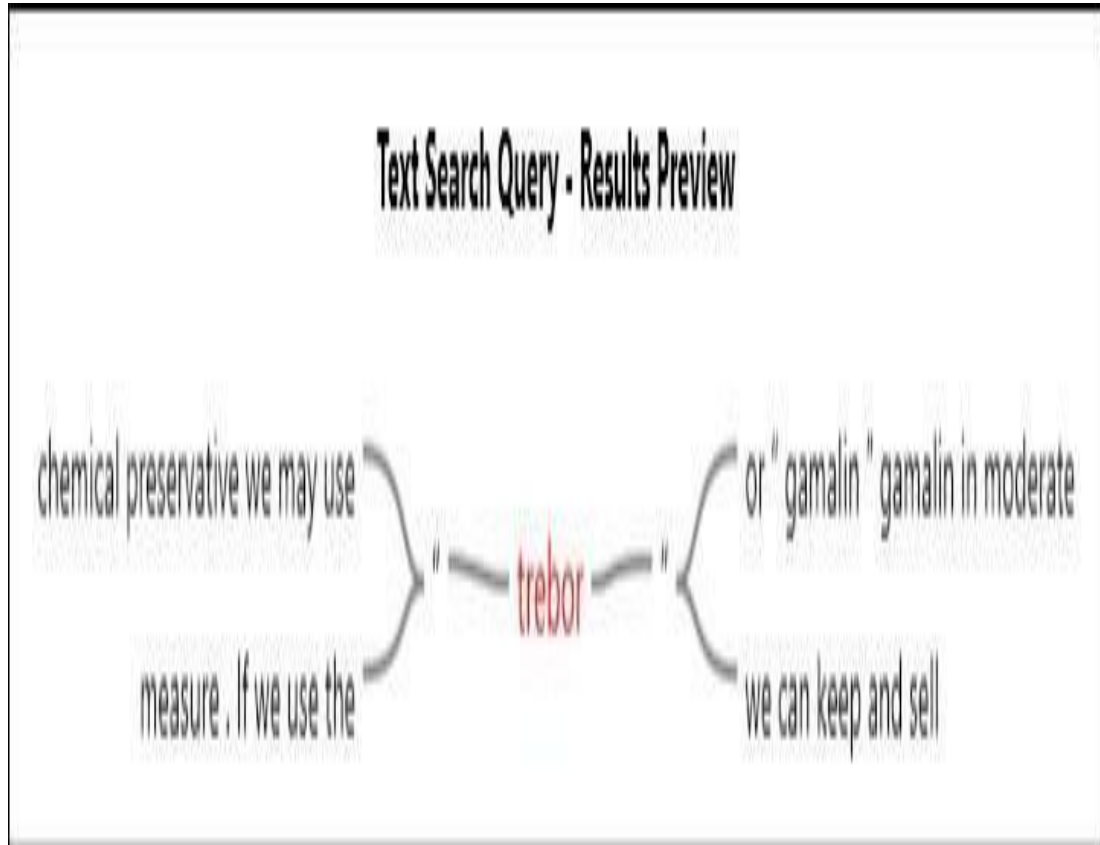


Figure 4.18. Text Search Result on Use of Chemical Substances for Preservation of Yam Chips

Source: Field work (2019).

Figure 4.18. shows that the use of chemical substance for preservation of yam flour chips have been well embraced by the actors on the production and distribution chain. In order to remain discrete and conceal information from buyers and consumers alike, actors have a coined term '*trebor*' used in their discussion of chemical substance usage. Actors believed that the application of chemical substance will help preserve yam flour for a longer period of time when compared with indigenous method of preservation. Merchants particularly engage this method because of the time lag between the production, distribution and consumption time.

To avoid wrong consumption of yam flour preserved with chemicals, it is required that merchants and farmers be truthful to each other and to the final consumers. This was not necessary when indigenous methods were used for preservation. The merchant needs to know when the farmer applied the chemical to be sure it has warred-off and fit for consumption. *We use chemical to preserve now. It requires that we tell the whole truth to avoid troubles from consuming the flour wrongly. (IDI/Farmers/M/Saki/2019);*

We always ask the farmers questions about when they apply the chemical to know when to eat but with indigenous method there is no need for questions (IDI/Merchant/M/Mile 2/2019)

Improper use of drums for parboiling yam chips has also been discovered to change the color of the yam chips which leads to complains and sometimes rejection of the produce by merchants.

We use drums these days because of the quantity we produce. The changes in the use of iron pots and big drums makes some merchants reject some yam chips because they feel they are not clean enough. The use of drums in place of iron pots, result to different colors of yam flour and people will always ask questions or complain. All have changed, I am not sure anyone still uses mud pots because of the quantity of production. Also, I am not sure people still use dry pepper for preservation again too because of the quantity and storage time **(IDI/Saki/Peelers/F/2019).**

The use of chemicals in preservation of yam flour has increased the confidence in large scale production without fear of spoilage, especially for actors considering the profit

margin. However when the chemicals are not appropriately applied and the stipulated time frame for it to ware-off is not adhered to, it could lead to complications at the point of consumption for end users.

Now that they use chemical substances in preservation it makes the farmers produce more and merchants can buy more and store too without fear of spoilage. But that is when profit is considered o. If the chemicals are not properly applied and adequate time given for it to ware-off before consumption, it is trouble. That is why we heard an incidence of people who ate amala (yam flour paste) and died sometimes ago (IDI/Merchant/F/Saki//2019).

4. 4. Value Chain Activities in Yam Flour Production and Distribution

Value chain is referred to as “a structure of physical, economic and social transactions between individuals or organisations engaged in the transformation of raw materials into end products’ (Ahmed, 2007). This insight buttresses the necessity of the human factor in the production and distribution activities of food products. It implies there is a greater success from social relations when social networks are formed to focus and foster production and distribution initiatives particularly in rural communities and throughout the developing world where informal local exchange systems are prevalent. The production of food from the rural areas and its distribution to the urban areas will not only make food available but also enhances interactions among the value chain actors and help bridge the rural-urban dichotomy.

Yam flour production and distribution chain is identified as an organized system as actors are fixed into various roles for the proper functioning of the whole production and distribution system.

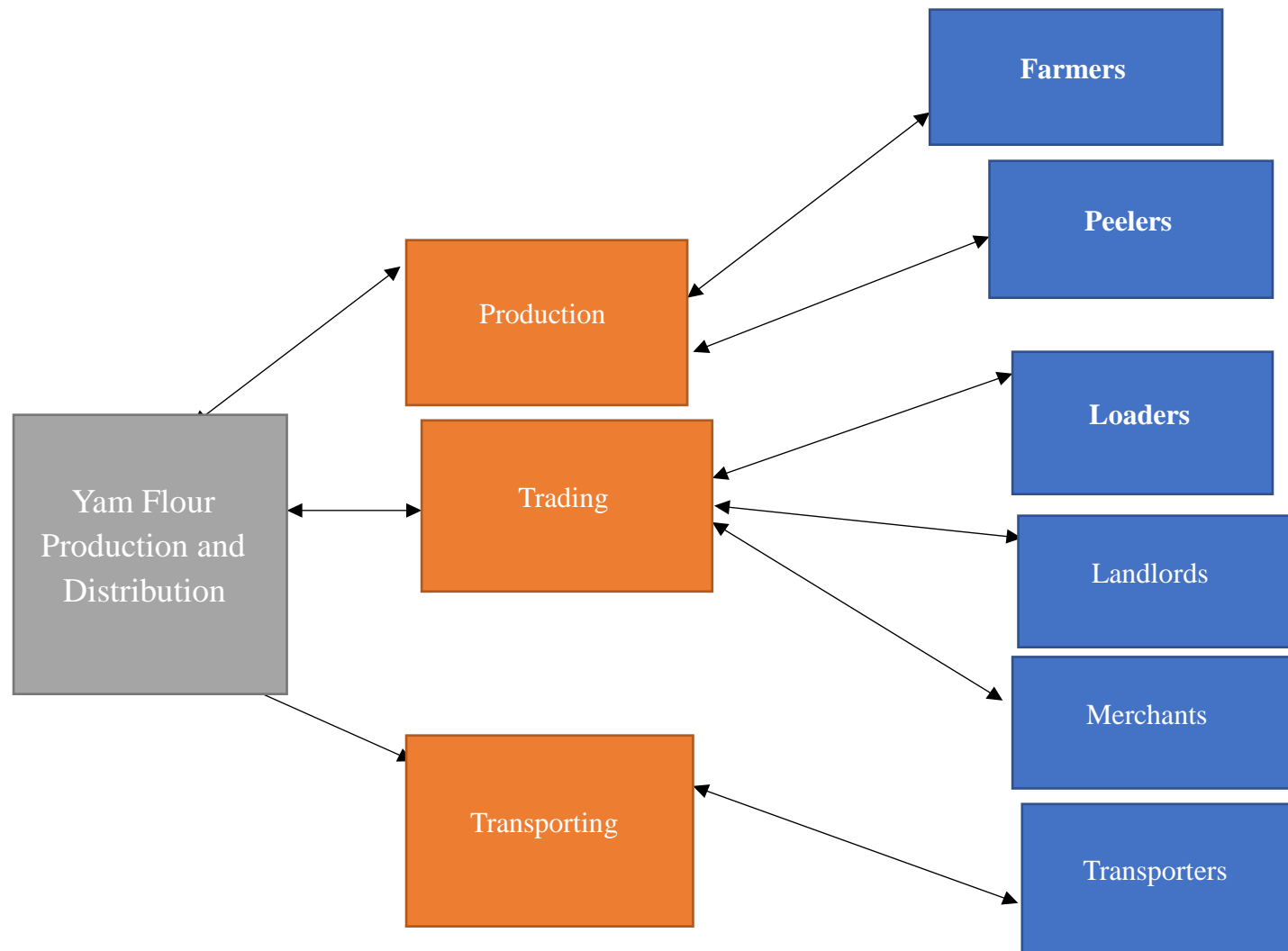


Figure 4.19: Diagram of Yam Flour Value Chain Actors and Activities

Source: Field work (2019).

Figure 4.19. shows the structure of relationship of actor's activities on the yam flour production and distribution chain. This study identified three tiers of activities on the chain. These are;

- (1) Producing (Farmers and Peelers)
- (2) Trading (Loaders, Merchants, Landlords)
- (3) Transporting

These three tiers are further broken into six categories of actors with varying roles in the yam flour production-distribution chain. These actors are: Farmers, Peelers (Family labour/Paid labour), Loaders, Transporters, Farm Landlords, Merchants (Wholesalers/Retailers).

Farming is regarded an age long occupation in Saki which has been passed down from one generation to another. Yam farming has become part of life of the people. The farmers are the first actors on the production-distribution chain of yam flour as they farm the yam and produce the yam chips with the help of the peelers who are either hired laborers or immediate family members of the farmers, like their wives and children. The peelers who are not family members are laborers who are beckoned on or who come around the mountains where yam chips production takes place during the Harmattan season which is usually around December to February. It is obvious that the farmers start the chain activities as stated by a merchant that; *The farmers are the first set of people on the chain because they farm yams. The chain activities start with the farmers (FGD/ Merchant/Saki/2019);*

Another interviewee said;

Haaa, farming is the major and longtime occupation in Saki, we met it with our fathers and we know that when we wake up in the morning we should go to the farm, bend and cultivate the ground....most of us the elders cannot do something else other than farming. In fact, even those who do not farm commercially still do it for subsistence, we farm plenty yams both for personal consumption and yam chips production (FGD/ Farmers/Saki/2019).

Peelers are next to farmers on the production-distribution chain because the peelers work directly with the farmers. The peelers are laborers, who mostly work on mountains during

yam flour chips production. Each peeler has a mountain on which they work and are known there. While no registration is needed for peelers, the head of the groups on each mountain know those who work there. Peelers are made up of mostly women and children. The business of the Peelers is dependent on the farmers' business and the quantity of yam harvested. A peeler stated thus:

Peelers are laborers, we are called upon when there is work to do. We peelers we are associated to particular mountains and someone cannot just go to others mountain, we know ourselves. In the trade we have both male and female, what matters is the business itself not whether somebody is a man or a woman. Most of us peelers are women and children **(KII/ Peelers/F/Saki/2019)**,

Another interviewee said: *We all depend on one another. The farmer is the major determinant of our own business. So, if the farmer does not sell, we won't have business to do too (IDI/ Peelers/ F/Saki/2019).*

Loaders are also another set of laborers who work with both the farmers and the merchants alike. Loaders popularly called 'eledi' help load the bags with yam chips from the point of purchase from the farmers according to a loader,

Loaders are laborers, we are called upon when there is work to do. We have standard pricing and most times it is strictly business between us the loaders and the merchants. Farm landlords too can be loaders but not for the farmers or merchant they bring to buy goods **(IDI/ Loaders/ M/Saki/2019)**,

Also, on the chain is the Landlords popularly called "baale". They are either farm or home landlord depending on spatial location. The farm landlords are the intermediaries between the farmers who produce yam flour and the merchants. It is indeed very important and a matter of necessity among the traders not to bypass the farm landlord to trade directly with the farmers. The traders also see hospitality to the farm landlords as collateral for access to farm produce. The farm landlord serves also as the communicators or marketers to the farmers as they regularly know which farmers has yam flour chips for sale and communicate same to the traders that come their ways.

An interview mentioned that:

When we get to the farms we also take adequate recognition of the farm landlords, because you cannot just get to the farms and see the farmers without the farm landlords. After the farm landlord takes us to the farmer that has yam chips to sell, they also help with the loading or call loaders and each bag size has its price. We must also be nice to the farm landlords. Also, during the days of staying on the farm, you must also stay with the farm landlord till you finish buying your goods. This is to show them some love. This makes them happy and they feel loved and this also make them sell well for you. When they know where there is good market they give us preference because of the love shown to them **(FGD/ Merchants/ Saki/2019)**.

Another interviewee also said:

We show love to both the farm landlord and the farmers by giving the farm landlords gift items when we go to the farms to buy markets, sometimes we buy them *maggi* (bouillon cubes), salt, palm oil. We know they don't produce these things and they need it too. We even go to the extent of giving used clothes to the farmers for their children and labourers **(IDI/Merchants/ F/Saki/2019)**.

Along the value chain are yet another group of key players, who are the merchants popularly refer to as "*momero*" or "*olowo*" are the major players in the trader's chain. They are usually psyched up for business with sayings as "*olówó l'òwò* (trade terms are dictated by the one who owns the money). The merchants help bridge the distribution gap between the rural farmers and the rural and urban consumers. The merchants are assumed to be the group dictating trade activities on the chain according to this interviewee,

Haa, *momero* are very important in the trade. Who will buy our goods if we do not have the *momero*. We don't joke with them o. we all need ourselves but I can say the merchants are important they are the ones who turn our efforts to money **(IDI/Farmer/M/Saki/2019)**.

Another interviewee stated:

All actors on the chain are important, but *olowo* are still the most important. We are the ones who take the goods to the consumers who will eat and pay for the goods. *Abi* (or) how many consumers will go to the rural farms to buy yam chips themselves? We are important o, so other actors listen to us when we come up with an idea or issue **(KII/ Merchant/ F/Ita-merin 2019)**.

Some merchants also believe that they are very important to farmers' survival and this might influence their behavior and mode of negotiations during pricing. A farmer explains that this has actually led to an issue previously among Kwara farmers and merchants, where merchants decided to change the bag used for measurement. The farmers believed this would cause a shortage of profit for them, but had to later give in because they had to sell their produce.

One interviewee stated that:

Sometimes ago, there was a discord among the Kwara farmers and the merchants due to the introduction of new bag size which is totally different from the regular bag we have all known by the by the merchant association. We farmers totally disagree with the new bag and the pricing by the merchants. After many deliberations with the merchant's representatives, we have to go with their bidding places, because we know we cannot do without them. If we insist on not selling our yam chips we will be the one at lost because individual consumers cannot come to the farms to buy from us **(Case Study/Farmer/2019)**.

There is another group of actors on the chain who are pivotal to the movement of goods from the rural farms to various destinations or markets where the merchants sell to final consumers. These are the transporters. The transporters are organized group of actors who help the merchants convey their goods from interior rural farms to the markets where these goods are sold to consumers. One interviewee stated thus: *When we buy our goods from the farm we need the transporters to take our goods to the markets for us, so we cannot do without the transporters too.* **(IDI/Merchant/Bodija/F/2019);**

Another interviewee stated that:

Haa, we don't joke with the transporters the same way we don't joke with the farmers. I remember sometimes there was an issue of pricing between the merchants and the transporters. It was very serious. The transporters insisted on not taking our goods from the farms and were not allowed to call in other transporters who are not members of the association. A lot of goods got spoilt by rain **(Case/study/Merchant/F/2019)**.

Along the value chain, farmers, merchants and transporters have a round relationship. When merchants go to the farm and purchase yam chips from the farmers through the farm landlords, transporters are very pivotal to the transportation of the goods to the market where merchants would sell. Between transporters and merchants, there seems to be some power play where one party tries to outsmart the other to get better deals. But according to an interviewee, actors usually maintain the standard price agreed by the association. *haaa, both transporters and merchants wants to outsmart one another but we rather uphold the laid down standard price (IDI/Merchants/M/Mile2/2019); Hmm, the relationship between the farmers and the traders or merchants is a symbiotic one, without the merchants the farmers may not survive, so we try to keep good relationship with one another (FGD/Saki/Merchant/2019)*

The relationship along the production-distribution value chain is a dependent one; no one activity is complete in itself without the activities of another actor. Although yam flour production serves a curb to yam wastage due to lack of storage facilities, Olutayo (2005), it is important to state that yam flour production on a commercial scale is not to curb yam wastage as farmers who produce yam flour chips specifically do so for yam flour production. Also, at this level of production, family labour (wives and children) are usually not sufficient for production, hence labors are hired while family labour only complements the needed labour.

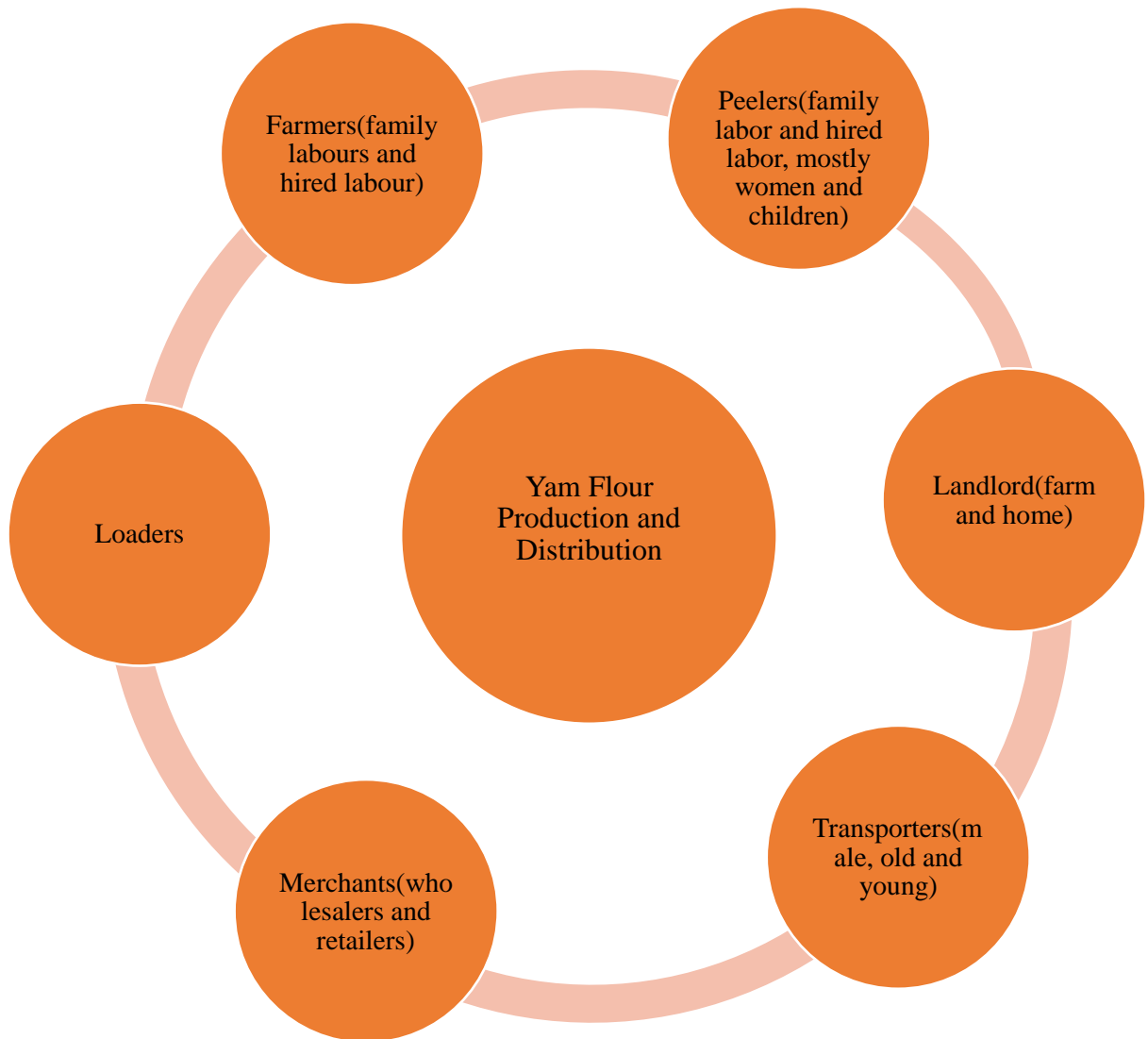


Figure 4.20: Image of Cyclical Relationship among Actors in Yam Flour Production and Distribution Chain

Source: Field work (2019)

Figure 4.20 shows relationship on the production and distribution chain of yam flour is a dependent one as the process is a continuous one, and no activity is complete in itself. A new cycle of production and distribution starts with the farmers cluster.

4.5 Socio-demographic Characteristics Moderating Yam flour Production and Distribution

A number of socio-demographic characteristics play numerous roles in the production-distribution chain of yam flour. The trade consists both men and women, young and old, single and married. There are also traders who are formally educated and those who are not formally educated in the trade. Undocumented accounts from the traders show women are more in the trader's cluster, while men dominate the transporters cluster.

The variations in the socio-demographic composition of the chain actors one way or the other propel or repel interactions and activities on the production and distribution chain. Findings among the actors' shows there are differences among the various chain actors but the differences have little or no implications on interactions and the production-distribution of yam flour. The differences in the socio-demographic composition of the actors are taken more as advantages rather than a disadvantage to the interactions and the yam production and distribution process.

Table 4.1: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

S/ N	Sex	Age	Religion	Level of Education	Marital Status	Ethnicity	Occupation	Years in Trade	Location
1	F	32	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	7	Saki
2	M	41	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Farmlandlord	15	Saki
3	M	Nil	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Farmer	38	Saki
4	F	43	Christian	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	18	Saki
5	F	38	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	9	Ibadan
6	F	32	Christian	Primary sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	14	Lagos
7	F	41	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	15	Saki
8	M	56	Muslim	Pry Sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	24	Ibadan
9	M	Nil	Muslim	Nil	Married	Fulani	Farmer	25	Saki
10	F	32	Muslim	Polytechnic	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	4	Lagos
11	F	32	Christian	Primary sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	15	Ibadan
12	M	41	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	19	Lagos
13	F	62	Christian	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	33	Saki
14	F	43	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Farmer	22	Saki
15	F	38	Christian	Primary sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	12	Lagos
16	F	32	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	13	Ibadan
17	F	41	Muslim	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	18	Lagos
18	M	56	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	23	Saki
19	M	43	Muslim	Primary sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	21	Ibadan
20	F	24	Christian	Polytechnic	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	9	Lagos
21	F	32	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	8	Saki
22	F	41	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	9	Ibadan
23	F	56	Muslim	Nil	Widow	Yoruba	Peeler	28	Saki
24	M	43	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Farmlandlord	17	Saki
25	M	38	Muslim	Sec sch	Single	Yoruba	Merchant	8	Ibadan
26	F	31	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	6	Lagos
27	F	41	Muslim	Primary sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	12	Saki
28	M	67	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Farmer	42	Saki
29	M	43	Muslim	Nil	Single	Yoruba	Merchant	14	Lagos
30	F	26	Muslim	Sec sch	Single	Yoruba	Merchant	5	Lagos
31	M	42	Muslim	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Transporter	18	Saki
32	M	41	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	15	Ibadan
33	F	44	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	17	Lagos

34	F	43	Muslim	Pry	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	13	Saki
35	F	38	Christian	Primary sch	Widow	Yoruba	Merchant	14	Ibadan
36	M	32	Muslim	Polytechnic	Single	Yoruba	Transport	9	Saki
37	M	41	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	10	Saki
38	F	56	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	15	Ibadan
40	M	43	Muslim	Primary sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	12	Lagos
41	F	38	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	13	Saki
42	M	32	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	14	Ibadan
43	M	72	Muslim	Nil	Married	Egede	Farmer	44	Saki
44	M	52	Muslim	Primary sch	Single	Yoruba	Merchant	17	Saki
45	F	43	Muslim	Quranic sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	19	Ibadan
46	F	38	Muslim	O.N.D	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	9	Lagos
47	M	44	Christian	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	13	Saki
48	F	34	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	12	Ibadan
49	M	44	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	15	Lagos
50	M	68	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	10	Lagos
51	F	46	Christian	N.C.E	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	15	Saki
52	M	68	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	32	Ibadan
53	M	44	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	13	Lagos
54	F	48	Christian	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Peeler	14	Saki
55	F	44	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	15	Ibadan
56	F	38	Christian	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	10	Lagos
57	M	44	Christian	N.C.E	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	9	Saki
58	F	38	Muslim	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	13	Ibadan
59	M	49	Christian	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	24	Lagos
60	M	38	Christian	Pry Sch	Married	Yoruba	Farmlandlord	15	Saki
61	M	44	Muslim	Sec sch	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	10	Ibadan
62	M	76	Christian	Nil	Married	Yoruba	Merchant	37	Lagos

Source: Field work (2019)

4.5.1 Marital Status and Family Size

Marital status and family size are some of the differences found among the actors in yam flour production distributions but further investigations reveal this difference have no negative effect on how actors relate in yam flour production and distribution. However, children and wives of the farmers are involved in the processing of yam flour and so the family size of a farmer could determine how much external labor is to be recruited to complete the production process.

This observation was alluded to by one interviewee:

Family size does not affect our interactions with one another in the distribution of yam flour (IDI/Transporter/M/ Saki/2019); Another interviewee also said: *Marital status is not a criterion to trade in yam flour, so marital status does not affect yam flour production-distribution among us (IDI/ Merchant/M/ Saki/2019);*

One farmer stated thus:

Gone are the days when we say because we are farmers we must have many children to help us on the farm, we all want our children to go to school these days and the economy is not friendly at all. So economy will dictate how many children one will have not our relationship on the production-distribution chain (IDI/Farmer/M/Saki/2019).

Although, marital status is not an obvious requirement for trading, yet it is a salient condition in choosing of leaders among the actors at the association level. It was found that in leadership selection, married men and women are elected or selected into key positions because they are presumed to be more responsible. It is almost becoming old fashioned to say that farmers have many children in order to use them as farm labor on the farm as most farmers have been on the receiving side of exploitative relationship with middle-men and merchants at large and so these relationships have further sharpened their orientation towards giving their children formal education as it perceived to give better access to better life.

4.5.2 Religion

Religious differences exist among actors in the yam flour value chain, but this is perceived to have nothing to do with the production and distribution of yam flour or the interactions among the actors. Religious affiliations are seen as a choice and have no influence on interactions among actors. The yam flour trade has Muslims, Christians, and the traditionalist. To bridge this difference gap during meetings, there is an acknowledgement of each religion during the opening and closing prayers. Those assigned for the prayer assignment are referred to as the missioner. One interviewee stated religion is a choice:

Religion does not have anything to do with yam flour production. Religion does not affect how we relate with one another. Religion is a choice; religion does not matter in our interactions with one another (IDI/Merchant/F/ Bodija/2019); Other interviewees also said: *Whether someone is a Muslim, Christian, herbalist does not affect our relationship in the trading of yam flour (FGD/Farm Landlords/Saki/2019).*

When we have a meeting or any gathering we always acknowledge one another's religion by allowing each one pray either at the beginning or end of the programme. We don't allow any issues of religion disrupt our activities. We acknowledge and accept contribution from one another in our gathering. We don't take one religion to be better than other. We have people with different religion in the trade and this does not have any effect on how we produce or distribute yam flour (FGD/Farmers/ Saki 2019).

4.5.3 Ethnicity

There is diversity in terms of ethnic affiliation among actors in the value chain of yam flour production. Although the location where the study was conducted is predominantly occupied by the Yoruba people, there is influx of other tribes into these towns and as the chain moves towards the final consumer. There is however some resistance to full acceptance of this other ethnic groups into the trade particularly into the leadership positions of the association. Responses from the actors shows that the economic rationale that underlies the trade tries to down plays ethnic differentials among the actors but actors

cultural attachment to both the trade and the food will not allow non-Yoruba speakers attain highest leadership position of the association. Excerpts from various interviewees show attachment to both the trade and the food:

Well, we don't consider ethnicity but at the same time we stylishly consider it. We don't even want to allow other tribes other than Yoruba in this trade not to talk of putting them in leadership positions (KII/ Merchant/F/ Mushin 2019),

Another merchant stated that:

We are concern about our market. Ethnicity does not have anything to do with our relating with one another. Whatever the tribe in as much as the person is qualified to trade in yam flour, we all relate. We don't choose who we trade with, what matters is whether Yoruba or Ibariba the person know the trade and is willing to trade. Although, we don't really want those who are not Yoruba to do the business but we still relate regardless of their ethnic grouping **(FGD/Merchants/Saki 2019);**

Another interviewee reiterating the cordial relationship among the different ethnic group involved in the trade stated that the differences in ethnic origin does not have any economic significance and so not much attention is paid to it when conducting business.

In this yam flour business we have various tribes and that does not affect our relationship with one another, we all do business together. "Is it ethnicity that will put money in one's pocket? We don't even remember ethnicity when relating with one another **(FGD/ Farm Landlord/Saki/2019).**

Another interviewee stated thus:

Ethnicity does not affect how we relate at all, because in most of our farms we have various tribes and we have been relating without any issue at all. I am Fulani and I have been living in this community for some time now, we all relate well. **(FGD/Farmers/ Saki/2019);**

One of the farmers during a Focus Group Discussion identified himself as a Fulani man and also supported the view of a good relationship among tribes. Another interviewee in the same discussion stated that while they had preference for only Yoruba in the trade, yet they have been able to maintain a good relationship regardless. The knowledge of actors

about the trade takes precedence over ethnicity for most of the interviewees as the findings from a focus group discussion with merchants revealed. One of the discussants however also agreed that the trade is perceived to be mainly for Yoruba people, but there has been acceptance of members of other ethnic groups in the trade.

4.5.4. Gender

In terms of gender distribution, both male and female genders exist along the yam flour value chain. Although some roles are more feminized than the others based on the nature of the task. For example most peelers are women and children while most actors in transportation are of the male gender. There is also a higher population of merchants in the trade being women. However since both gender are in need of money, there is a good relationship between all actors along the value chain with less attention paid to the gender. An interviewee stated thus: *In the trade we have both male and female, what matters is the business itself not whether somebody is a man or a woman. Most of us peelers are women and children (KII/ Peelers/F/Saki/2019),*

Another interviewee said:

Being a man or a woman does not matter in the trading of yam flour. We all have our various works to do. Male or female, we all need money and so being male or female does not have anything to do with trading of yam flour. We need both sexes to do the job. Among the merchants for instance, we have more women than man, because traditionally trading has been women business. It does not affect how we produce or distribute yam flour. Having both male and female in the trade makes the trade better. It makes us relate well. But it does not have any effect on yam flour production-distribution **(FGD/ Farm Landlords/ Saki/2019).**

Farmers also agreed that the gender of actors does not affect business as they have different roles to play which is important to the production and distribution of yam flour. It was also stated that the role of women has been pivotal to the production and distribution of yam flour, participating directly or indirectly in farming and also in the marketing of the produce.

One interview stated:

All of us here in Saki, are birthed by women, so being a man or a woman does not have anything to do with how we relate. We all have our different parts to play in the production-distribution of yam flour. Women are more dominant in the marketing of our produce. Some women farm directly or indirectly too, all of us relate well. In fact, in the production-distribution chain we cannot do without women **(FGD/Farmers/ Saki/2019)**.

Another interviewee explains that when the trade was more profitable, women were not involved but rather stayed at home while men did the trading. She perceived that then the trade had more consideration and truthfulness in the relationship among actors,

In early times this trade was not the trade of women. Women stay in the home-front to take care of the home, the men do the trading and they are more considerate and truthful to one another, then the trade was more profitable **(FGD/Merchants/F/Saki/2019)**.

4.5.5 Age

The yam flour production and distribution chain is also made up of people of different ages. This has however not led to any issue as there is a good relationship and interaction among traders. An interviewee was even of the opinion that the representation of different age groups in the trade makes it better.

We are of various ages in the trade and we have no issues with that. It does not have effect on how we relate with one another neither does it have effect on production and distribution. There is no effect on the production and distribution of yam flour **(IDI/ Merchant/F/Bodija/2019)**.

*Having people of different ages even make the trade better. Age does not affect our interactions. It have no effect on how we relate with one another neither does it have effect on production and distribution **(IDI/ Merchant/ F/Orita-Merin/ 2019)**.*

While an actor's age can be synonymous with how much experience they have in the trade, the focus then is on how much experience the actor has and not necessarily the age, hence, attention is paid to the trade and not the trader's age. The experience of the old

actors and the strength of the young actors in the yam flour trade is what contribute to the success of the trade. Ability, knowledge and interest in the trade mean more than the age of the actors according to one interviewee,

I was young when I joined this trade but I am becoming older by the day, age does not really matter. Knowledge and interest in the trade does. Everybody cannot be old neither can everybody be young, so we need various age in the production-distribution of yam flour. Age does not matter in our relationship with one another. Age does not matter to us, whether you are young or old you can do the business if you want to. Age does not affect yam flour production-distribution **(FGD/ Farmer/M/Saki/2019)**.

Another interviewee stated thus:

Age does not have anything to do with our relationship and trading of yam flour. well, me I am a young woman and we have elderly ones too in the trade, so age does not really mater, in fact we don't have age limit for the business. We are Yoruba and so we accord older people on the trade due respect **(IDI/Merchant/F/Bodija/2019)**.

For example when tasks are considered strenuous among peelers, older women often tell the younger women to do it. Apart from this age has no effect on the ascription of roles.

Age does not affect role ascription among us, although there are times when we feel there is something to do and it may be too much for the quite old women, the younger ones will be asked to do the job **(IDI/ Peelers/F/Saki/2019)**.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

Social relations are fundamental aspects of human life as relationship with other actors cut across all spheres of life. Although, much evidence has accrued in research over the years on social relations and its unquantifiable import to human interactions and activities, yet the social sciences and sociology in particular have largely ignored the issue of social relations in food production. This neglect was noted by (Michaela, 2013) and corroborated by Allen, Greenlees, and Jones (2013). Through exploration and adequate detailing, this study uncovered webs of relationship that forms pool of resources to actors in yam flour production and distribution chain in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.

Although, there were established associations for the coordination of trade and trade activities among the stakeholders, yet patriarchy, which is a feature of the African society has become the basis for social differentiation based on sex which gives the male an edge over the female in the society (Nwokocha, 2007; Makama, 2013) and make them occupy majority of upper positions in the society (Okpe, 2005). In line with the various literature on the features of patriarchy, this study uncovered subtle patriarchy feature among the actors in yam flour production and distribution particularly with attainment of the apex position of the association- the president. In the selection and election of officers into the executive positions of the association, women are denied access to the chairmanship and president positions of the association with a claim that the position is highly demanding and requires a male figure because of the rigor involved. Women are allowed to take other positions in the association but not the position of the president or chairman of the association particularly in United Yam Flour Association. It is worthy to note that among the actors in Bọluyo Yam Flour Traders Association a woman can chair the association, as this was the case in Bodija market.

The established associations were guided by both formal and informal rules. Formal rules were documented in the association booklets while the informal rules were unwritten norms and values passed down to generations. Emotions and attachment to both the trade and one another on the trade is ritualised and celebrated annually. The annual celebration gave room for both unwinding and appraisal of the business through the trade year. The celebration also allows for praise giving to a “god” whom they believe is behind both the success and failure on the trade.

Although, evidences have accrued over the years on the gendered and disadvantaged positions of women in food merchandise, (World Bank, 1990; Allen, 1999 and Sachs, 2006; Barndt, 1999; Dolan, 2004), it is worthy of note to state that there is a changing dynamic as the dwindling economy and increasing family needs require more efforts from both men and women in order to meet the ever-increasing needs of the family. This study found a slight deviation from previous accounts of women gendered and disadvantaged positions in food merchandise as women in the yam flour merchandise are not tagged poor but are acknowledged wealthy and influential even by their male counterparts. Account from Olah *et al.*, (2014) shows that boundary lines are thinning out between women home front roles and family provisions; that means women now engage more in economic activities than just the traditional home front chores. Women in yam flour trading can be ambitious and achieve their ambition as much as their male counterparts in as much as they have the wherewithal. The merchant cluster is largely dominated by the women and they are acknowledged as the major financier on the chain. They wield decision power on the chain because of their financial prowess. They pride themselves in being yam flour merchants by psyching up themselves as the owner of the trade with slogans as “*olówó ló lówò*” translated as the ‘one who has money succeeds in business’. “*olówó ló lówò*” becomes a construct connoting financial prowess among the merchants in the trade.

To Weber, action is a behavior to which the actor ‘attaches a subjective meaning’ and is social in so far as its subjective meaning takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course (Weber, 1978). Meanings giving by actors may be based on underlying rational calculations and so actors act subjectively based on this rationally

construed purpose. This study in consonance with the social action theory found actors' intention to join yam flour merchandise is underlined by their quest for social relationships and personal motivation, as membership of the merchandise is subjectively interpreted to be a boost to actors personality asides meeting other economic needs. In order for actors to achieve their aimed end they have to participate and cooperate with other actors in the trade as relationship on the chain is both mutual and dependent.

Succession became a form of wealth reservation technique and inheritance transfer pattern among the actors particularly the merchants, as parents prefer their children succeeding them in the trade. It was also observed that a good number of the women inherited the trade from their own parents, mostly their mothers. Offspring succession preference and practice of the yam flour traders if encouraged can aid employment opportunities and preserve indigenous knowledge system and practices.

Lastly, there is an observed influx of teachers into the trade. Teachers were known to dominate wedding engagement arrangements as a form of side hustle among the Yoruba, but this study found that government school teachers now engage in yam flour trading. A possible explanation for this influx could be that they are planning their retirements or they just find the trade to be appealing because it is an assumed profitable trade.

The study of social relations of yam flour production and distribution unveiled the affection and egotistic perception of actors in the trade. The egotistic perception is the basis of emphasis laid on apprenticeship as the major criteria for entrance into the trade and succession as a major avenue for wealth transfer. The merchandise of yam flour was organized around actors with varying roles on the chain. The actors are knitted together in interactions saddled with the responsibility to produce and distribute yam flour across Nigeria. The actors are bound by prevailing norms and values as established among them to guide actors in the trade. *Èlùbó* is a local parlance connoting both yam chips and yam flour as it is used for everyday market transactions.

The study identified three major tiers of activities on the production and distribution chain as production, trading and transporting, with six categories of actors as farmers,

peelers, loaders, farm landlords, merchants, transporters. The functions of these various actors are not isolated as actors' activity depends on others to have a complete cycle.

Although, goods and services possess their economic values, the process of determining the economic values are often socially construed through an interaction process which is leveraged on quality relationship among the actors because the quality of relationship among the actors serves as the collateral for informal contract among them. Intangible assets such as emotions and sentiments play a decisive role in both economic and social activities, as intangible assets as quality relationship serves as collateral to access tangible assets such as cash, goods and services. Also, exchanges among the actors take different forms ranging from labor for goods to labor for services and financial help for goods or services. The exchange arrangements are weaning gradually among some of the actors, particularly the farmers and the hired labors.

The merchandise of yam flour comprises both male and female with varying socio-demographic characteristics. Women are more prominent in the trading activities on the chain. These varying characteristics among the actors are properly harnessed for the effective and efficient production and distribution of yam flour and the interactions among them at large.

Although, most of the production process of yam flour is still largely IKS inclined but the preservation process has largely been taken over by the use of chemical substances. The actors have largely embraced chemical usage for preservation because of the quantity of production and the time-lag between production and distribution of yam flour.

Lastly, role taking on the value chain of *èlùbó* production and distribution is not a static one as actors can take on multiple roles concurrently on the chain. This makes role taking a flexible process among the actors.

5.2 Conclusion

This study concludes that social relations is fundamental to the existence of both the actors and activities of yam flour production and distribution. Also, aside the economic

rationale to trade with one another, being in the trade provides a sense of belonging and results in sustainable production. Membership of the trade also constitute egotistic components in the actor's personal status and value.

5.4 Recommendations

1. Social relations within the value chain played significant roles in the production and distribution of *èlùbọ*. This study recommend more local food chain studies or investigations should be engaged in before global food policies are engaged in, for most local food chains are sustained in informal relationships.
2. State and non-state actors should therefore pay adequate attention to existing social relations among the actors, as this can be harnessed for sustainable production and distribution activities to enhance sustainable growth and development.
3. To achieve a robust and inclusive policy formulation and implementation, actors in the food production and distribution chains should be duly involved in policy formulation as lots of constraints to operation emanates from government policies. Challenges as high fare rate within various localities during distribution of yam flour can be reduced or total exemption be given to local food distributors. This is important since the distribution and marketing of processed food is the major challenge to food producers and distributors in Nigeria and this largely affects the stability of food access (Agbaje *et al.*, 2005).
4. The age long challenge of farmers lack of access to finance must be looked into. Asides the merchants who serve as a major financing agent on the chain and a self-contributory scheme which finances production and distribution among the actors, there is no government intervention to this group of people. The farmers cluster is largely financially incapacitated, and so are at the wimps and caprices of the wealthy merchants, yet they begin the production process of yam flour like most other food products.
5. It is expedient that health and food regulating agencies be duly involved at all levels of the production and distribution chain. National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), in particular should be duly and effectively

involved because of the patronage of chemical substances for food preservation by some of the chain actors to ensure the safety of life of the consumers.

6. With the growing interest and influx of government school teachers into yam flour production and distribution chain, government can integrate yam flour production and distribution as possible retirement plan for retiring government workers who are interested in the trade. This can be implemented through the creation of a ministry of retirement and sustainable life cycle.
7. The annual yam flour festival which is usually celebrated with aesthetic display of both cultural pride and economic vibrancy should be escalated as a bonding social relation mechanism to foster unity, peace and security. This festival should equally be escalated as food tourism and foreign exchange earning avenue to the government.
8. Fabrication of world standard food processing machines and tools like dehydrating machines and boiling pans is recommended.
9. Production of standardized and measured sacks for easy transportation and uniformed pricing system across various localities.
10. Extension and enhancement of the production and distribution value chains to accommodate final products that are exportable and can compete in international market to increase patronage and income.
11. Considering the succession pattern in the informal sector, deliberate financial support should be given to women in the rural areas to lift more women out of poverty.

5.4 Contributions to Knowledge

There has been existing literature and data in the study of social relations, food production and distribution, but regardless of these existing researches there are still identifiable gaps in knowledge, these gaps are:

- ❖ Lack of study on how intrinsic or how basic social interaction is in the organisation, production and distribution of food (Greenless, 2013).
- ❖ Neglect or near dearth data on social relations and food studies from the social sciences at large and sociology in particular (Micheala, 2013).

- ❖ Social relations are well researched into yet the field remains inexhaustible as this area of study requires further exploration.

In an attempt to fill some of these gaps and contribute to knowledge, this study addressed some of the identifiable gaps;

- ❖ Firstly, the study contributed to the literature on social relations, food production and distribution in the social sciences at large and sociology in particular, thereby reducing the near dearth data on social relations, food production and distribution from the social sciences and sociology in particular.
- ❖ Secondly, the study extended the literature on food chain study with reference to food production and distribution and further explorations of the relationships among the actors within a local food value-chain.
- ❖ Thirdly, the study contributed to the almost limited literature on how intrinsic or basic, interaction is in the organisation, production and distribution of food.

The study also corroborate some findings and defer slightly from a few others.

In line with a study by Balogun and Yusuf (2011), this study found social relations play instrumental role in the daily lives of a people. The study found intangible assets such as emotions and sentiments play decisive role in both the social and economic life of the people. Intangible assets as quality relationship serve as collateral to access tangible assets such as cash, goods and services.

This study's findings defer a bit from some age-long debate on gendered positions of women in the food production and distribution chain as this study found women to be advantaged and acknowledged by their male counter-parts to be wealthy and the major financiers on the production and distribution chain of yam flour in Lagos and Oyo state, Nigeria.

Theoretically, the study utilised Max Weber Social action theory, and the study in line with Max Weber's postulations on social actions found actors relationships are in consonance with one another based on their perception of others action.

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APPENDIX 1

**Department of Sociology,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Nigeria.**

Introduction,

I am a postgraduate student of the Department of Sociology, faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. In partial fulfillment of the award of Doctor of philosophy (PhD), I am conducting a study on **SOCIAL RELATIONS OF YAM FLOUR PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION IN LAGOS AND OYO STATES, NIGERIA.**

I hereby seek your indulgence to participate in this academic research/discussion. Please note that your responses are highly confidential and will be strictly used for academic purpose.

I once again urge you to give honest and credible responses and information to the questions under study.

Thanks for your anticipated and prompt co-operation.

Sincerely,

Adejoke Olawore

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Age.....	Date of Interview.....
Sex.....	Time Interview Commenced.....
Profession.....	Time Interview Ended.....
Marital status.....	
Remarks.....	

IDI

Prompts: What social organisation moderate interactions in yam flour production-distribution in Lagos and Oyo state, Nigeria

Probe for:

1. Norms (social expectation that guide actions) that regulate interactions among yam flour (elubo) production and distribution. That is, ask what rules moderate actors operations
2. Please explain the rules that regulate activities among actors in yam flour production-distribution operations
3. Please explain how compliance with these rules and regulations positively affect interactions among actors
4. Please explain how non-compliance with the rules and regulations negatively affect interactions among the actors.
5. Please explain the values (belief on what is good or bad) that bind or separate actors
6. Please explain how these values positively affect production and distribution of yam flour (elubo) among the actors.
7. Please explain how these values negatively affect production and distribution of yam flour (elubo) among the actors.
8. Please explain how these values positively contribute to the interactions among the actors.
9. Please explain how these values negatively contribute to the interactions among the actors.
10. Please explain the cultural practices (festivals, rituals, and sacrifices) that are compulsory to observe among the production-distribution actors
11. Please explain why actors must observe these cultural practices
12. Please explain the importance of these cultural practices to the relations among yam flour (elubo) production/distribution actors.
13. Please explain the effects of these cultural practices on the production and distribution of yam flour (elubo)
14. Please explain how these cultural practices affect interactions among actors on:
15. Gender relations,

16. Family size
17. Marital Status
18. Ethnicity
19. Please explain how interactions among the actors affect their thoughts, attitude about gender relations, family size and ethnicity
20. Please explain the associations that exist and are open to actors in the yam flour (elubo) production, distribution value chain
21. Please explain the existing criteria with regards to membership of these associations
22. Please explain the norms that moderate membership into these various associations
23. Please explain what regulations moderate membership into these various associations
24. Please explain the rules that moderate membership into these various associations
25. Please explain the rites that moderate membership into these various associations
26. Please explain what rituals moderate membership into these various associations
27. Please explain leadership formation of these various associations
28. Please explain how age, gender, status, religion or ethnicity affect leadership formation
29. Please explain what informed the formation of these various associations
30. Please explain the norms that regulate membership into the various associations and how membership is regularized
31. Explain what can lead to the withdrawal of membership from the association
32. Please explain why the association can withdraw the membership of an individual
33. Please explain how the association can withdraw the membership of an individual
34. Please explain the challenges that exist in the association and how it affect interactions among members
35. Please explain the prospects of the association and its likely effect on the interactions among members
36. Please explain how the relationship among actors affect yam flour production-distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria.

Prompt : Investigate how exchange value is socially constructed among the merchants

Probes for :

1. Please describe the mode of payment for work done among the actors
2. Please explain the parts of the production-distribution of yam flour rewarded with or without physical cash
3. Please explain how measure of equivalence is decided among the actors
4. Please explain how what reward to pay for what service is decided
5. Please explain how the decision of what to pay and how to pay is made among the actors
6. Please explain who and who makes the decision
7. Please explain why the persons make the decision
8. Please explain the changes overtime in the modes of payment
9. Please explain what accounts for these changes and what are the effects on interactions among actors
10. Please explain how you know actors are satisfied with or not the payment arrangements
11. Please explain the effects of this on interactions among the actors.
12. Please explain who decides what to pay for labour reward among various categories of actors in yam flour (elubo) production-distribution chain
13. Please explain who decides how to pay for labour among various categories of actors (the children, women, men) in yam flour (elubo) production-distribution chain
14. Please explain the effects of gender on the exchange value negotiation.
15. Please explain the effects of age on the exchange value negotiation.
16. Please explain the effects of ethnicity on the exchange value negotiation.
17. Please explain the effects of religion on the exchange value negotiation.
18. Explain how the relationship among actors affect the negotiation process

Prompt: Examine what indigenous practices exist in yam flour production-distribution

Probe: Indigenous mode of yam flour production among the merchants:

1. Please explain the indigenous practice in the production-distribution process of yam flour
2. Explain the reason for the choice
3. Please explain the indigenous modes of yam flour preservation
4. Please explain the changes that have occurred overtime
5. Explain the effects of this mode of production on interactions among the merchants
6. Explain the changes if any and the effects of these changes on the interaction among merchants
7. Explain the aspects of the indigenous practices that have effects on the interaction among merchants
8. Explain the indigenous technologies or practices in terms of production and preservation still in use till date
9. Explain if they been taken over by modern technology
10. Explain the challenges and the prospect of these technologies with regards to interactions among the various actors in the yam flour (elubo) production value chain
11. Explain the preferences for these indigenous technologies
12. Explain the reason for the preference if any
13. Explain the effect of using Indigenous knowledge system on the interactions among production-distribution actors
14. Explain the effects of the relationship among actors on the practice of indigenous knowledge system in yam flour production-distribution

Prompt: Interrogate value-chain operations embedded in yam flour production and distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria

Probe for:

1. Please list the various activities embedded in yam flour production-distribution
2. Please list the actors in the chain
3. Please describe the functions of each of the activities
4. Please explain how each of the function affects one another
5. Explain the regulations for each of the chain activities
6. Explain how the relationship among actors affect value chain operations of yam flour

production-distribution

7. Explain how these activities affect interactions among production-distribution actors
8. Explain how the interactions among the actors affect value-chain operations

Prompt: What are the effects of socio-demographic characteristics in yam flour production-distribution in Lagos and Oyo states, Nigeria

Probes:

1. Please explain the effects of actors' age on yam flour (elubo) production and distribution
2. Please explain the effects of actors' gender on yam flour (elubo) production and distribution.
3. Please explain the effects of ethnicity on yam flour (elubo) production and distribution
4. Please explain the effects of religion on yam flour (elubo) production and distribution
5. Please explain the effects of ethnicity on the interactions among the merchants in the production distribution chain
6. Please explain the effects of religion on the interactions among the merchants in the production distribution chain
7. Please explain the effects of marital status on the interactions among actors in yam flour (elubo) production-distribution
8. Please explain the effects of family size on the interactions among actors in yam flour (elubo) production-distribution
9. Please explain how these affect the production and supply of yam flour among the merchants Please explain.
10. Please explain how the relationship among actors affect interactions based on socio-demographic characteristics in yam flour production-distribution
11. Please Explain how interaction among the actors affect role ascription based on gender
12. Please Explain how interaction among the actors affect role ascription based on age
13. Please Explain how interaction among the actors affect role ascription based on religion
14. Please Explain how interaction among the actors affect role ascription based on ethnicity

FGD

Probes: with regards to objective 1

1. Please describe the norms that moderates interactions among yam flour (elubo) merchants
2. Please explain what you think of these norms
3. Please explain the effects of the norms on the interactions among the actors
4. Please explain how the norms affect production- distribution among actors
5. Please explain the values moderating production and distribution among the actors
6. Please explain the cultural practices moderating interactions among actors
7. Please explain how this cultural practice affect interactions among actors

Probe: with regards to objective 2

1. Please explain how the decision of measures of exchange is done among merchants
2. Please explain who makes the decisions of measure
3. Please explain what you think about merchant satisfaction with these exchange arrangements
4. Please explain how these arrangements affect interactions among merchants and the society at large
5. Please explain what you think about the arrangement now
6. Please explain the changes that have occurred overtime and their effects on interactions among the merchants

Probe: with regards to objective 4

1. Please enumerate the various production-distribution activities in yam flour production-distribution chain
2. Please Explain the hierarchy of activity importance among production-distribution actors
3. Please Explain the relationship of the value-chain activities

Probe: with regards to objective 5

1. Please Explain the effects of age, gender, religion, family size and ethnicity
2. Please Explain the effect of these characteristics on interaction among actors in the yam

flour (elubo) production value chain

3. Please explain the effects of these characteristics on the production-distribution among the merchants.

KII

Probe: with regards to objective 1

1. Please describe in details the norms, values moderating interactions among merchants
2. Explain how these norms affect interactions
3. Explain how these values affect interactions
4. Please describe the interactions among the merchants
5. Please describe how decisions of production-distribution among merchants affect interactions and supply.
6. Please explain the associations that exist and what informed the formation of this association
7. Please the importance of this association in the regularization of interactions among the merchants
8. Please explain how socio-demographics affect (age, gender, ethnicity, marital status) social organisation of yam production and distribution

Probe: with regards to objective 2

1. Please describe the origin of payment mode among the merchants
2. Please explain the reason for the practice
3. Please explain the changes to this practice
4. Please explain how the payment arrangement affect interactions among the merchants
5. Please explain how the payment arrangement affect interactions among the community
6. Please explain how the payment arrangement affect interactions among the society
7. Please explain how measure of exchange is done among merchants

8. Please explain how the decision of equivalence is done among the actors
9. Please explain how actors decide what labor measures for what reward

Probe: with regards to objective 4

Please describe in details the activities of each of the chain operation process

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

These are the instructions that are to be followed by each interviewee in order to ensure consistency among the interviewee and increase the reliability of findings.

1. All interviewees must be seated 10 minutes before the scheduled time for interview.
2. If for any reason, an interviewee will not be available for the interview; there should be at least 24 hours prior notice to the research team.
3. All handset must be switched off in order to avoid distractions
4. Before any contribution is made the interviewee must take permission from the interviewer. This is to avoid any act of picking on one another and to avoid disorderliness.

CASE STUDY GUIDE

1. Age.....
2. Occupation.....
3. Educational level.....
4. Please explain the indigenous practices involved in the production of yam flour
5. Please explain if these indigenous practices still in use till date
6. Please explain the changes to this indigenous technology
7. While you were producing yam flour, please explain what exactly fascinated your attention to the use of indigenous technology
8. Please explain the reason for preferences for this technology
9. Please describe the associations that exist and how open they are to producers and merchants alike
10. Please kinly list the various value chain actors
11. Please explain the roles of the various actors in the chain.
12. Please explain how open they are to other value-chain actors
13. Please explain what informed the formation of this association
14. Please explain your role in the formation of the association
15. Please the rules that regularizes membership of these associations
16. Please explain the norms regularizes membership of these associations
17. Please explain the causes of cooperation among the production-distributor actors
18. Please explain the causes of cohesion among the production-distribution actors
19. Please can you recall any major incidence in terms of power tussle, political leadership, sanctions, or any other situation that caused friction among the actors

APPENDIX II

Ìfikún Àkókó

Èka Ìmọ-Èkọ̀ Ìdàgbàsókè Àwùjọ̀ àti Ìbágbépọ̀-Èdá,

Yunifásitì ti Ìbàdàn,

Ìbàdàn, Nàìjíríà.

Ìfààrà,

Mo jẹ akẹ̀kẹ̀kọ̀ gboyè ìmọ-kún-ìmọ̀ ti Èka Ìmọ-Èkọ̀ Ìdàgbàsókè Àwùjọ̀ àti Ìbágbépọ̀-Èdá, ti Èka Ìmọ-Èkọ̀ ijìnlẹ̀-Sáyẹ̀nsì Ìdàgbàsókè Àwùjọ̀ àti Ìbágbépọ̀-Èdá, Yunifásitì ti Ìbàdàn, Nàìjíríà. Gégé bí àşeyọ̀rí apá kan oyè ìmọ-kún-ìmọ̀ ijìnlẹ̀, mò n şe àgbéjádé àşà̀rò lórí **ÀWỌN ÌBÁŞEPỌ̀ ÀWÙJỌ̀ FÚN ŞÍŞE ÈLÙBỌ́Ọ́ŞU NÍ APÁ GÚSÙ-ÌWỌ-ÒRÙN NÀÌJÍRÍÀ.**

Mo bèrè fún ifarabalẹ̀ yín láti kópa nínú işè iwáádí/ ijíròrò yí. Jòwọ̀ mò dájú wí pé àwọn idáhùn rẹ̀ ni a ó şe ní nńkan àşírí tó ga, yóò sì jẹ̀ lílò fún ètè ètò èkọ̀ nńkan.

Ní èẹ̀kan síi mo rò wá láti jẹ̀ kí àwọn idáhùn àti itanilólobó sí àwọn ibèèrè tó wá lábé ètò àşà̀rò yí jẹ̀ òtítító tó sì şe é gbàgbọ̀.

E şéun fún ifowósowópọ̀ yín tó şe déédé tí à n retí .

Ní tòótó,

Adéjọkẹ̀ Oláwóre

ÌLÀNÀ ÌFÒRÒWÁNILÉNUWÒ

Ojó orí..... Ojó Ìfòròwánilénuwò

Èya Akọ tàbí Abo Àkókò tí Ìfòròwánilénuwò bèrè

Iṣé Àkókò tí Ìfòròwánilénuwò parí

Ipò ìgbeyàwó Ìsòròsí

IDI

Ní déédé: Ohun tí àjọ iwà ibágbépò-èdá níṣe pèlú nínú ibáṣepò nínú ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu ní apá Gúsù iwò-oòrùn Nàìjíríà.

Ìwádìí fún:

1. Àwọn àṣà (ifókànsí iwà ibágbépò-èdá tó n ṣe atónà àwọn iṣesí) tó n ṣe àkóso àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu. Èyí tùmò sí, bíbèrè àwọn òfin tó n ṣe àkóso àwọn iṣé àwọn oníṣé.
2. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé àwọn òfin tó n ṣe àkóso ikópa láàrin àwọn oníṣé níbi àwọn iṣé ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu.
3. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé bí ibòwò fún àwọn òfin àti ilànà ṣe kópa rere sí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé
4. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé bí aibòwò fún àwọn òfin àti ilànà ṣe kópa òdi sí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé
5. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé àwọn ohun idíyelé (ìgbàgbò lóri ohun tó dára tàbí èyí tí kò dára) tí ó n so àwọn oníṣé papò tàbí tó n tú wọn ká
6. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé bí àwọn ohun idíyelé yíi ṣe kópa tó dára ní ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣé
7. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé bí àwọn ohun idíyelé yíi ṣe kópa òdi ní ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣé.
8. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé bí àwọn ohun idíyelé yíi ṣe kópa tó dára sí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé
9. Jòwò ṣe àlàyé bí àwọn ohun idíyelé yíi ṣe kópa òdi sí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé.

10. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ilà̀nà ̀à̀sà àti ̀ìṣe (àwọn ̀oḍún, ̀ètùtù, àti ̀irúbo) tó pọ̀n dandan láti pamọ̀ láàrin àwọn oníṣe ̀sìṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín
11. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé ̀ìdí tí àwọn oníṣe ̀gbòḍò fí pa àwọn ilà̀nà ̀à̀sà àti ̀ìṣe wònyí mó
12. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé pàtàkì ̀à̀sà àti ̀ìṣe wònyí sí ̀ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe ̀sìṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín ̀èlùbóṣu
13. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ipa tí àwọn ̀à̀sà àti ̀ìṣe wònyí kó lórí ̀sìṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín ̀èlùbóṣu
14. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé bí ̀à̀sà àti ̀ìṣe wònyí ẹ̀ kan ̀ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe ̀lórí:
15. ̀Ìbáṣepò akọ̀ tàbí abo
16. Títóbi ̀ìdílé
17. Jé ̀ìgbeyàwó
18. ̀Èya ̀ìràn (Yorùba, Haúsá, Ibo abbl)
19. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé bí àwọn ̀ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe ẹ̀ kan ̀èrò wọn, ̀iwùwà sí ̀ibáṣepò akọ̀ tàbí abo, títóbi ̀ìdílé àti ̀èyà ̀ìràn
20. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ̀egbé tó tí wà tí wọn sì fí àyè ̀gbà àwọn oníṣe ní ilà̀nà ̀sìṣe, ̀itakàn oníḍiyelé pínpín ̀èlùbóṣu
21. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ilà̀nà ̀àátèlè tó wà nílè ní ̀ibámu sí jíjé ̀omọ ̀egbé sínú àwọn ̀egbé wònyí
22. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ̀à̀sà tó n ẹ̀ ̀àkóso ̀gbígbà ̀gégé bí ̀omọ ̀egbé sínú oríṣi àwọn ̀egbé wònyí
23. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ilà̀nà wo ní wọn ẹ̀ ̀àkóso ̀gbígbà ̀gégé bí ̀omọ ̀egbé sínú oríṣi àwọn ̀egbé wònyí
24. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ̀òfin tí wọn ẹ̀ ̀àkóso ̀gbígbà ̀gégé bí ̀omọ ̀egbé sínú oríṣi àwọn ̀egbé wònyí
25. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ilà̀nà isin tí wọn ẹ̀ ̀àkóso jíjé ̀omọ ̀egbé sínú oríṣi àwọn ̀egbé wònyí
26. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn ̀ètùtù wo ní wọn ẹ̀ ̀àkóso jíjé ̀omọ ̀egbé sínú oríṣi àwọn ̀egbé wònyí
27. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé bí wọn tí n yan adarí láàárín oríṣi àwọn ̀egbé wònyí
28. Jòwọ̀ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé bí ̀ojó orí, ̀èyà akọ̀ tàbí abo, ipò ̀ìgbeyàwó, ̀èsin tàbí ̀èyà ̀ìràn ẹ̀ kan ̀àgbékalè adarí

29. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé ohun tó fa idásílẹ̀ oríṣíríṣi àwọn egbé wònyí
30. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn àṣà tó n ẹ̀ ̀àkóso gbígba gégé bí ọmọ egbé sínú oríṣi àwọn egbé wònyí àti bí wọn ẹ̀ n ẹ̀ ̀àkóso àwọn ọmọ egbé.
31. Ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé ohun tó lè fa síṣúnséyìn láti jẹ ọmọ egbé nínú egbé
32. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé idí tí egbé le fí kọ gbígba gégé bí ọmọ egbé ẹnikan
33. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé bí egbé le fí kọ gbígba gégé bí ọmọ egbé ẹnikan
34. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn idojúkọ tó wà nínú egbé àti pé báwo ni ó ẹ̀ ̀le kan àwọn ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin ọmọ egbé
35. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé àwọn àfojúsùn egbé yíi àti bí ó ti ẹ̀ ̀eṣe kó kópa lórí àwọn ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin ọmọ egbé
36. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé bí ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn oníṣe ẹ̀ ̀ kan ẹ̀ ̀ṣiṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbòṣu ní ilú Ẹ̀kí
37. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀àlàyé bí ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn oníṣe ẹ̀ ̀ kan ẹ̀ ̀ṣiṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbòṣu ní Gúsù iwò-òdùn Nàìjíríà

Ní déédé: Ẹ̀ ̀ iwáàdí bí pàṣípàrọ̀ oniyélorí ẹ̀ ̀ ní igbékalẹ̀ ajẹmọ̀-àwùjọ̀ láàrin àwọn oníṣòwò

Ìwáàdí fún:

1. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ apẹjùwe ilànà isanwó láàrin àwọn oníṣe fún iṣe tí wọn ti ẹ̀ ̀
2. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé àwọn apá kan èrè ẹ̀ ̀ṣiṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbòṣu láìsí owó tó ẹ̀ ̀ é fojú rí
3. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé bí àwọn oníṣe ẹ̀ ̀ le pinnu òdinwọn adọgba láàrin ara wọn
4. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé ipinnu èrè wo ló ẹ̀ ̀ é san fún iṣe wo gégé bí bí wọn ti pinnu lée lórí
5. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé bí àwọn oníṣe ẹ̀ ̀ n pinnu ohun ti wọn yóò san àti bí wọn yóò ẹ̀ ̀ san láàrin ara wọn
6. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé ẹ̀ ̀ni tó n ẹ̀ ̀ ipinnu náà
7. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé idí tí ẹ̀ ̀ni náà fí ẹ̀ ̀ ipinnu náà
8. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé àwọn iyàtò tó ti wà sẹ̀yìn ní lílo ilànà isanwó yíi àti idí tí àwọn iyàtò náà fí wáyé
9. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ̀ àlàyé àwọn ohun tó pè fún àwọn iyàtò wònyí àti àwọn ipa tó ní lórí ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn oníṣe

10. Ẹ àlàyé bí a ẹ le ẹ òdinwòn itẹ̀lórùn láàrin àwọn tó n sísẹ̀ pẹ̀lú ilàna ìsanwó fún iṣẹ̀
11. Ẹ àlàyé bí a ẹ le ẹ òdinwòn aítẹ̀ni-lórùn láàrin àwọn onísẹ̀ pẹ̀lú ilàna ìsanwó fún iṣẹ̀
12. Ẹ àlàyé bí o ẹ mò pé àwọn onísẹ̀ ẹ le ní itẹ̀lórùn pẹ̀lú àwọn ilàna ìsanwó fúnni yí
13. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé ipa tí èyí kó lóri àwọn ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn onísẹ̀
14. Ẹ àlàyé ẹni tó n ẹ ipinnu láti sanwó fún iṣẹ̀ láàrin àwọn oríṣi ọ̀wọ̀ àwọn onísẹ̀ nínú itakàn-àtọ̀wọ̀dọ̀wọ̀ ẹ̀sìṣàgbéjádẹ̀ àti pínpin èlùbọ̀ọ̀ṣu
15. Ẹ àlàyé ẹni tó n ẹ ipinnu bí wọn yó ẹ sanwó fún iṣẹ̀ láàrin àwọn oríṣi ọ̀wọ̀ àwọn tó n sísẹ̀ (àwọn ọ̀mọ, àwọn obìnrin , àwọn okùnrin) nínú itakàn-àtọ̀wọ̀dọ̀wọ̀ ẹ̀sìṣàgbéjádẹ̀ àti pínpin èlùbọ̀ọ̀ṣu
16. Ẹ àlàyé ẹni tó n ẹ ipinnu ohun láti san gégébi èrè iṣẹ̀ fún àwọn tó n sísẹ̀ (àwọn ọ̀mọ, àwọn obìnrin , àwọn okùnrin) nínú itakàn-àtọ̀wọ̀dọ̀wọ̀ ẹ̀sìṣàgbéjádẹ̀ àti pínpin èlùbọ̀ọ̀ṣu
17. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé ipa tí jíjẹ̀ akọ̀ tàbí abo kó lóri idúnàádúrà iyi pàsìpàrọ̀
18. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé ipa tí ojọ̀ orí kó lóri idúnàádúrà pàsìpàrọ̀ oníyelorí
19. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé ipa tí eleyàmeṣà kó lóri idúnàádúrà pàsìpàrọ̀ oníyelorí
20. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé ipa tí ẹ̀sìn kó lóri idúnàádúrà pàsìpàrọ̀ oníyelorí
21. Ẹ àlàyé bí ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn onísẹ̀ ẹ kan sísẹ̀ idúnàádúrà

Ní dẹ̀dẹ̀: Ẹ àgbéyèwò àwọn àṣà ibílẹ̀ nínú sísẹ̀-pínpin èlùbọ̀ọ̀ṣu

Ìwáàdí: Ilàna ibílẹ̀ sísẹ̀ èlùbọ̀ọ̀ṣu láàrin àwọn onísòwò

1. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé àṣà ibílẹ̀ ní sísàgbéjádẹ̀ àti pínpin èlùbọ̀ọ̀ṣu
2. Ẹ àlàyé idí fún yíyàn án
3. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé ilàna ibílẹ̀ fún títójú èlùbọ̀ọ̀ṣu
4. Jẹ̀wọ̀ ẹ àlàyé àwọn iyàtò tó ti wáyé rí
5. Ẹ àlàyé ipa tí ilàna iṣẹ̀ yí ní lóri ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn onísòwò
6. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn iyàtò náà bí ọ̀kankan bá wà, àti ipa àwọn iyàtò wònyí ní lóri ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn onísòwò
7. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn ihà àṣà ibílẹ̀ tó ní ipa lóri ibáṣepọ̀ láàrin àwọn onísòwò

8. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn ihà àti ipa wọn lórí àwọn oníṣòwò
9. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn ìmò èrọ ibílẹ̀ tàbí àṣà èyi tí níṣe pèlú ṣíṣe àti ipamò tí ó ṣì n jẹ́ lílò di òní
10. Ẹ àlàyé bí ìmò èrọ ìgbàlódé bá ti lé wọn wólé
11. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn idojúko àti irètí àwọn ìmò èrọ wònyí pèlú ìkiyèsì sí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin oríṣi àwọn oníṣe nínú pàtàkì ṣíṣe èlùbóṣu
12. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn ohun àmúlò-ìṣaájú fún àwọn èrọ ibílẹ̀ wònyí
13. Ẹ àlàyé idí fún àwọn ohun àmúlò-ìṣaájú bí òkankan bá wà
14. Ẹ àlàyé ipa tí lílò ètò ìmò ibílẹ̀ lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín
15. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn ipa ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe lórí lílò ìmò àṣà ibílẹ̀ nínú ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín èlùbóṣu

Déédé: Bèrè ilànà àtọwódódówó tó wà nínú ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín èlùbó ní Gúsù iwò-oòrùn Nàìjíríà

Ìwáàdí fún:

1. Jòwó ẹ àkòsílẹ̀ oríṣi àwọn iṣe tó wà nínú ṣíṣe àti pínpín èlùbóṣu
2. Jòwó ẹ àkòsílẹ̀ àwọn oníṣe láti àtọwódódówó
3. Jòwó ẹ àlàyé lókòṣkan lórí iṣe ẹnikòṣkan
4. Jòwó ẹ àlàyé bí iṣe ẹnikòṣkan ẹ ní ipa lórí ara wọn
5. Ẹ àlàyé àwọn ilànà fún iṣe ọwọ̀ kòṣkan
6. Ẹ àlàyé bí iṣe ọkòṣkan ẹ gbàralé àwọn miiran
7. Ẹ àlàyé bí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe ẹ ní ipa lórí ilànà àtọwódódówó sí ṣíṣe ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín èlùbóṣu
8. Ẹ àlàyé bí àwọn iṣe wònyí ẹ ní ipa lórí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín
9. Ẹ àlàyé bí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣe ẹ ipa lórí àwọn iṣe ní ilànà-àtọwódódówó

Déédé: kí ni àwọn ipa tí àbùdá iwùwàsí-àwùjọ ní lórí ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pínpín èlùbóṣu ní Gúsù-iwò-oòrùn orílẹ̀ èdè Nàìjíríà,

Ìwáàdí:

1. Jòwó ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa ojó orí àwọn oníṣé lórí ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu
2. Jòwó ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa jíjé akọ tabi abo àwọn oníṣé lórí ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu
3. ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa tí èyà iran kó lórí ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu
4. ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa tí èsìn kó lórí ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu
5. ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa tí èyà iran kó lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣòwò nínú itakàn-àtòwódódówò láti ṣíṣàgbéjádé dé pín-pín
6. ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa tí èsìn kó lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣòwò nínú itakàn-àtòwódódówò láti ṣíṣe dé pín-pín
7. ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa tí ipò igbéyàwó ní lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé nínú ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu
8. ɛ àlàyé àwọn ipa tí títóbi idilé ní lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn tó n ṣíṣé ní ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu
9. ɛ àlàyé bí iwònyí ní ipa lórí ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣòwò
10. ɛ àlàyé bí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé ɛ ní ipa lórí ibáṣepò gégé bó ti dá lórí iwùwásí-àwùjò nínú ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu
11. ɛ àlàyé ipa tí èyà iran kó lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin oníṣé
12. ɛ àlàyé bí èyí ɛ kan ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbó-ìṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣé
13. ɛ àlàyé ipa tí ojó orí kó lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé
14. ɛ àlàyé bí èyí ɛ kan ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbóṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣé
15. ɛ àlàyé ipa tí jíjé akọ tabi abo kó lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé
16. ɛ àlàyé bí èyí ɛ kan ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbó-ìṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣé
17. ɛ àlàyé ipa tí èsìn kó lórí àwọn ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé
18. ɛ àlàyé bí ó ɛ kan ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbó-ìṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣé
19. ɛ àlàyé ipa tí ipo igbéyàwó kó lórí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé
20. ɛ àlàyé bí èyí ɛ kan ṣíṣàgbéjádé àti pín-pín èlùbó-ìṣu láàrin àwọn oníṣé
21. ɛ àlàyé bí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé ɛ kan fifúni ní ojúṣe tó dá lórí jíjé akọ tabi abo
22. ɛ àlàyé bí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé ɛ kan fifúni ní ojúṣe èyí tó dá lórí ojó orí
23. ɛ àlàyé bí ibáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé ɛ kan fifúni ní ojúṣe eyí tó dá lórí èsìn

24. Ẹ ̀àlàyé bí íbáṣepò láàrin àwọn oníṣé ẹ kan fífúni ní ojúṣe èyí tó dá lóri èyàn iran

FGD

Ìwáàdí: Ní íbámu pèlú àfojúṣùn kííní (1)

1. Jòwó ẹ àpèjúwe àwọn àṣà àwùjotó n ẹ àkóso íbáṣepò láàarin àwọn oníṣòwò èlùbóṣu
2. Ẹ̀làyé ohun tí o rò nípa àwọn àṣà wònyí
3. Ẹ̀làyé ipa tí àwọn àṣà àwùjò wònyí ní lóri íbáṣepò láàarin àwọn oníṣé
4. Ẹ̀làyé bí àwọn àṣà wònyí ẹ ní ipa lóri ṣíṣe àti pínpin láàarin àwọn oníṣé
5. Jòwó ẹ̀làyé ohun iyebiye tíí máa n ṣàkóso ṣíṣe àti pínpin láàarin àwọn oníṣé
6. Jòwó ẹ̀làyé bí àṣà àti ìṣe ẹ n sàkóso íbáṣepò láàarin àwọn oníṣé
7. Ẹ̀làyé bí àṣà àti ìṣe yí ẹ kó ipa láàarin àwọn oníṣé gégé bí ó ti dá lóri èyà akọ tabí abo
8. Ẹ̀làyé bí àṣà àti ìṣe yí ẹ kó ipa láàarin àwọn oníṣé gégé bí ó ti dá lóri ojò orí
9. Ẹ̀làyé bí àṣà àti ìṣe yí ẹ kó ipa láàarin àwọn oníṣé gégé bí ó ti dá lóri èyà iran
10. Ẹ̀làyé bí àṣà àti ìṣe yí ẹ kó ipa láàarin àwọn oníṣé gégé bí ó ti dá lóri èṣin

Iwáàdí: Ní íbámu pèlú àfojúṣùn kejì (2)

1. Ẹ ̀àlàyé bí ipinnu lóri òdiwòṅ ipààrò ẹ n dí ṣíṣe láàarin àwọn oníṣòwò
2. Ẹ ̀àlàyé ẹni tó máa n ẹ ipinnu lóri òdiwòṅ náà
3. Ẹ ̀àlàyé ohun tí o lérò nípa itélórùn oníṣòwò pèlú ètò ipààrò náà
4. Ẹ ̀àlàyé bí àwọn ètò yí ẹ ní ipa lóri íbáṣepò láàarin àwọn oníṣòwò àti àwùjò lápapò
5. Ẹ ̀àlàyé ohun tí o lérò nípa ètò náà lówólówó
6. Ẹ ̀àlàyé àwọn iyàtò tó ti wáyé nígbà pípé sáyin àti ipa wòṅ lóri íbáṣepò láàarin àwọn oníṣòwò

2. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa ìdí fún irúfẹ̀ ị̀sesí náà
3. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa ìyàtò sí irúfẹ̀ ị̀sesí yí
4. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa bí ẹ̀tò owó sísan ẹ̀ ní ipa lórí ìbáşepọ̀ láàrin àwọn oníşòwò
5. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa bí ẹ̀tò owó sísan ẹ̀ ní ipa lórí ìbáşepọ̀ láàrin ìletò
6. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa bí ẹ̀tò owó sísan ẹ̀ ní ipa lórí ìbáşepọ̀ láàrin àwùjọ
7. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa bí ọ̀diwọ̀n ipààrò tí n jẹ́ ẹ̀şíşẹ̀ láàrin àwọn oníşòwò
8. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa bí ipinnu ìbáradógba tí n jẹ́ ẹ̀şíşẹ̀ láàrin àwọn oníşòwò
9. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa bí ọ̀diwọ̀n ipààrò tí n jẹ́ ẹ̀şíşẹ̀ láàrin àwọn oníşòwò
10. Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àlàyé nípa bí àwọn oníşẹ́ ẹ̀ n şepinnu ẹ̀rè tí ó yẹ́ fún tí ị̀şẹ́ kan

Ìwádìí: Ní ìbámu pẹ̀lú àfojúsùn kẹ̀rin (4)

Jòwọ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ àpẹ̀júwe ní kíkún lórí bí ị̀şẹ́ ọ̀kọ̀ọ̀kan nínú ìtakàn-àtọ̀wọ̀dọ̀wọ̀ naà ẹ̀ n şíşẹ́ sí lẹ́şẹ́şẹ́

ÌGBÉŞÈ ÌFỌ̀RỌ̀WÁNILÉNUWÒ

Ìwònyíí ní ìlànà tí ẹ̀ni tí à n fọ̀rọ̀ wá lẹ̀nu wò kọ̀ọ̀kan yóò tẹ̀lé láti rí i dájú pé ohun gbogbo lo gégé bí a tí şètò rẹ̀ lá'arin àwọn tí à n fọ̀rọ̀ wá lẹ̀nu wò àti kí a sì tún le mú kí ìgbáralé àbájáde ìwádí náà pọ̀ sí

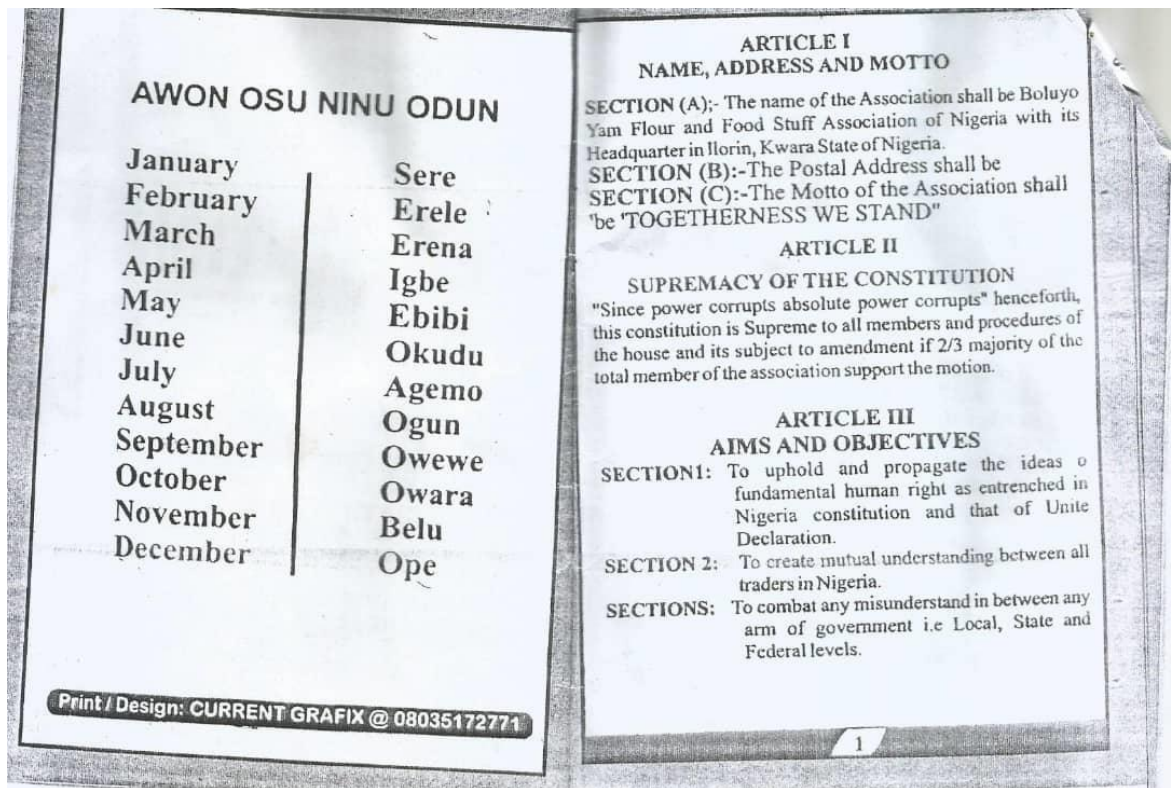
1. Gbogbo àwọn tí à n fọ̀rọ̀ wá lẹ́ gbọ̀dò tí jókòó láti bíi ị̀şẹ́jú mẹ̀wàá şaájú ìgbà tí a tí dá fún ìfọ̀rọ̀wánilẹ̀nuwò
2. Bóyá nípa ìdí kan, ẹ̀ni tí a fẹ́ fọ̀rọ̀wálẹ̀nuwò kò ní le wá fún ìfọ̀rọ̀wánilẹ̀nuwò; wọn gbọ̀dò tí pe àkíyèsí wa síi, láti bíi wákàtí mẹ̀rinlélógún, ó kéré jù, şaájú sí àwọn oníwadí
3. A gbọ̀dò pa iná orí àwọn ẹ̀rọ ìbáńsọ̀rọ̀ wa láti le yẹ̀ra fún ìdíwọ̀
4. Şaájú kí ẹ̀ni tí a n fọ̀rọ̀wálẹ̀nuwò tó le dá sí ọ̀rọ̀, ó gbọ̀dò gbà ààyè lódò olùfọ̀rọ̀wánilẹ̀nuwò. Ìdí ẹ̀yí ní lati lè yẹ̀ra fún gbígbórawa lẹ̀nu àti àişẹ-nńkan-létòlétò.

ATÓNÀ ÌBÉÈRÈ ÀŞÀRÒ ÌWÁDÌÍ

1. Ojọ orí
2. Işé
3. Àdédúró ètò èkọ
4. Kí ni àwọn àşà àti işe ìbílẹ̀ tó wà nínú şíşàgbéjádẹ̀ èlùbọşu
5. Şé àwọn àşà àti işe náà şì wà tí tí di òní
6. Şé iyàtò kankan wà rárá nínú àwọn ìmọ̀ èrọ̀ ìbílẹ̀?
7. Nígba tí è ní şàgbéjádẹ̀ èlùbọşu, kí ni ó fa ọkàn yín sín ilò ìmọ̀ èrọ̀ ìbílẹ̀?
8. Şé nńkan ààyò kan pátó wà nínú ìmọ̀ èrọ̀ yíí?
9. Àwọn ẹgbé ló wà tí wọ̀ sì wà ní şíşísíl`ẹ̀ fún àwọn alágbájádẹ̀ àti àwọn oníşòwò bákan naà?
10. Àwọn ẹgbé ló wà tí wọ̀ sì wà ní şíşísílẹ̀ fún àwọn oníşé miíràn nínú ìtakàn-àtọ̀wọ̀dọ̀wọ̀ bákan naà?
11. Kí ni ó sokúnfà ìdásílẹ̀ àwọn ẹgbé wọnyíí?
12. Kí ni ipa tí o kò nínú gbígb ẹgbé náa kanlẹ̀?
13. Kí ni àwọn òfin tó de ilàna gbigbà gégé bíi ọmọ ẹgbé?
14. Kí ni àşà àwùjọ̀ tó de ilàna gbigbà gégé bíi ọmọ ẹgbé?
15. Kí ni ohun to fa ifọ̀wọ̀sowọ̀pọ̀ to wà láàrín àwọn oníşé nínú şíşàgbékanlẹ̀ àti pínpín ?
16. Kí ni ó iyọ̀pọ̀ láàrín àwọn oníşé nínú şíşàgbékanlẹ̀ àti pínpín ?
17. Jọ̀wọ̀ ñjẹ̀ o l`e so işèlẹ̀ kan pátó nínú èyí tí ìjijàgbara agbára, adari olóşòlú, ìjẹ̀rìísí tàbí àwọn ipò miíràn tó fa gbọ̀mìsìí-omi-ò-tóo láàárín àwọn oníşé

APPENDIX III

Yam Flour Traders Association Booklet



Yam Flour Traders Association Booklet continued

SECTION 4:- To serve as a link between the government and public and also to intimate the government with the problem confronting members of the Association and Public.

SECTION 5:- To embrace the principle of equality among member and all races.

SECTION 6:- To liberate our members from all sorts of colonialism, encroachment, feudalism, apartheid, nepotism and all form of social-ills or malice, that will retard the progress of our market and fatherland.

SECTION 7:- To organize ourselves for the purpose of forming a responsible and responsive Association.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERSHIP AND RIGHTS OF MEMBER

SECTION (A): Membership is open to people who are ready to serve the Association meritoriously.

SECTION (B): Member shall be opened to people who share the same interest, aspirations and ideologies.

SECTION (C): Any intending branch or group wishing to be member of this Association will forward an application letter to the General Secretary of the Association with non

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refundable fees of N1,000.00

SECTION (D):- All application of membership shall forward to the executive committee for consideration and pass to the meeting for final approval.

SECTION (E):- All accepted applicant are subject to pay membership registration fees of.....

SECTION (D):- All dues and levies paid by the foundation members are chargeable to be paid by the new member.

SECTION (G):- Admission of new members shall be subject to recommendation from at least 2/3 of the Association and ratification of the whole house.

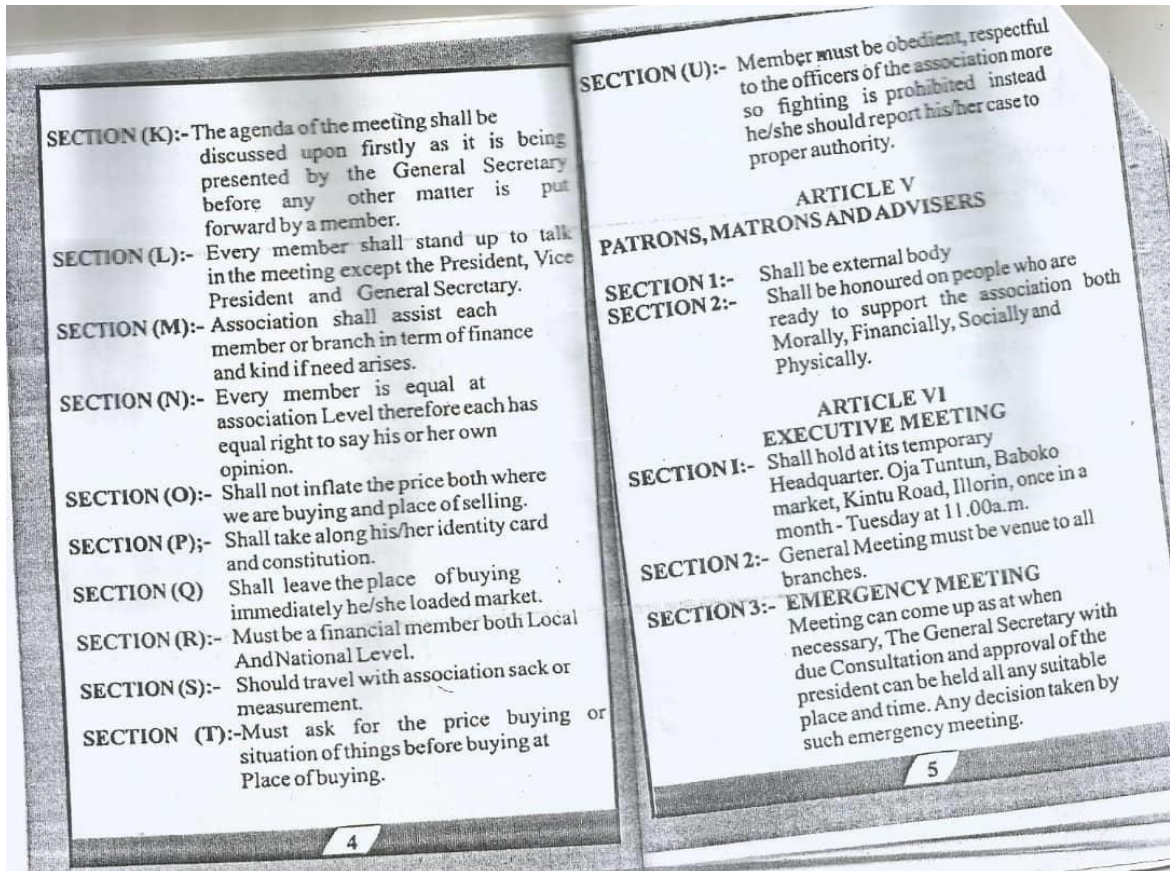
SECTION (H):- Any member is free to have tete-a-tete or pep talk during the proceeding of the meeting. So far it does not affect the meeting but if it does the victims shall be warned but if he/she persists shall be fined or punished.

SECTION (I):- Drinks of alcohol in the meeting shall be suspended indefinitely.

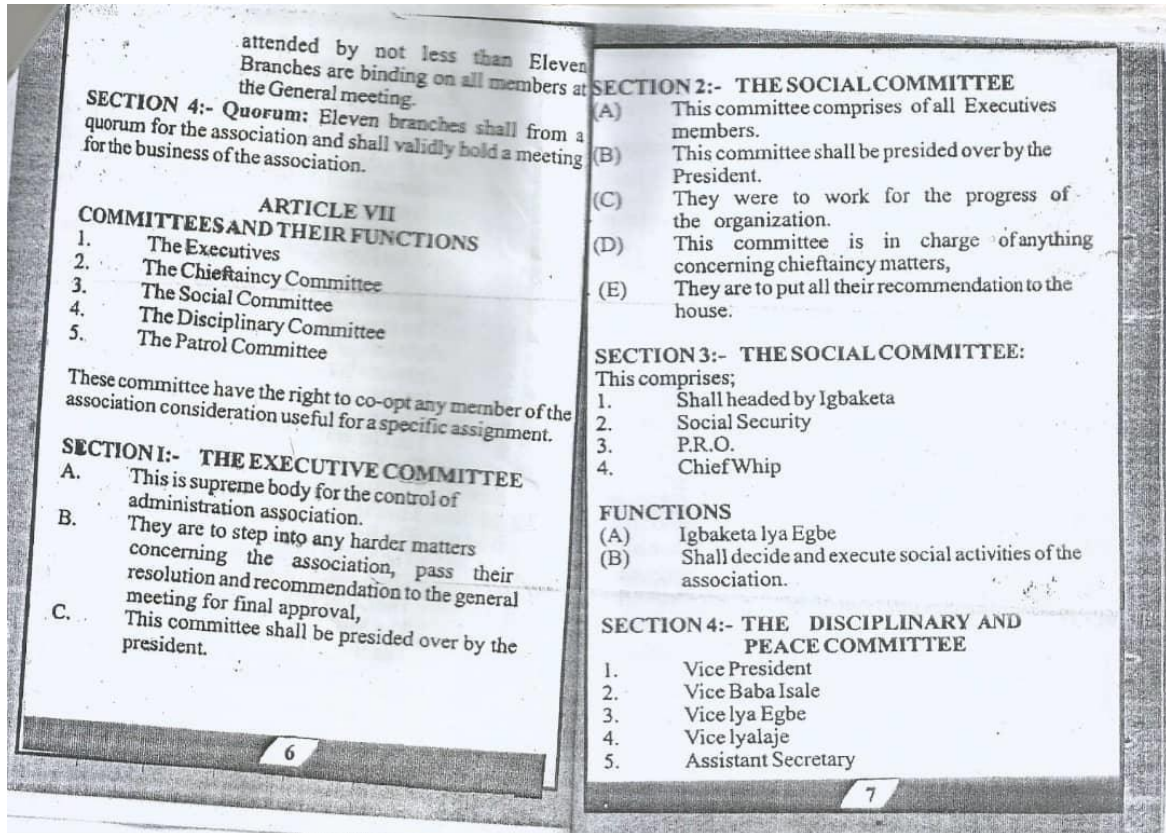
SECTION (J):- A member or branch on suspension shall retain his membership but on the other hand a member or branch who is dismissed from the association shall forfeit the right and claims to the membership of the association and this is not challengeable in any court of law.

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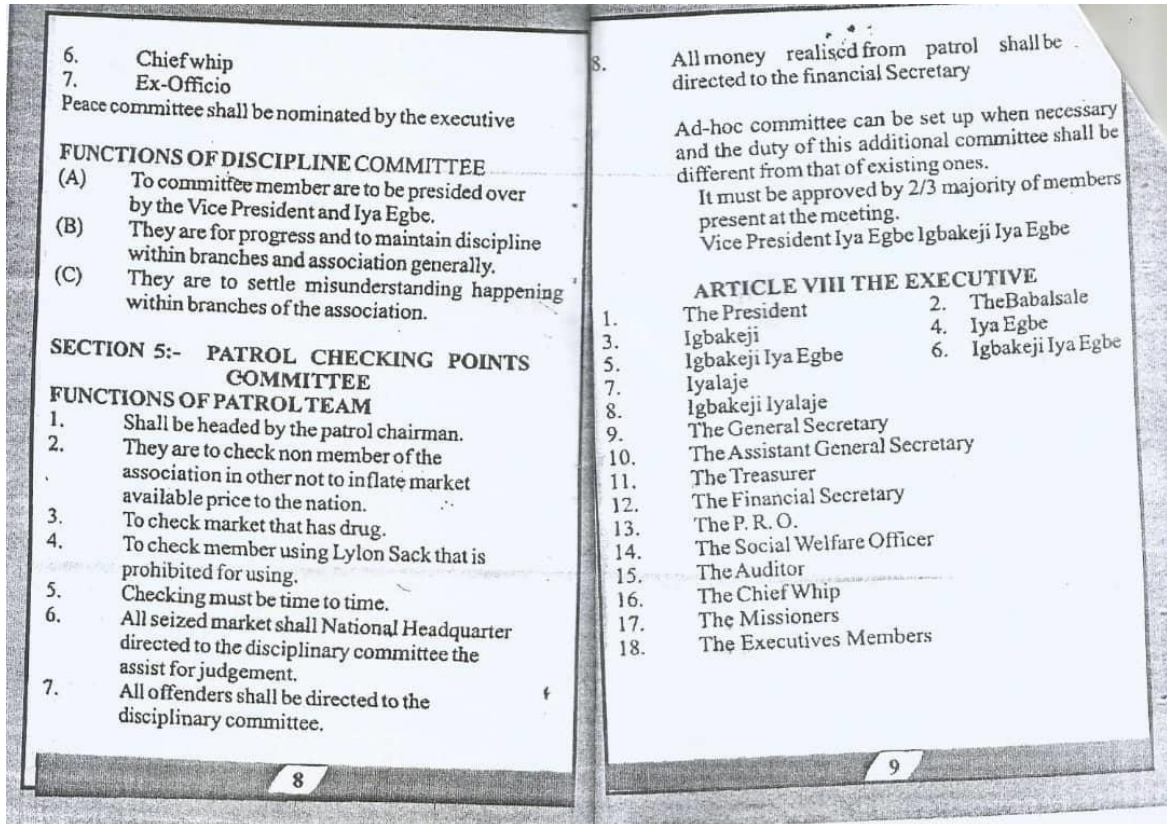
Yam Flour Traders Association Booklet continued



Yam Flour Traders Association Booklet continued



Yam Flour Traders Association Booklet continued



Yam Flour Traders Association Booklet continued

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE

THE PRESIDENT

- A. Shall be an indigenous son of Nigeria.
- B. Shall be the leader and first member of the association.
- C. Shall be the Head of Executive Council of the association.
- D. Shall supervise and co-ordinate the activities of the association
- E. Shall be the association spoke-man and preside overall the executive and general meetings.
- F. Shall be one of signatories to the association's Bank account and must sign the association's Voucher.
- G. Shall sign the minutes of the meetings and the official documents of the association
- H. Shall act and spent on behalf of the association
- I. He has the power to VETO, but his VETO can revoke by 2/3 majority of the member present at the meeting.
- J. Shall discharge all other duties delegated to him by the association from time to time.
- K. He has the power to delegate power to any of the executive's member.

THE VICE PRESIDENT

- A. Shall advice and assist the president in his duties and deputize for him in his absence.
- B. Shall on the instruction of the President assume

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all other duties delegated to him in accordance with the provision of this constitution,

THE GENERAL SECRETARY

- 1. Shall be responsible for the general management and organization of the association.
- 2. Shall be very close to the president and general and executive meetings of the association.
- 3. Shall summon meetings, such as Executive, Emergency, and that of General meetings.
- 4. Shall take minutes of executive, emergency and general meetings of the association.
- 5. Shall keep attendance's minute, record's book and other related properties of the association vested in his capacity by the house.
- 6. Shall compile and present to the whole house a full and comprehensive report of all the activities of the association annually.
- 7. All correspondent of the association shall be directed to the general secretary and he shall be one of signatories to the association's Bank account.
- 8. Shall with president and P.R.O be responsible for press release and publications.
- 9. Shall carry out all other functions as may be assigned to him. by the association.
- 10. Shall be the custodian of the association's constitution

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Yam Flour Traders Association Booklet continued

THE ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY

1. Shall assist the general secretary and act on his behalf when occasion demand.
2. He shall perform the duties of general secretary when I. general secretary is absent.
13. Shall direct the activities, of the association Anniversary.

THE TREASURER

- (i) Shall be one of the signatories to the Association Bank accounts.
- (ii) Shall receive all monies received are deposited into the Association Bank account within 48 Hours of receipt.
- (iii) Shall produce the association passbook for inspections at general or executive meetings on request.
- (iv) Shall keep on interest of.....only
- (v) Shall submit his financial report yearly.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY

- i. Shall collect all due and hand over to the treasurer,
- ii. Shall keep the record of money received and spent at every meeting.
- iii. Shall maintain up to date account of the association and produce account for inspection either by the executive committees and the auditor.
- iv. Shall issue "VOUCHER" to the treasurer on any amount to be spent by the association after the approval of whole house.

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- v. Shall act on behalf of the treasurer whenever the treasurer is absent especially on income and expenditure.

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

- (a) Shall be educated.
- (b) Shall responsible for advertisement i.e. publication, radio, and television announcement as the association demand.
- (c) Shall organize press conference and to speak on behalf of the association according to wish of the house.
- (d) Shall work hand with the General Secretary.

CHIEF WHIPS

- (a) He is the Chief Police Officer of the association.
- (b) He sees to the orderliness and mode of behaviour of every member at every meeting.
- (c) Shall fine and punish any member whose action can disturb the proceeding of association Meetings after warning. He can impose fine or punishment at his discretion.
- (d) Shall render the account of his fine to financial Secretary.
- (e) He shall not be partial in discharging his duty else he shall be fined.

SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICER

- (a) To work with P. R. O. on social occasion.

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APPENDIX IV

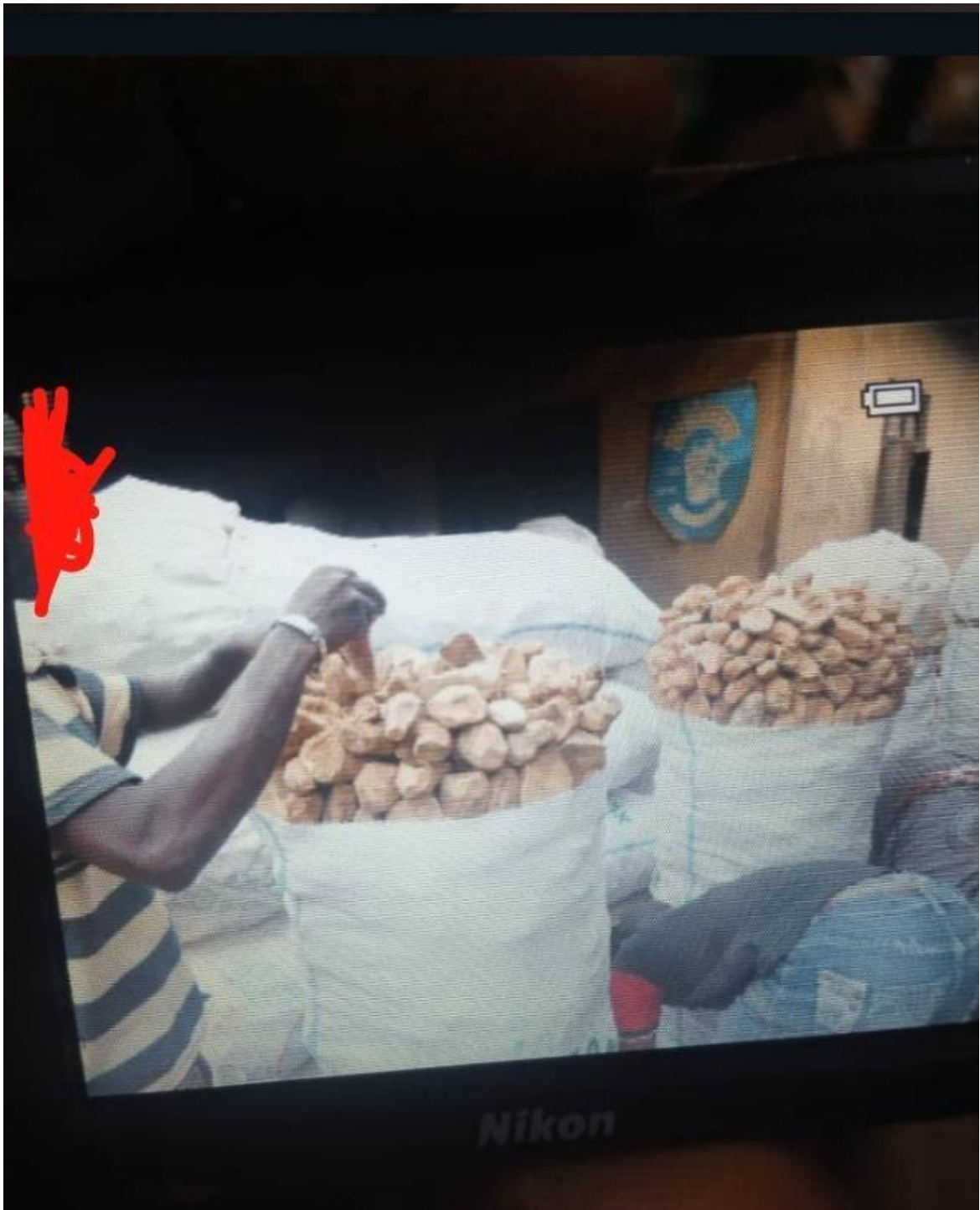


Image of Yam Flour Chips loading by a loader

APPENDIX V



Image of Yam Flour Producer and Merchant checking yam chips on the exposed rock surface

APPENDIX VI



Image of the researcher on the field in Saki, Oyo state, Nigeria

APPENDIX VII



Image of chemical drums converted for yam flour chips parboiling