

## ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN AMALLA AND OWUKPA: 1967-2020

**James Sunday Onyebuchi**  
Jamessunday@fuwukari.edu.ng  
Department of History and Diplomatic Studies  
Federal University, Wukari

### Abstract

*This paper explores the economic relations between the Amalla people of Udenu Local Government Area in Enugu State, and the Owukpa people of Ogbadigbo Local Government Area of Benue State, both of which are the border communities in the northernmost part of Igboland and the southernmost part of Idomaland respectively, from 1967 when the Nigerian Civil War broke out to the year 2020. Just like economic relations between groups especially those who are neighbors is an inevitable Part of human history, the economic relations between the Amalla and Owukpa people in Enugu and Benue states respectively is not in doubt. What however, is in doubt is if these relations together with its trends and pattern have received adequate documentation from scholars of both Amalla and Owukpa decent. This paper therefore, aims to x-ray the relations in the economic parlance that have existed between the Amalla and the Owukpa people from 1967 up to the year 2020. To achieve this, the paper relies mainly on oral sources owing to the paucity of secondary and tertiary sources on the subject matter, and deploys the descriptive and narrative methods of historical research. This paper concludes that Amalla and Owukpa communities share strong economic ties in the areas of agriculture, trades and employment, and this reality has aided the peaceful coexistence of the two communities from 1967-2020.*

**Keywords:** *Inter-group, Economic, Relations, Neighbours, Civil War*

### Introduction

Inter-group relations between and amongst groups is a basic fact of life. Victor Lukpata captures this clearly when he submitted that:

“It is important to note that no human society or individuals is entirely self-sufficient, no society, no matter how well developed can be an island on itself, and no individual or society is entirely self-sufficient”.

According to him, this is because the fundamental needs of man are the provision of material goods which itself compels cooperation with others in production and consumption relations or access to scarce resources. From the foregoing, it can be deduced that contacts and interactions between and amongst groups is inevitable. More importantly, no society is endowed with all the resources it needs for meaningful existence. Some societies have what others lack and this makes some form of relations between one group and another inevitable. This is why contacts, interactions and interdependence amongst human groups are not only a fact of life but it is universally basic and constant.

The Amalla and the Owukpa people being two different human groups have shared from the inevitability of inter-group interactions, especially in the area of economic relations long before the onset of the Nigerian Civil war in 1967. However, the beginning of the thirty months war introduced a novelty in the patterns and trends of economic relations between the groups. It is important to state that the war was not only responsible for destroying (though not totally) the good relations the two neighbours enjoyed in the years preceding the war, it also pitched the groups against each other. For instance, with the war on going, people from the two communities especially men were drawn into opposing armies; while the men from Owukpa joined the Federal forces, the men from Amalla joined the Biafran forces, hence, men who hitherto hunted games together suddenly became pitched against each other in a bloody thirty months hostility. This situation was also replicated amongst the women, especially at the earlier stage of the war within the realm of economic activities vis-à-vis trade.

By the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970, the Amalla-Owukpa economic relations which by the last quarter of 1960 reached its nadir, has been rekindled. For instance, economic relations in agriculture and trade as well as employment were resumed, although not without issues as would have been expected.

By 2020, Amalla-Owukpa economic Relations have become even stronger. And this has also led to the revival of relations in other similar spheres. For instance, in the socio-cultural sphere, more inter-marriages have taken place; while bilingualism has become almost a norm among the groups. Formal education has also added impetus to the relations between the groups as children from the two communities attend each other's primary and secondary schools.

This paper's focus however, is on the economic relations between the two groups under the broad headings of agriculture, trade and employment which are discussed below.

### **Origin of Amalla**

Oral informations collected during field work and which was relied upon in this paper suggested that there were several versions of the origin and migration of the Amalla people. For instance, 60% of them held the view that Amalla migrated from the Igbo heartland. 30% held the view that Amalla migrated from somewhere in Igarra (Igala), while the remaining 10% belief Amalla came from Idoma land.

According to the 60% of the informants that hold the view that the origin of the Amalla people is the Igbo heartland, Amalla is the name by which the founder of Amalla community was known; however, this was not his real name as no one knew his real name. According to this source, Amalla father's name was Egazi Obu n'ugwoke, who had two other sons namely Iyi-Ogbo and Ezulo. This source maintained that Egazi obu n'ugwoke and his family started the migration from the Igbo heartland owing to the intensification of the Trans-Atlantic slave Trade in the early 17<sup>th</sup> and late 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, only Amalla and his two other brothers Iyi-Ogbo and Ezulo made it to Nsukka land. This tradition continued that upon getting to the Obollo axis, Amalla separated with his brothers. Amalla went northward and settled at what later became Eke Amalla, while Iyi-Ogbo moved northwest, with Ezulo remaining around the Obollo axis.

At Eke, Amalla begot three sons by his wife, whose name was not mentioned in the tradition. These sons were Ifuroka, also known as Amusu Ifama, who was the eldest, known for his bravery and creativity, Egari who was the second and Enachi who was the third son.

This tradition continues that when Amalla's children came of age, he distributed his farm lands to them according to Igbo customs and traditions. To Ifuroka, Amalla gave half of his farmlands, to Egari, he apportioned one-quarter, and to Enachi, he gave one-eighth of his farmlands. This is why Ifuroka is the biggest in term of landmass and population when compared to the other two villages in Amalla community.

After sharing successfully his land to his children, this tradition held that Amalla migrated further north to a place called Isama (an Idoma settlement). In the present day Okpoku Local Government Area of Benue State. At Isama, Amalla is said to have married an Idoma woman with whom he procreated and established the Umu-Idoko of Ugbabe clan which continued to exist as Amalla people in Isama up to date.

In the course of time, Amalla's children, married and procreated, expanding the Amalla lineage. Ifuroka begat through his wife whose name was not mentioned in the tradition, three sons who were Ugbabe, Okwu-Oho and Ogene. These three sons of Ifuroka became the Umu-Ugbabe, Umu-Okwu-Oho and Umu-Ogene clans in Ifuroka at present.

The tradition continues that during the years of inter-tribal wars in Igboland (mid 1850) Obollo and Idoma (Owukpa) conspired and waged war against Amalla for several years, forcing several people to migrate southward. While on such migratory movement, some members of the migrating party decided to ease themselves and this led to the other members of the migrating party leaving them because they delayed (Suo Ndu). Eventually these set of Amalla people founded Umu-Ndu, between Orba and Obollo. Hence, Amalla people are found not just in Amalla, but also in Isama and Umu-Ndu according to this tradition.

According to 30% of the informants that hold the view that the Amalla people migrated from Igarra (Igala land), the founder of Amalla was an Igala Prince, whom owing to succession crisis migrated southward into Igbo land, where he settled at the Ogor Cave in present day Ifuroka-Amalla. This tradition claims that this man's name was actually Amalla. And that he eventually married a woman from Amuteyi-Obollo with whom he settled afterwards at Eke-Amalla and begat three sons whom were Ifuroka, Egari and Enachi. This tradition like the others does not mention the name of Amalla's wife.

According to the tradition tracing Amalla to idoma land, Amalla was an Idoma man from Isama in present day Okpokwu Local Government Area of Benue State. This tradition held that Amalla was a hunter, as well as farmer, whom on one of his hunting expeditions decided to settle around Eke, where he eventually married an Amuteyi woman, who bore him three sons that were Ifuroka the eldest, Egari, the second and Enachi the third.

### **Origin of Owukpa**

Just like there are divergent opinions on the question of the origins and migrations of the Idoma at large, there is also a divergent of opinion on the subject matter of the origins and migrations of the Owukpa people. Nonetheless the foregoing fact, two perspectives on the origins and migrations of the Owukpa people were greatly emphasized by most of my informants during field work. These perspectives are the view that the origins and migrations of

the Owukpa people are traceable to the defunct Kwararafa Kingdom, and the view that the origins and migrations of the people are traceable to Igala land.

According to Chief Raphael Edache, one of the informants, the origin and migrations of the Owukpa people revolves around its founder identified as Amuche Onomo. Amuche Onomo, who is also, corroborated as the founder of Owukpa by all the informants is believed to have migrated alongside several other Idoma migrants from the Idoma ancestral land of Apa in the defunct Kwararafa Kingdom during the years of its decline. According to this tradition, Amuche Onomo was a hunter and first settled within the Orokam area from where he hunted his games as far as the northern Igboland, (Nsukka land).

This tradition continues that eventually Amuche Onomo married an Igbo woman from Eha-Alumona, an Nsukka community. He settled at Eha-Alumona only for a while and subsequently moved with his wife and settled in the present day Owukpa. At Owukpa, this tradition holds that Amuche had four children by the Igbo woman. These children were Ogwuche, the eldest son, Okpe the second son, Agada the third and Odobo the last the only female child.

It is believed by this tradition that while the only female child (Odobo) got married to an unstated man, the three male children went ahead to found three clans presently in Owukpa on the portions of land they received from their father shortly before his death. Hence, Ogwuche the eldest son in accordance with Idoma customary law received the portion of land bordering Igboland (Amalla), Okpe received a portion of land close to Ede market, while Agada the third son received a portion of land a little bit east of Ede market. It is also important to state that the kingship of Owukpa rotates even up to the present amongst the three sons of Amuche Onomo the founder of Owukpa.

Another perspective on the origins and migrations of the Owukpa people is that which holds that Owukpa was founded by Amuche Onomo an Igala man from Ankpa/Idah. According to this tradition, Amuche Onomo was an Igala hunter whom on one of his hunting expeditions decided to settle in an area north of Orokam. While in this area, the tradition held that Amuche Onomo married an Idoma woman from Orokam who bore him four children that were Ogwuche, Okpe, Agada and Odobo who was the only female child. This tradition continues that Amuche Onomo's sons received portions of land from him prior to his death where they settled and founded the three clans of Owukpa.

One of the major tasks that have been carried out in this part of this paper is an enquiry into both the traditions of origin of Amalla and Owukpa people. Though there are different claims on the question of the origins and migrations of the two people, some categorical statements can be made from the enquiry carried out.

First, on the traditions of origin of the Amalla people, we can deduce from the available accounts and traditions that Amalla is a compound name. That is to say, Amalla is both the name of the founder and the founded community at present called Amalla. This is because; extant accounts and traditions refer to Amalla as both the name of the founder of the community as well as the community itself. Again, in as much as there are several claims as to the origin and migrations of the Amalla people, the tradition that traces Amalla's origin to the Igbo heartland appears more credible. This is because this tradition is supported by evidence which are convincing. For example, the Amalla people speak Nsukka, a dialect of the Igbo language. Beside this foregoing fact, the cultural and religious practices of the Amalla people all but suggest the truism in the fact that Amalla's origins and migration is traceable to the Igbo heartland.

On the traditions of origin and migrations of the Owukpa people, there is no doubt that they are an Idoma group whose origin is traceable to the Idoma heartland of Apa in the defunct Kwararafa Kingdom, the foregoing statement is supported by the linguistic as well as the ethnographical evidences that shows that the Owukpa people predominantly speak Idoma.

Again, all sources that were consulted in reconstructing the origins and migrations of the Owukpa people held Amuche Onomo as the progenitor of the Owukpa people. It therefore follows that Owukpa was founded by Amuche Onomo and his three children whom he shared his portions of land amongst.

#### **Agricultural Relations between Amalla and Owukpa from 1967-2020**

In his work, "Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Sagamu, 1872-1960", Akran V.S identified agriculture as one of the main factors of inter-group relations in Nigeria. In his view, agriculture contributed in no small measure to contacts and interactions among various peoples of Nigeria. The foregoing position is very much applicable to Amalla-

Owukpa Relations. To this end, this study provides a working definition of the term agriculture as well as explains how it has factored in the Amalla-Owukpa Relations from 1967 up to 2020.

According to J.M Rubenstein in his work “The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography”, agriculture is the deliberate effort to modify a portion of earth’s surface through the cultivation of crops and the raising of livestock for sustenance or economic gain. Another definition of agriculture is that provided by T.J Rimando in his work “Crop Science 1: Fundamentals of crop Science”. According to this definition, “agriculture is the systematic raising of useful plants and livestock under the management of man”.

From the foregoing definitions, we can define agriculture simply as the art and science of raising plants and animals for both sustenance and commercial purposes.

Having clarified the term agriculture, it is important to state clearly that agriculture is a very important factor of the Amalla-Owukpa Relations since 1967. In the first place, Amalla and Owukpa share common boundaries. Owing to the foregoing geographical situation, the two communities have related with each other in the sphere of agriculture. The statement above was also corroborated by most informants who opined that the agricultural practices in both Amalla and Owukpa are similar. These agricultural practices include, mixed cropped, crop rotation, ranching and free range.

Mixed cropping is also known as inter-cropping in agricultural science; it is an agricultural practice that involves planting two or more plants or crops simultaneously on the same piece of farmland. In both Amalla and Owukpa, this practice is common. Crops like groundnut, maize and even pepper are planted on the same piece of land. According to one of the informants, the philosophy behind the practice is the maximization of the available lands. Crop rotation refers to the growing of number of crops one after the other in a fixed rotation to maintain the fertility of the soil. This practice is also prevalent among the Amalla and Owukpa people. One of the informants explained that the rotation of crops may be complete in year or more than a year. According to him, leguminous crops such as beans and groundnuts are grown after the cereal crops such as maize and millets.

Ranching is an agricultural practice that mainly applies to animal farming. It is a system where animals being reared are kept in a ranch while their feeds are supplied by the farmer. This animal farming practice is the same both in Amalla and Owukpa. Goat farming is the most prevalent in the two communities. In the two communities, goats are kept in ranches while the farmer or his children goes to the bush to cut grazing grasses for the goats. It is quite important to state that both communities usually cross each other’s boundary in search of these grazing grasses and this not only enhance these economic relations between them, but, also increase mutual trust that is essential for peaceful co-existence between the two communities.

Another agricultural practice which is widely practiced in both Amalla and Owukpa is the free range system of poultry farming. This is a poultry farming practice where the birds are allowed to roam freely and fend for themselves what they eat and drink. This particular type of poultry farming has always been an ever-present feature of both the Amalla and the Owukpa people’s agricultural practice from even pre-independence times. In many cases, where these birds wander into one of these communities from the other, the owners simply trace them to where they have wandered to and is usually given good cooperation by the people of the community to recover such birds. This practice which grew and became norm overtime not only built trusts amongst the people of the communities, but, also improved unity and oneness.

Apart from the similarity in the agricultural practice between Amalla and Owukpa, the two communities also plant similar crops and keep similar livestock. Crops such as cassava, maize, cocoa yam, amongst others are commonly cultivated in both Amalla and Owukpa, while livestock such as goats, hen, among others are commonly reared. These similarities came about as result of the relations between the communities overtime and is a testament to the powerful ability of inter-group relations to shape the economy of peoples overtime.

Another very important area that Amalla and Owukpa relate agriculturally is the area of labour. During farming seasons especially, there is normally massive inter-crossing of agricultural labour between Amalla and Owukpa. Amongst both the Amalla and Owukpa people, agricultural labour force is usually gotten by hiring of farm workers, (job), volunteering; which involves friends volunteering to work for free or a potential in-law volunteering to work for his potential wife’s people for free. Volunteering can also come in the form of people working on the farm of an aged person for free. It is important state that in as much as this is an age-long practice, it is still in vogue even in this contemporary time. Labour is hired interchangeably by the two communities and this has definitely helped to strengthen ties between the communities over the years.

Apart from labour movement, the quests for farm lands have also aided the agricultural relations between Amalla and Owukpa. Owing to the small land mass of Amalla comparative to Owukpa, many people from the community go to their relations usually in-laws and friends in Owukpa to get piece of farmlands for cultivation during the farming seasons and this practice has greatly aided the relations between the two communities.

From all the foregoing, it is clear that Amalla and Owukpa Relations especially between 1967-2020 have been greatly influenced by agricultural activities. Indeed, the similarities in the people's agricultural practices, as well as the free-flow of agricultural labour across the boundaries of the two communities are strong evidence to support the foregoing statement.

### **Trade Relations between Amalla and Owukpa from 1967-2020**

In his contribution to the book "Nigerian Studies: Readings in History, Politics, Society and Culture", Joseph Y. Fashagba admits that in as much as the various pre-colonial communities which were later brought together to form the political unit that is currently known as Nigeria had their distinct and unique ethnic backgrounds, they related during and even after colonial occupation through various mediums, one of which was trade. From this informed position therefore, trade as a factor of inter-group relations among various groups in Nigeria is not doubtful. However, how it has factored in the Amalla-Owukpa Relations from 1967-2020 has not received adequate scholarly attention, and this part of this research has been dedicated discussing this.

Indeed, trade, which according to the Business Dictionary is "Commercial transaction involving the selling and purchase of goods, services or information", has been one of the key factors or basis for the relations between Amalla and Owukpa, right from pre-colonial times. However, from 1967 up to 2020, this factor of the Amalla-Owukpa Relations became more pronounced. According to one of the informants, this is so because, Amalla, which is the last Igbo community on the Northern part of Igboland maintains that during the civil war, the Ahia Ofia (Bush Market) started, which saw Amalla and Owukpa people engage in a highly secretive commercial transactions mainly on food stuff.

Again, all the informants from both Amalla and Owukpa reiterated the fact that Amalla and Owukpa share very strong trade relations. For instance, they have similar four market days system and all trade in each other's market. While the Eke market in Amalla witnesses transactions in Owukpa trade items such as palm- wine, plantain, cassava flour, among others, Amalla traders trade in the Owukpa market with such items as chicken, vegetable, clothes, shoes, among others.

It is particularly important to note that while the civil war severed almost all aspects of Amalla- Owukpa relations, trade as an aspect survived. This can only be explained in the terms of the important role trade has played as a factor of the Amalla-Owukpa relations from 1967-2020.

Through successful transactions, the people from the two groups built a high degree of confidence in each other, and this is quite instrumental in the present cordiality in the Amalla –Owukpa relations. Also, as trade increased between people from the two groups, more business partners emerged across the groups, and this trade partners, because of mutual business interests sued and continue to sue for peaceful relations between the Amalla and Owukpa even after the Civil War. In the present time, these trade relations have continued to feature prominently in Amalla-Owukpa relations. Amalla business men and women own shops and businesses in Owukpa, while Owukpa traders have continued to trade in the popular Eke market in Amalla.

### **Employment Relations between Amalla and Owukpa from 1967-2020**

The Business Dictionary defines employment as "state of being employed". It is no gainsaying the fact that the search for employment has made possible the massive movement of labour across boundaries, borders and groups. This is of course because of the need to be better positioned to positively maximize the utility of the scarce resources which the society is bestowed with, to satisfy unlimited wants.

Before 1967, the quest for employment had led to movement of labour from Amalla to Owukpa, and from Owukpa to Amalla. In the pre-colonial times, the Owukpa people were famous for their blacksmithing, hence, several Amalla people often went there either to get employed as blacksmiths or to learn the art. Owukpa people were also famous for gun and gunpowder manufacturing, and this also attracted various Amalla people to Owukpa.

With the dawn of more civilization however, the pattern above witnessed a change. Since 1967 up to 2020, more Owukpa people have continued to take up several employments in Amalla. These new areas of employment include, mechanic workshops, beer parlors, provision stores, tailoring workshops, computer centers, among others. The impact of the relations between Amalla and Owukpa from 1967 up to 2020 cannot be underestimated, especially in this sphere of employment. This is so because, it created vigorous interactions between people from

the two sides, increased mutual confidence and cordiality, and in some cases triggered inter-marriages between the people from the two groups, which collectively have led to more cordial relations between Amalla and Owukpa.

### Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it is important to note that Amalla-Owukpa economic relations from 1967-2020 has been fraught with differing trends and patterns overtime. This is because the various factors that have brought and sustained the relations between the two groups as have been clearly articulated in this paper have been impacted by the Nigerian Civil War. Since the end of the war however, the relations have enjoyed a boost that have been sustained even up to 2020. To continue to sustain these cordial economic relations, it is the position of this paper that emphasis needs to be placed by the stake holders from the two groups on the various factors which have so far brought about cordiality in the Amalla-Owukpa economic relations. By doing this, the economic relations between the two groups will continue to be more harmonious, paving way eventually for more developments in the two communities.

### Endnotes

#### PRIMARY SOURCES A: ORAL INTERVIEWS

S/N	NAME OF INFORMANT	SEX	AGE	PROFESSION	DATE	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1	Akor Michael	Male	45	School Teacher	28 <sup>th</sup> December, 2023	Enachi Amalla
2	Chief Eze Mose	Male	76	Retired School Teacher	3 <sup>rd</sup> January, 2024	Ifuroka Amalla
3	Chief Inedu Amos	Male	76	Retired Military Officer.	10 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Ede Owukpa
4	Chief Inedu Amos	Male	63	Retired School Teacher	9 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Ede Owukpa
5	Chief Omeje Simon	Male	78	Retired Headmaster	9 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Egari Amalla
6	Chief Omeje Simon	Male	75	Retired School Teacher	6 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Ifuroka Amalla
7	Chief Raphael Edache	Male	53	Retired Military Officer	8 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Ipole Owukpa
8	Daniel Okwueche	Male	68	Retired School Teacher	22 <sup>nd</sup> December, 2023	Ipole Owukpa
9	Hon. Abonyi Cosmas	Male	57	Politician	2 <sup>nd</sup> January, 2017	Ifuroka, Amalla
10	Hon. Idoko Marcellus	Male	52	Politician	9 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Ede Owukpa
11	Hon. Kelvin Ojobor	Male	62	Farmer	26 <sup>th</sup> Decemebr, 2023	Enachi Amalla

S/N	NAME OF INFORMANT	SEX	AGE	PROFESSION	DATE	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
12	Odo John	Male	69	Farmer	4 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Egari, Amalla
13	Okwoli Ene	Male	38	Teacher	9 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Ede Owukpa
14	Okpe Augustine	Male	72	Businessman	27 <sup>th</sup> December, 2016	Egari Amalla
15	Onoja Benedict	Male	64	Mason	27 <sup>th</sup> December, 2023	Ifuroka Amalla
16	Theophilus Enoyi	Male	70	Retired School Teacher	27 <sup>th</sup> December, 2023	Ifuroka Amalla
17	Ugwu Thomas	Male	77	Carpenter	26 <sup>th</sup> December, 2023	Ifuroka Amalla
18	Anayo Chijioke	Male	38	Teacher	8 <sup>th</sup> January, 2024	Ifuroka Amalla

#### SECONDARY SOURCES A: PUBLISHED BOOKS

19. A.E Afigbo, *The Igbo and their Neighbors: Inter-Group Relations in 20 southeastern Nigeria to 1953*, (Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1987)
21. A.E Afigbo, *Economic Foundation of Pre-colonial Igbo Society*, in Akinjogbin A.I and osoba S. O (eds), *Topic in Nigerian Economic and Social History*, (Ife: University Of Ife Press, 1980).
22. A.E afigbo, *The Nsukka Communities from earliest times to 1951: An introductory Survey*, (Lagos: Everlead Printing and Publishing Company Ltd).
23. Akran V.S. *Yoruba-Hausa Relations in sagamu, 1872-1960*, (Available online)
24. AustinJ. Shelton, *The Igbo-Igala borderland: Relation and Social Control in Indigeneous African colonialism*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1983).
25. *Business Dictionary*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition.
26. C.K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of Northern Provinces Of Nigeria*, (London: 1925, Vols 2)
27. C.K Meek, *Ethnographical Report on the People of Nsukka Division*, (1930).
28. E.E osghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence*, (London: Hurst & Company, 1998).
29. Emeka George Ekwuru, *The pangs of an African Culture in Travail: The Igbo Culture in Disrray*, (Owerri: Totan Publishers Limited, 1999).
30. George E. Belch, *Belief Systems and the Differential Role of the Self-Concept*, (California: University of California Press, 2015). Griffith University, U.S.A.
31. Hodder Ian, *The Archeology of Contextual Meaning*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
32. J Ravitin, *Laws and Theories of Migratio*, (London, 1978).
33. J.S Boston, *Note on Contact between the Igala and Igbo*, (J.H.S.N. Vol.2, No.1, 1960).
34. J.I Clarke, *Population Geography*, (London, 1972).
35. J.M Rubenstein, *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*. (NJ: Pearson Education, Inc., 2003).
36. Joseph Y. Fashagba, *Inter-Ethnic Relations: An Institutional Perspective*, in Akinjide Osuntunk et'al (eds.). *Nigerian Studies: Readings in History, Politics, Society and Culture*, (New Jersey: Gold line and Jacobs Publishers 2010).
37. M.A. Onwuejeogwu, *An Igbo Civilization: Nri Kingdom and Hegemony*, (London Oxford University Press, 1981).
38. Merriam Webster *Dictionary of the English Language*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition.

39. Norman C. McClelland, *Encyclopedia of Reincarnation and Karma*, (New York: Brent Press, 2014).
40. O.O. Okpeh and Y.A. Ochefu, *The Idoma Ethnic Group: A Historical and Cultural Setting*.
41. Obaro Ikime, *History, the Historian and the Nation*, (Ibadan: Oluseyi Press Limited, 2006).
42. Okpeh O. Okpeh and Yakubu A. Ochefu, *The Idoma Ethnic Group: A Historical and Cultural Setting*, pdf
43. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 7 Edition.
44. *Oxford Living Dictionary of English*, 4 Edition.
45. P. William, *Population*, (New York, 1975).
46. P.E. Okwoli, *A Short History Of Igala*, (Ilorin: Matanmi Press, 1973). *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Vol.II.
47. T.J. Rimando, *Crop Science 1: Fundamentals of Crop Science*, (Los Banos: University Publications Office, 2004).
48. W.B. Baikie, *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Niger and Benue in 1854*, (London: John Murray, 1856).

#### **SECONDARY SOURCES B: UNPUBLISHED BOOKS**

49. E.O. Erim, *The Idoma Nationality*, (M.A Thesis, University of Jos, 1991).
50. O.C Eze, *Udunedem and their Neighbors: 1908-1970*, unpublished M.A Thesis, Department of History, University of Nigeria Nsukka.
51. O.O Okpeh, *The Historical Evolution of the Ochobo clan in Oglewu District of Otukpo Local Government: 1800-1960*, (B.A Thesis: University of Jos, 1991).
52. Victor Lukpata, lecture notes on *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria up to Independence*, delivered. 18<sup>th</sup> April, 2016