

## **BEROM WOMEN AND COLONIAL TIN MINING ENTERPRISE: JOS PLATEAU, NORTHERN NIGERIA**

**H. A. ALAHIRA**

Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria

### **ABSTRACT**

The paper discussed the role of Berom women in tin mining under colonial rule. We observed that women participated as unskilled lowest paid laborers which included carrying, washing, picking tin and pottering as well as auxiliary jobs such as local trade in food, firewood, beer brewing and a host of entertainments that helped retain mine laborers in the camps as long as possible. Tin mining added extra burdens to the traditional roles of Berom women in both domestic and agricultural work. Tin mining activities coupled with massive influx of mine workers from diverse backgrounds resulted in breakdown of Berom communal and traditional life. Women whose husbands participated in tin mining had to do the work that were traditionally considered to be men's job in agriculture such as land clearing, ridging and harvesting and the little wages earned in the tin mines gave them relative economic autonomy from male control but at the expense of increased workload. The net result of the involvement of Berom women in the tin mining industry was the gradual disintegration of the rural communal social ties and gender relations and division of labor it set in motion.

**KEYWORDS:** Women, Mining, Tin, Labor, Berom, Gender

### **INTRODUCTION**

Even though a lot of information abounds on tin mining in colonial records, the library of the Amalgamated Tin Miners, Bukuru and secondary sources<sup>1</sup> there is very little data on the role of women in the tin mining industry. It was the deliberate policy of the mining companies not to give any official statistics of mine laborers by sex because the international labor conventions outlawed the employment of women and children in underground mining. Female labor was cheaper compared to that of men and women though numerically small provided a significant component of mine labor on the Jos Plateau. There is dearth of data on the actual role of women in the mining industry except for those revealed by informants from oral interviews and because of the secrecy of the information on women's labor in official records, we relied more on evidence from oral interviews.

The first official estimate we have of the number of women engaged in tin mining is in 1943 where 62,667 women were brought in supposedly as cooks compared to the total mine labor force of 75,669.<sup>2</sup> This figure is very misleading because it did not in reality reflect the number of women brought in from the Northern Provinces as cooks for the mine laborers but the figure did include women that worked as unskilled laborers in the mines. This figure also did not

---

<sup>1</sup> See for example, Bill Freund, *Capital and Labor in the Nigerian Tin Mines*, Longman, London, 1981. T.M. Baker, "The Social Organization of the Berom", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Stella Tenufa (1986) "The Creation of an Industrial Labor force on the Jos Plateau Minesfield, 1912-1960", p.77.

include especially Berom women who trekked to the mines from home on a daily basis and other women who were forced by economic pressure to work in the mines.

In spite of the silence of official records on women, the large size of male labor employed on the mines reveals that it had a very serious implication on the household economy. It imply for example, in 1943, the over 70,000 estimated male labor in the mines meant that about this members of households were left in the care of women and other numbers of the extended family who were usually old men who were not strong enough to work in the mines. This had very serious implications on the gender division of labor in the household economy, which we are going to examine critically in the case of the Berom.

### **The Role of Berom Women in Tin Mining**

We examined the role of Berom women in tin mining at two levels. Firstly, at the level of the specific tasks that women performed and secondly the implication of men's involvement for women who were left behind at home.

The organization of labor in the tin mines was done on tasks basis. This was a very effective way of exploiting labor. All the unskilled casual laborers who mostly outnumbered the conscript or permanent laborers throughout the colonial period were employed on tasks basis. The mine managers preferred to give laborers work on task basis because it reduced the task of labor supervision. Labor work in the mines was meticulously separated into simple to the most difficult and from unskilled to skilled jobs. Most of what was considered skilled jobs such as artisans, clerks, drivers, electricians, carpenters, supervisors, managers and operators of mining machineries (e.g. generators, dredges, sluices etc.) did not require the use of much manual labor. These were the best paid jobs which were done by workers from Southern Nigeria and other countries from the West African sub-region who had acquired some form of formal or rudimentary/elementary education.

Almost all the Berom labor force and their counter part from the Northern region were regarded as unskilled laborers who did most of the difficult, energy exacting jobs but which was the least paid jobs. These included digging, carrying of earth and washing of tin through panning. The tin washing particularly posed a very serious health hazard to mine laborers because it required standing in cold water for several weeks or months. They contacted diseases such as jiggers, pneumonia, guinea worms etc.<sup>3</sup>

Cooking was also regarded as unskilled job. There were also other services that were rendered in the mining camps, which helped to retain labor in the camps much longer than usual. This included trading, beer brewing, prostitution, gambling and a host of entertainments such as the "goge" music, Hausa drummers and the Berom "kundung" dancers.<sup>4</sup> Among the tasks mentioned above, there were those that were done solely by women and those that were done by both men and women. The duties that were performed only by women were the social services rendered by them in the mining camps such as cooking, beer brewing and female prostitution. The men engaged in gambling and drumming.

But even in actual mining operations, there were jobs that were regarded as predominantly women's jobs such as

---

<sup>3</sup> See H.A. Alahira, *Colonial Ordinances and Capital in the Jos Plateau Tin Mines in Northern Nigeria*, Lambert Academic Publishing GmbH & CO. KG, Deutschland, Germany, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Dung Ezekiel Chollom , "Tin Mining in Berom Land and its Effects on Du, Gyel and Forom Districts". M.A. Thesis, University of Jos, 1992, pp.62-63.

head pans, which involved carrying of soil dug from the mining shafts and pits. The other jobs were done by both men and women such as head pan (but it was mostly done by women), digging, tin washing and pottering.<sup>5</sup>

According to one of our informants, Kachallom Pokoh<sup>6</sup> it was easy to maintain this division of labor because virtually all members of Berom families were engaged in tin mining. She said the husbands normally did the digging while wives and children carried the earth and also washed out the tin manually until the introduction of machine in the 1930s which came to be used minimally because of the high cost. Because most families were polygamous the ratio of men to women in the carrying of earth in the tin mines was 1:4 (one man to four women). This was because a man went with an average of four wives to the mines. Apart from their involvement in tin mining as members of a household or families, women were forced to go to mines to work on their own.<sup>7</sup> Such women were employed for fees far less than those paid to men for the same tasks carried out. Whereas men were paid 2/6 per week; women were paid only 1/6d for the same job.<sup>8</sup> This pay did not change significantly throughout the colonial period. Women were paid less than men throughout the colonial period. It was only the gap that was bridged slightly from time to time.<sup>9</sup>

### **The Impact of Tin Mining on Berom Women**

There was a great implication for women who worked in the tin mines either as individual laborers or as a family. For the married women who worked in the mines as a family, the income was controlled by the husbands who usually spend the income in solving pressing family needs such as school fees, payment of taxes, dowries and other and social ceremonies. The breakdown of the subsistence household economy as a result of retrogressive colonial policies and tin mining activities on the Jos Plateau forced the Berom to move into tin mining with the whole family because families could no longer discharge their basic social and customary obligation with regards to marriage, taboos, rites, festivals etc. For example, the marital requirements of dowry were at least one horse or six goats in addition to food and gifts for the girl and the parents in cash and in kind.<sup>10</sup> The Berom regarded these customary requirements, as paramount.

In the case of marriage, the custom of the Berom was that girls as young as four years were betrothed by a boy's parents for their son. A special type of string was tied around the waist of the girl as an indication that she has been betrothed by the consent of the parents. When the girl reached puberty, the family of the suitor gave a gift of beniseed and a goat. After this, a goat was to be given to the girl's parents at least every year in addition to labor on the farm of the girl's parents and occasional gifts of oil, bangles, beniseeds to the girl. All these were non-refundable if the girl's parents were supplying beer for their in-laws to be. In extreme cases some parents demanded the payment of five goats a year and failure to give the yearly gifts breaks the engagement. There was a case of a man who paid up to fourteen goats the year that his bride was to come home but the parents refused because the girl's parents demanded additional fifteen shillings to

---

<sup>5</sup>These information was based on oral interviews. See Alahira H. A., *The role of Women in the Colonial Economy of Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Berom of the Jos Plateau*, Ph.D Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 200, pp. 246- 265.

<sup>6</sup>Kachollom Pokoh, 90 years, Du, Jos.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup>This seems to be the average because most of the informants could not remember the exact difference in wages.

<sup>9</sup>Kachollom Pokoh, *op.cit.*

<sup>10</sup> See for example, Baker, T.M. *op.cit.*, pp. 327-344.

open the door for the people to enter to carry the bride and another four shillings to let them in.<sup>11</sup> All these gifts were in addition to the final bride price of a horse or five goats.

Because of the social and monetary cost involved in marriage, the bride price could be settled by the husband even after several years of marriage, but if there was a divorce after a child has been born then the child automatically belonged to the mother, that is, matrilineal family except the man agreed to pay one horse to reclaim the child and another horse to pay for the dowry so that the child will not be treated as a bastard. The Berom used a lot of grains, livestock, beniseed, oil etc in conducting numerous farming festivals (such as the *Miendeng Nsok, Badung*), pregnancy and birth rites, naming ceremonies, initiation into age grades, burial ceremonies etc.

These social obligations were made worse by the imposition of heavy taxes on the Berom by the colonial government. These coupled with the impoverishment of the Berom as a result of tin mining forced them to work for low wages in the tin mines. It is against this background that we can appreciate or understand why whole families were forced to work in the mines even at the risk of further jeopardizing the fragile subsistence economic base. The social demands on men and the cost of marriage made the Berom society to value women as property of the men. The cost of dowry was very high which made it difficult for women to initiate divorce because it will require her parents to return the dowry to the man. The men also regarded women first and foremost as “mothers”, that is the breeders of children as farm labor for the man and the wives themselves formed part of the labor force. It is the number of wives and children that accords a man a high social status in the society. According to Davies, there was little difference between the rich and the poor except for the number of wives a man was able to marry and a well-fed outlook.<sup>12</sup>

Most Berom people valued marriage as an economic asset rather than based on the modern European perception of love. Even though the Berom appreciated the virtue of beauty in women, the choice of marriage was not just based on beautiful appearance but first and foremost the ability of the woman to do hard labor, not just as a good cook but first and foremost the ability to work hard on the farm. According to Samuel Dung, most first marriages were not done based on love but on whether the woman was hard working or not and that relationships based purely on love was expressed in *njem* relations which was an unofficial but culturally sanctioned gender relationship between a married man and a married woman. The marital and social obligations involved the payment of gifts (not dowry) to the married woman and her husband. A man can have as many *njem* lovers as he can afford to keep.<sup>13</sup>

It is in this context that we can understand why the labor of women and those of the children belong to the husband and his relatives. Thus, with regard to the tin mining, if a woman worked in the tin mines as a member of the family, the husband controlled the income. The payment of high dowry prevented divorce from both sides but it made married women to be treated more as commodities (laborer) than lovers. This explains why African rural women have been generally best described as beasts of burden, which can be summarized by the conclusion of the key note address in one of the workshops organized on women:

We relearned during the workshop that life of the rural woman has always been hard, it is often cruel.

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 344.

<sup>12</sup> Davies, J.G. “The Berom: A Study of a Nigerian Tribe”, 1942-49, p. 287.

<sup>13</sup> 55. See Samuel Nyam Dung: “The Njem Relationship” in Jacobs C.C. (ed), *The Studies in Berom History and Culture* Vol. I, Berom Historical Publication (BHP), 1995, pp. 145-1

She rises before dawn, walks two hours or more to fetch water, spends some nine hours or ten in the fields during peak seasons, (her husband may spend four), carries food and wood home, grinds and pounds the grains, cooks while nursing the baby, minds the children, cares for the men, the elders and markets the excess produce. She works this way until the day she dies.<sup>14</sup> When the economic problems become very pressing and cash was badly needed during the farming season, the women had to leave the men in the minefield and return to do farm work to produce subsistence for the whole family. Yet, the men did not have to give account to their wives how they spent the resources. Berom women were completely disempowered when it comes to either control or decision-making in family budgets especially in polygamous homes.

Women were compelled to do additional labor in the mines in order to meet the social obligations that were abandoned by men either as a result of their inability to do it or as a result of their selfishness and irresponsibility.<sup>15</sup> For example, the spread of western education increase economic hardship for women because they overworked to pay school fees for their children. It was difficult for men to educate all the so many children especially from a polygamous marriage. Thus, children's education became increasingly the responsibilities of mothers except, perhaps, for the first born in the family who were usually accorded privileges that the rest of the children did not enjoy in Berom culture.

It is difficult to assess whether it was more advantageous for women to participate in mining as individual laborers or as part of the members of a household. As individual women laborers, they were charged less than men but they had some measure of control over the income derived from mining even though, it was expected of her to give part of it to her husband if he demanded for it. At the same time, the money so earned by her was not as much as those earned as a family. Such women barely earned enough to settle school fees and uniforms. But when they entered the labor force with their husbands they lost control over the income to their husbands who were expected to shoulder all the social and customary responsibilities that were expected of them. But income from tin as unskilled laborers was not sufficient to pay for all the social demands.. Some irresponsible husbands squandered the money on gambling, drinking, prostitutes or *njem* lovers. Some bought modern items like radio, eyeglasses, bicycles etc to get new status and prestige for themselves. But most women preferred to work as independent miners if they had the option.<sup>16</sup> But married women could only work as independent miners if their husbands did not need their services.

The economic status of women was generally not affected very much by their involvement in tin mining as can be seen from the above analysis. Most of the women got some new clothes, trinkets, bracelets etc as gifts from their husbands and *njem* lovers and derived some psychological relief and satisfaction when the income from tin was used to settle social obligation especially dowries, school fees and taxes of which the failure to pay could have landed their husbands in trouble. Those who engaged in tin mining as independent mine laborers or as cooks, prostitutes or entertainers exercised a higher level of economic control over their resources and widened the scope of their decision making on how to utilize their resources. Tin mining could have afforded women with the opportunities to acquire a much higher economic status if they had the opportunity to work as skilled laborers and if they were paid the same amount as men. Women remained the lowest paid laborers and the least compensated by the mining companies and their husbands throughout the colonial period.

---

<sup>14</sup> Olayiwole, C.B., Invited Paper Workshop on Women in Development, Sponsored by the Directorate of Food, roads and rural Infrastructure, (DFPRI) Abuja, 14<sup>th</sup> –16<sup>th</sup> September, 1987.

<sup>15</sup> Kachollom Rokoh, op.cit.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

Their lack of skill and discriminatory wage against them placed an obstacle to the advancement of women in one of the most developed modern industrial sector during the colonial period. Problems such as poverty, social demands and obligations, failure of men to perform their responsibilities that were traditionally meant to be men's jobs also prevented women from benefiting from the small resources they could get from tin mining. This was further compounded by increased work load both in domestic and farm work. Thus, throughout the colonial period, no woman became a private miner or acquired any social status of any recognition as a result of the income derived from tin mining.

### **Effects of Tin Mining on Domestic and Farm Work by Women**

The traditional duties of Berom women in the domestic sphere include cleaning, cooking, washing, food processing, fetching water and firewood, child rearing, taking care of the sick and the old people. Most women spent a minimum of four hours and up to eight hours a day in doing domestic work depending on the availability of extra helping hands from the extended family.<sup>17</sup> The nature of the division of labor for boys and girls, men and women was such that there is no time that female labor was redundant because domestic chores was an unending work which had to be done along with activities outside the home.

In spite of the long hours spent in domestic work women still spent as much as twice the amount of time spent by men on farm work.<sup>18</sup> Most women engaged in tin mines when farm work was done or reduce. It would have been almost impossible for women to combine domestic work (which was inevitable) with both agricultural work and mining at the same time. This was because as we have noted above that women spent as much as sixteen hours per day in both domestic and agricultural work.

Women trekked for about two miles to the mining camps and up to about seven miles or more to go to the bush farms. If we consider the amount of time women spent trekking to and from the mining camps, it meant they had sacrificed part of the time for domestic labor, which was usually undertaken by young girls if and when they were available. Whenever it came to the choice of who abandoned farm work for the mines, it was always the men that left farm work for the women during the rainy season. With the development of permanent mine labor from the 1940s when most of the agricultural lands of the Berom was destroyed by tin mining, women did 100 percent agricultural work in the rainy season and became full time mine laborers during the dry season. They had to take over men's jobs from the farm. Thus, with the increase of the number of permanent mine laborers from the 1940s, the production of subsistence agriculture within the household economy rested on the shoulders of women, old men and children on soils which were highly impoverished as a result of tin mining.<sup>19</sup>

There was little or no technological innovations to lighten both domestic and agricultural labor for women except for the introduction of the plough and tractors which came in lately during the colonial period and was not available and affordable for women. Such innovations were even non-existent in the domestic sphere. At a time when women in Europe were using electric cookers, kerosene stoves, washing machines and dryers, and probably micro wave ovens, which lightened domestic labor for women and released them for jobs in the factories, Berom women were struggling to get cow dung to cook food because of the scarcity of firewood within the mining zones. Imagine the frustration of

---

<sup>17</sup> Da Monday Gyang, (et al), Gyel, 68 years, 18/11/97.

<sup>18</sup> Ngo Bany Jang (et al) Rayfield, 84 years, 2-12-97.

<sup>19</sup> Ngo Chundung Chuwang, Rayfield, 88 years, Jos, 2/12/97.

preserving cow dung to cook in the rainy season when everything was wet and how long it took to prepare a meal with all the bad smell and smoke it produced. Such was the frustration of Berom women.

It should not also be forgotten that whatever new innovations were made to lighten agricultural tasks like the plough, it was the well to do men that benefited from it. Poor men and women could not afford it.

In spite of all the limitations that hindered effective participation of Berom women in tin mining, those who engaged in the auxiliary services in the mining camps also contributed in the sustenance of the tin mining industry. As a result of the cold weather of the Jos Plateau firewood was an essential commodity that was needed by mine laborers to keep themselves warm in the night especially for laborers that came in from warmer provinces like Sokoto, Kano and Borno. Women also required it for cooking food for sale. Firewood, therefore, became an essential commodity in the mining camps. Berom women and those of the neighboring ethnic groups took this opportunity and made brisk business from selling firewood until the 1940s when the vegetation was completely destroyed by tin mining. There was hardly any Berom household that did not participate in selling firewood on market days organized in the mining camps or the numerous trading settlements.<sup>20</sup> Selling of firewood was essentially a woman's job.<sup>21</sup>

Firewood was never sufficient in the mining camps so that it was imported from the low lands where tree coverage was still in abundance. Unfortunately we know very little about how much money women were able to get from this business. But no matter how small it was, it was a trade that provided Berom women with independent source of income apart from selling chickens, goats and ducks. Even though women farmed a limited amount of grains on women's farms, they did not have the right to sell any of the grains without consent of their husbands. The portions farmed by women were supposed to be eaten during dry seasons. Men only supplied grains from common granaries from the onset of the planting season till harvesting period.<sup>22</sup> This was also a practice of Kilba people of Adamawa Province. Thus, selling firewood, birds, animals and working in the tin mines were the only ways women could earn independent sources of income. Selling of firewood was the easiest way for women to get extra income of their own even though it involved long distance to get the fire and to transport it on head to the mining camps. This placed a limit to the amount of firewood women could sell which was limited to market days. This meant that a woman could sell only a bundle or two of firewood every week if she gets a girl to carry extra load for her.

Most of the women who were food sellers in the mining camps were either Hausa or Kanuri women who were popularly known as "*uwar tuwo*"<sup>23</sup> There were very few cases of Berom women who became food sellers except probably for a few divorcees. Likewise prostitution was alien to Berons except the *njem* practice. Most of the prostitutes were Hausa women who were lodged by the *magajiyas*<sup>24</sup> who acted as their landlady and godmothers. Even though Berom women took part in the "kun dung" dance this was primarily done for entertainment. They were usually given only free-will offering but they were not paid for their services. The primary aim of the dancers was purely for entertainment unlike the "*goge*" dancers who were semi professionals and expected some reward from their audience. In the same vein, Berom women

---

<sup>20</sup> Dung Ezekiel Chollom *op.cit.*, 60.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson Wilsom Ngong, *A History of the Anaguta*, B. A. Dissertation, University of Jos, June, 1983, p. 42.

<sup>22</sup> See Rasmusen, Lissi, *Religion and Property in Northern Nigeria*, Academic Press, Copenhagen, 1990, p. 23

<sup>23</sup> Ezekiel Dung Chokom, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p. 62.



(because they lacked both time and capital) did not take active part in trading in the camps. Thus, very few Berom women participated in professional entertainment; prostitution and trading except on market days when they sold some vegetables, firewood, livestock and grains for their husbands.

Insignificant as the process of the integration of Berom women into the tin mining industry may seem at a cursory glance, it sparked off a new process of change at two levels. One was that it set in motion the process of integration of women (and of course men) into the international world capitalist system. Tin mining and the auxiliary services associated with it became a medium through which monetized economy and the seed of proletarianization was sown into the rural household economies. In the absence of cash crop production on the Jos Plateau, this became the major means through which the rural economy and the rural labor force were integrated into the world capitalist system. It became the major means by which rural women and children were first exposed to modern currency and consequently created the opportunity for them to own personal resources different and apart from communally owned resources. This “independence” or financial autonomy especially of women had a very serious repercussion on the cohesion of the family structures that maintained the communal or lineage and kinship based household economy.

In the kin based economy and society, there was no private ownership of property. In fact, even one’s labor was not privately owned. Labor was also regarded as a communal property, which was organized in the interest of families, clans and lineages as the need arose through communal labor (*yat*). The Berom attempted to extend this system into the tin mining industry (which was a capitalist venture) by engaging whole families in the mines. But this practice could not be sustained for long when women and young men found out that they could earn personal resources on their own without depending on the cooperation of other members of the family or lineage. But in the case of farm work some form of cooperation of labor was essential. This was because farm work required some form of gender division of labor. And more importantly was the fact that at some critical periods in the year such as during weeding and harvesting, much labor was needed to finish the work in the shortest possible time. The nature of farm work at such periods became labor intensive so that individual farmers could not make it a lone during such periods without either communal or hired labor.

The opportunities in the tin mines therefore, offered women and young men the opportunity to use their labor devoid of communal control.<sup>25</sup> The spread of western education and the opportunities of white colour jobs provided the same opportunities for both men and women. But in the case of women they had less opportunities to engage in white collar jobs because girls’ education was not encouraged during the colonial period.<sup>26</sup> But with the decline of the tin mining industry towards the end of the colonial period, formal education and white collar job came to accelerate this process of individualization and disintegration of communal labor – a process that has continued up to date.

The net result of the involvement of women in the tin mining industry was therefore the gradual disintegration of the rural communal social ties it set in motion. Kate Graham aptly described this process as the fractured community.<sup>27</sup> The idea of a fractured community portrays a relationship and a tendency towards globalization and at the same time an

---

<sup>25</sup> Mrs Princewell, Du, 100 years, 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1997.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Kate Graham. The fractured community, landscapes of power and Gender in rural Zambia, University of California Press, London, 1997.



increasing fragmentation and breaking up of local structures and communities. This kind of situation opens up hitherto stable and cohesive local communities to the process of instability resulting in the breakdown of social norms, cultures and communal ties.

Thus, relationships founded on kinship, lineage, family, clans, gender and even ethnic groups with time became profoundly affected as a result of the removal of barriers which facilitated communication, movement and exchange.

Chinua Achebe's "Things Fall Apart" also aptly describes the paradox that faces such community in all societies that passed through the process of colonial experience<sup>28</sup> where the centre can no longer hold. Such societies as the Berom became caught up between two worlds – the old tradition and modern values where the choice to cling to the modern was difficult and to relapse into the traditional was catastrophic and impossible. The option was to search for new identities and alternative structures that would accommodate both the traditional and modern developments.

For Berom women, they were (and they still are) in the state of this paradox where the comforts and security of the traditional communal life was no longer possible and the fetters of traditional structures that limited their scope of freedom and self fulfillment was not yet completely eliminated. At the same time the promises that modernity and modern opportunities offered to Berom women for their total liberation and emancipation was an illusion and a mirage. The big question that remains for the Berom women, historians and social analysts, is how the Berom women can move out of this paradox?

## CONCLUSIONS

The study focused on the tin mining industry under the British and the role that women played in it. We saw that gender division of labor was maintained in the tin mining sector. Men did the more tasking jobs such as digging, shoveling and dredging while women did the tedious and time consuming work of carrying, washing and picking tin. Women also provided some of the social services in the mines such as cooking, selling necessities such as firewood and beer for entertainment etc. Wage differentials were maintained between men and women even for the same tasks performed by them throughout the colonial period. The role of women in mining was however, marginal because they bore the extra burden of subsistent production and domestic work. They were subjected to double exploitation of their labor by men and colonial agents but the general impact of tin mining had far reaching effect resulting in the breakdown of the traditional economy and traditional values as well as traditional gender division of labor.

## REFERENCES

1. B. Freund, *Capital and Labor in the Nigerian Tin Mines*, Longman, London, 1981
2. C. B. Olayiwole, Invited Paper Workshop on Women in Development, Sponsored by the Directorate of Food, roads and rural Infrastructure, (DFPRI) Abuja, 14<sup>th</sup> –16<sup>th</sup> September, 1987.
3. Da Monday Gyang, (et al), Gyel, 68 years, 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1997, Jos, Nigeria.
4. D. E. Chollom, "Tin Mining in Berom Land and its Effects on Du, Gyel and Forom Districts". M. A. Thesis, University of Jos, Nigeria, 1992, pp. 62-63

---

<sup>28</sup>Chinua Achebe ( ) *Things Fall Apart*

5. H. A. Alahira, The role of Women in the Colonial Economy of Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Berom of the Jos Plateau, Ph.D Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, 2001, pp. 246- 265.
6. H. A. Alahira, Colonial Ordinances and Capital in the Jos Plateau Tin Mines in Northern Nigeria, Lambert Academic Publishing GmbH & CO. KG, Deutschland, Germany, 2011.
7. J. G. Davies, "The Berom: A Study of a Nigerian Tribe", 1942-49, p. 287
8. J. W. Ngong, A History of the Anaguta, B. A. Dissertation, University of Jos, Nigeria, June, 1983, p. 42.
9. K. Graham. The fractured community, landscapes of power and Gender in rural Zambia, University of California Press, London, 1997.
10. K. Pokoh, 90 years, Du, Jos, Nigeria, 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1997
11. M. H. Princewell, Du, 100 years, Jos Nigeria, 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1997.
12. Ngo Bany Jang (et al) Rayfield, 84 years, Jos, Nigeria, 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1997.
13. Ngo Chundung Chuwang, Rayfield, 88 years, Jos, Nigeria, 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1997.
14. R. Lissi, Religion and Property in Northern Nigeria, Academic Press, Copenhagen, 1990, p. 23
15. S. N. Dung: "The Njem Relationship" in Jacobs C. C. (ed), *The Studies in Berom History and Culture* Vol. I, Berom Historical Publication (BHP), Jos, Nigeria, 1995, pp. 145-1
16. S. Tenufa (1986) "The Creation of an Industrial Labor force on the Jos Plateau Minesfield", 1912-1960", B A. Project, University of Jos, Nigeria, p. 77.
17. T. M. Baker, "The Social Organization of the Berom", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, U K. 1954