

and gender studies and to scholars as well as students in the field of Middle Eastern studies.

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SAMUEL, Ojo O. (ed.). *The Political Economy of Colonialism and Nation-Building in Nigeria*. Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2022. 397 p. ISBN 978-3-030-73875-4.*
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The new political economy of colonialism is an interdisciplinary field that studies the politics and financial implications of colonial rule and its contemporary repercussions. Combining the fields of economic history, political economy, comparative politics and sociology, scholars working in this area of research explore central questions and areas in the social sciences, ranging from the origins of global economic inequality and the determinants of institutional quality to the social and political legacies of colonial rule for local communities.⁵ Colonialism and its consequences have, since the twentieth century, been topics of study across the social sciences and humanities. The new political economy of colonialism is distinctive in its reliance on quantitative data, its close attention to causal identification, and its focus on deriving novel theoretical insights using standard tools in mainstream political science and economics. This field of study offers fresh and exciting perspectives on the historical origins of the contemporary world order, and also new and critical perspectives on existing understandings of colonialism and its legacies, the outcome and problems. This book, essentially, delves into several aspects and sectors of Nigeria and Africa as a whole. The various contributors to this volume have attempted to address the issues behind the political economy of colonialism and nation-building and how it has affected the Nigerian economy.

The book, which is very complex, is divided into two parts and has eighteen chapters. The first part has seven chapters while the second part has eleven chapters written by several authors. The first chapter (pp. 3–12) is the introductory chapter written by S. O. Oloruntoba. This part dwells on colonialism and the challenges of nation-building in Nigeria. It is also more like a summary of all the chapters of the book. The second chapter (pp. 13–30), also written by Oloruntoba, examines the political economy of colonialism and nation-building in Nigeria, notably the politics of difference, the binary of citizen and

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⁵ A very concise explanation of the political economy of colonialism can be found in PEPINSKY, T. B. *The New Political Economy of Colonialism*, pp. 1–3. [online] [cit. 15 January 2014]. Available from <https://tompepinsky.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/npec.pdf>.

subject, the legacy of tribalism and ethnicity that colonialism reinforced. It also examines the political economy of colonialism and nation-building in post-independent Nigeria (p. 14). It adopts both historical and materialist political economy approaches in contextualising and situating the contemporary resurgence of centripetal and centrifugal forces in Nigeria. Nation-building efforts are usually centred around building the tangible and intangible bonds that hold a political entity together and give it a sense of purpose and direction.⁶ This is basically lacking in Nigeria. These forces are linked to the foundational errors, extractive logic and exploitative motif force of colonialism. Olorunfoba did not mention that issues like the mindset of the people, corruption, ethnicity, religion etc. which are also the major problems of Nigeria could also militate against nation-building in Nigeria.

The third chapter (pp. 31–44), written by E. Yahaya, examines the differences between the colonial policy on education in the then western Nigeria and the northern part of the country. He argues that consideration for funding the requirements of the colonial rule in a large country like Nigeria was responsible for the decision of the British colonialist to establish schools to train indigenous clerical officials. Yahaya further argues that the colonialist established different education policies in the northern and southern parts of the country. The policies that were implemented were based on the acceptance of education in the two regions. The different approaches to education continue to have effects on the world view and sense of belonging of people from the two regions. The people of the southern part of Nigeria accepted with little resentment Western education. The attitude towards education, to a large extent, led to the establishment of the first university in Nigeria in 1948 and it opened its doors to 210 students in Ibadan in southern Nigeria.⁷ The apathy shown by Muslims in Ilorin and other northern cities towards the introduction of Western education was in line with the general anti-colonial feelings held by Muslims in northern Nigeria as a whole (p. 35). There is a widened Western educational gap between the north and south of Nigeria with the predominantly Muslim areas of the north lagging behind due to some historical antecedents and religious beliefs.⁸ Yahaya failed to explain, in detail, the consequences of the high level of illiteracy in northern Nigeria.

The authors of chapters four and five (pp. 45–90), S. Yohanna and A. S. Afolabi respectively, argue that the colonial government put in place an extractive system that ensured that middlemen benefited from the cocoa economy more than the farmers. British economic policy was basically targeted at incorporating Ibadan and the entire south-western Nigeria into her capitalist market (p. 70). Because exporting cocoa in its raw form

⁶ ALOZIE, C. C. The Nigerian State and the Challenges of Nation Building in the 21st Century: The way forward. In *South East Journal of Political Science*, 2018, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 333–335.

⁷ DAMIANO, M, MIGUEL, B. J., Hugo, G. D. (eds.). *Education and Development in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa: Policies, Paradigms, and Entanglements, 1890s – 1980s*. Cham, Springer Nature Switzerland, p. 268.

⁸ IMAM, I. Educational Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period. In *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 2012, p. 181.

was beneficial to the colonialists, no attempt was made to add value to the cocoa. The colonial economy in most of Africa was structured to improve the economies of the colonizing or metropolitan powers.⁹ The British also changed the economic structure of northern Nigeria through the introduction of taxation, a wage economy and the introduction of the cash crop. This singular policy led to hardship which triggered rural–urban migration with the result that the rural economy became adversely affected. The unintended consequences of such imperial economic policies were the formation of labour unions to protest against the oppression of the colonial regime. This process culminated in the struggle for independence. The British government was more interested in making profits than improving the lives of the farmers and the citizens in Nigeria.

The author, L. Abdullahi, of chapter six (pp. 91–106) of the book states that much had been done from the 1940s for the treatment of leprosy in a large part of northern Nigeria. Therefore, the roles of all the parties involved in the provision of leprosy relief to patients must be appreciated. However, shortages of staff proved to be the major obstacle to the progress of anti-leprosy services in the area especially with the departure of dedicated officials in 1975. The missionaries provided the personnel and logistics while the local administrations offered financial backing. By the beginning of the 1940s, it had become possible to develop a policy framework for leprosy control.¹⁰ The position of the author of this chapter is that missionary medical activities were appreciated and, although they arrived in the area in 1935, much of what had been achieved throughout the colonial era in terms of anti-leprosy services can be credited to the joint efforts with the Native Authorities (NAs) in the area (p. 93). It must be noted that there was a possibility that the British began to get involved in the treatment in leprosy because they knew that if they did not do so their own lives would be at risk. M. M. Heaton, author of chapter seven (pp. 107–122), examines the motivations behind the institution of colonial governmental regulation of the overland pilgrimage from Nigeria to Mecca in the early twentieth century. He argues that pilgrimage control in Nigeria, while initially undesirable to colonial officials, ultimately came about because of concerns that an unregulated pilgrimage posed significant threats to the political imperatives of indirect rule in northern Nigeria. They also intended to control the flow of information (p. 108). It has been established here that the control of the pilgrimage activities by the government of Nigeria started during the British colonial period but could not sustain it. It, however, continued skeletonally after the departure of the British but was handled by the Nigerian government. The author, in this regard, does not state that the British also attempted to control all aspects of socio-economic and religious life of the people of Nigeria before 1960.

The second part of the book, which starts from chapter eight (pp. 123–144), focuses on governance, development and nation-building in Nigeria. The co-authors, E. Uchendu and E. T. Eyeh, examined the clamour for restructuring the Nigerian federation, with a

⁹ SHOKPEKA, S. A., NWAOKOCHA, O. A. British Colonial Economic Policy in Nigeria, the Example of Benin Province 1914 – 1954. In *Journal of Human Ecology*. Vol. 28 (1), p. 57.

¹⁰ ODUWOBI, T. Tackling Leprosy in Colonial Nigeria, 1926 – 1960. In *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 2013, Vol. 22, p. 178.

focus on resource control and the devolution of the excessive powers of the federal government. Uchendu and Eyeh's argument was based on the unequal distribution of power and resources which resulted in the call for restructuring, noting that while the agitation was more pronounced in the southern part of the country, only a few people in the north gave support to it. Agitations for restructuring did not stop with the southern minorities' demands in the 1950s that led to the creation of the Midwestern region in 1963 (p. 129). The debate on restructuring is highly sensitive still, but with a tendency to becoming a mere political slogan. For instance, whereas key actors in the ruling party (APC) made restructuring one of their key campaign issues before and during the 2015 elections, little has been done to address the problem several years into their leadership of the country. S. Fwatshak, the author of chapter nine (pp. 145–170), further explicates the debate on restructuring. The core of his argument is that the clamour for restructuring is born out of the failure of the state to satisfy the development aspirations of the citizens. The call for restructuring is fundamentally born out of some perceived levels of injustice and inequality currently witnessed by some states, local government as a result of a faulty federalism.¹¹ The youth also complain of inequality in opportunities, as the quota system in admissions and recruitment into the civil and military services, as well as nepotism, ethnicity, and regionalism in the private sector discourage the development of the spirit of nationalism among the youth (p. 163). The author does not mention that there are still serious political undercurrents associated with restructuring in Nigeria.

D. Agbalajobi, in the tenth chapter (pp. 171–188), examines the participation of women in African politics. While arguing that women played very important roles in the struggle for independence and have indeed excelled in their various professions, they were yet to assume prominent roles in politics in post-independent Africa. Nigerian women used strategic means to fight imperial rule in Nigeria. For instance, the Native Revenue Ordinance in the western region was resisted by women; similarly the Market Ordinance in Calabar, which resulted in the Aba Riots of 1929 (p. 176). Women who want to get involved in politics discover that the political, public, cultural and social environments are often unfriendly or even hostile to them.¹² Basically, the author fails to add that no matter the effort and progress women make in Nigeria, they can never have equal status with men. Nigeria is a very religious and multi-ethnic country where religion, cultural and traditional practices influence the everyday life of the people. Islam, Christianity and African traditional religion, which are the most widely practiced religions in Africa, are all in support of the superiority of men over women. In all, this chapter has a feminist undertone. Chapter eleven (pp. 189–208) has four authors, F. O. Oluyemi, L. A. Ajayi, R. O. Popoola, and N. Oluwatobi, who follow the same line of argument. They argue that there are important roles that women can perform in politics

¹¹ EBIZIEM, E. J., EZENWOKO, O. F. The Doctrine of Federalism and the Clamour for Restructuring of Nigeria for Good Governance: Issues and Challenges. In *International Journal of Advanced Academic Research, Social & Management Sciences*, 2018, Vol. 4, Issue 4, p. 289.

¹² SHVEDOVA, N. Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament. In *Women in Parliament: beyond Numbers*. Edited by Ballington, J. and Karam, A. pp. 33–50.

and that the various international conventions for promoting women's participation in political and social affairs should be made operational. The participation of women in political leadership is a right that must not be denied. Women's rights in political leadership must be recognized as human rights if their needs, interests are to be addressed without bias (p. 202). The chapter, in essence, explains and praises the role of women in the development, political activities and administration of Nigeria. This chapter complements the previous chapter which is feminist and gender-sensitive in nature.

In chapter twelve (pp. 209–236), A. Odukoya and A. Momoh establish a link between democracy and demilitarization in Africa. They argue that whereas the military have returned to their barracks, the practice of democracy in Nigeria continues to be informed by civilian dictatorship, which is evidenced by flagrant disrespect for the rule of law, arbitrariness and dwindling freedom for citizens.¹³ The authors further state that there is a need for the practice of true democracy in Nigeria. They fail to add that the mindset of Nigerians does not help democratic practices. Many Nigerians have a wrong perception of democracy so there is a need for proper guidance of Nigerians towards civic and citizenship education to enable them to have a good knowledge of democracy and the dangers of militarization.

In the thirteenth chapter (pp. 237–256), S. Otinche takes the argument further, noting that the politicization of ethnicity was born out of the colonial processes of socialization and political integration. While ethnicity is a natural form of identity, how it is instrumentalized has implications for nation-building. The author did not mention that resolving the problem of ethnicity in Nigeria is an almost impossible task and this is a great impediment to nation-building in Nigeria. Nigeria is multi-ethnic with cultural differences between its component ethnic groups and has been crippled by political unrest, ethnic chauvinism, youth restiveness, corruption, religious bigotry and extremism, and other social vices that undermine national development.¹⁴ It is impossible to build a nation in Nigeria when the various ethnic groups do not like one another and these groups always identified with one of the major religions, either Islam or Christianity. M. Ogu, in chapter fourteen (pp. 257–276), examines the herder–farmer conflicts in Nigeria in the context of ethnicity. He argues that ethnicity and farmer–herder conflict have implications for nation-building. He further explains that ethnicity has become a strong factor in the political life of Nigeria (p. 265). He concludes that deliberate efforts should be made by the media and educational institutions to inform Nigerians of the danger of irrational ethnic sentiments, and that government should pay attention to the ethnic dimensions of farmer–herder conflicts in Nigeria. The author does not mention that the herder–farmer conflicts started with the destruction of people's farms by the Fulani herders and their cows. It later degenerated into the killing, raping and maiming of farmers. It further resulted in the kidnapping of innocent and unsuspecting victims by the

¹³ ZAIDI, S. A. Civilian Dictatorship and Praetorian Democracy. In *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2008, Vol. 43 (37), pp. 8–9.

¹⁴ EMOGHENE, A. K., OKOLIE, U. C. Ethnicity, Religion, Politics and the Challenges of National Development in Nigeria. In *Journal of Public Administration, Finance and Law*, 2020, Issue 18, p. 26.

Fulani herders, where ransom is demanded for the release of the captives. It must also be noted that powerful government officials are behind the Fulani herders and these powerful government officials are unconcerned about the plight of Nigerians.

In the fifteenth chapter (pp. 277–296), D. Idowu and D. Agbalajobi examine the implications of the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons and the implications of porous borders on the security of lives and properties of people in the north central part of Nigeria. They argue that the influx of migrant Fulani herdsmen into Nigeria with small arms and light weapons under the guise of the ECOWAS protocols of free movement of persons constitutes a severe threat to internal security in north central Nigeria. The unregulated influx of migrant herdsmen and cattle into Nigeria has exacerbated the competition and contest for land space between farmers and transhumant herdsmen in north central Nigeria (p. 279). They further argue that through these two factors, migrant herdsmen come into Nigeria illegally with cattle and arms, with which they unleash terror on host communities. Given the security challenges currently facing Nigeria, they recommend that the Nigerian government should restrict the movement of people across the borders and implement the ECOWAS 90-day maximum stay for ECOWAS citizens in the country. It remains to be seen how this will play out in the light of the policy of free movement of all Africans to Nigeria which started in 2020. The author recommends the establishment of a state police. In reality, setting up a state police is laudable but as long as the powerful politicians who are backing up the herders are not dislodged the issue will never be resolved.

In the sixteenth chapter (pp. 297–324), J. O. Nkwede, A. O. Moliki, K. O. Dauda and O. A. Orija examine governance and development at the grassroots level, using the Ijebu North local government area of Ogun State in the south-western part of Nigeria as a case study. Good governance has to start from the grassroots as it works closely with the community and society. Of all government institutions, grassroot institutions are the only ones that can establish links with the local community and society on day-to-day basis.¹⁵ They argue that governance at the local level has huge implications for development. However, the extent to which this level of government can facilitate development will depend on the amount of financial resources at its disposal. They claim that there is a relationship between local government finance and development as other factors such as proper utilization and administrative competence are necessary for development. The opponents of local government believe that the institutions have failed to provide democratic, efficiency and developmental services to the people at the grassroots (p. 298). The authors of this chapter do a wonderful job in highlighting most of the problems of the local government but they fail to mention that the judicial system in Nigeria is very faulty. No matter the kind of laws that are made to strengthen and empower the local governments, the judiciary always frustrates the whole exercise. There is also the problem of the implementation of laws and policies.

In the seventeenth chapter (pp. 325–344), using the Ikorodu local government of Lagos State as a case study, G. Ntiwunka and T. M. Ayodele argue that local government

¹⁵ PALANI, T. Good Governance at Grassroot. In *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, April – June 2005, Vol. 66, No. 2, p. 289.

finances are critical to fostering development at the local level of governance. Inadequate funding of local government is responsible for service delivery failures in the Ikorodu local government area of Lagos State. Local governments are faced with myriads of problems ranging from corruption and embezzlement, poor financing, shortage of skilled personnel, mismanagement of funds to poor leadership. This has hindered the development of local government in Nigeria (p. 326). The authors recommend staff welfare and better funding of local government to ensure a higher level of service delivery. The corruption that pervades local government today is widespread.¹⁶ Despite the meagre financial allocations that are given to local governments, most of the monies are still diverted into private pockets.

The eighteenth and last chapter (pp. 345–360) by A. A. Akanji examines cooperative societies and sustainable development. The author establishes a link between cooperative societies and human development. He argues that while the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) operate by way of a top-down development approach, the cooperative societies apply a bottom-up development approach. He concludes that both approaches should be harmonized to foster human development in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. Cooperative societies have the capacity to reduce poverty and drive development in Nigeria and other developing nations. This is more so among the lower class and the middle class.¹⁷ The author states that private citizens come together to achieve goals through cooperative efforts and as such gradually form themselves into cooperative societies (p. 346). The author fails to mention that Nigeria lacks the willpower to formulate and enforce policies and laws. If this is lacking, it would be almost impossible to achieve any success and nation building will be a mirage.

Contextualization and engagement with scholarly literature is one strength of this work. An additional strength is the number of useful tables that contain very useful statistics and information. The book was basically written in simple English that the lay person can easily understand. The book has a few weaknesses. One of these weaknesses is that, although it captures the true and concise realities of the African situation it is not solution-based. The solutions proffered by the various authors are laudable but may not see the light of day because of the complexities of the African situation. The willpower to solve the never-ending problems in Africa is absent. A few typos were also noticed. One such is on page 16 which has “Rationale for Colonialism” instead of “Rationale for Colonialism” Also, oral sources are very important in African affairs or issues and this aspect is absent in the book. Oral sources remain one of the most important sources of African history and affairs.

The book is a comprehensive treatise, painstakingly planned, written and edited by some outstanding minds. It is very creditable that such a monumental work was carefully

¹⁶ EJUE, E. A., M. C. MADUMELU. Corruption and Service Delivery in Local Government System in Nigeria: A Content Analysis. In *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2014, Vol. 5, No 10 (1), p. 99

¹⁷ AKANLE, O., OMOTARA, A. F., DAUDA B. A. Cooperative Societies in the Development Discourse of Ibadan, South-Western Nigeria. In *The Nigerian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 2014, Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 58.

researched and produced. The paper, printing and the layout are very good. The tables and charts are very user-friendly and the quality of production is very good. Despite the few weaknesses, the book is still very useful and important for research purposes. It will also serve as very useful reference material for students and researchers in the fields of the humanities and social sciences.

Suleiman Yakubu