

Study Session 9: Political Economy and Culture of Underdevelopment In Nigeria



9.1 Introduction

In this session, you will learn about the historical pattern of political economy and culture of underdevelopment of the Nigerian people. The development or underdevelopment of any society is basically determined by its political economy. You will appreciate the fact that there is an organic and dynamic relationship between a nation's political economy and its development or under-development. It may interest you to know that before colonisation, the different peoples and empires organised their production to meet their basic subsistence needs of food, clothing and shelter. They also took care of their medical needs through the development of herbal medicines from plants and roots. The education of their youths was done through organised system of apprenticeship and training in the traditional occupations of farming, fishing, animal husbandry, the crafts, and trade. In this session, you will be exposed to the pattern of pre-colonial political economy of the Nigerian peoples.



Learning Outcome for Study Session 8

At the end of this session, you should be able to:

- ✓ Define Political Economy
- ✓ Examine the nature of Nigeria's Political Economy
- ✓ Identify the yoke of Dependent Status and the culture of underdevelopment

9.2 What Is Political Economy?

Before you proceed into the main discourse of this session, it is very useful to understand what the concept of political economy really is. The concept can be defined in two perspectives. First, it refers to the nature and organisation of an economy in terms of ownership or distribution of the means of production. The structure of ownership of the means of production is termed property relations. Property relations

depends on whether the society operates any of the 'isms, i.e. feudalism, capitalism, socialism, etc. Property relations determine the distribution of wealth or surplus generated in the production process. The distribution of wealth or relations of distribution in turn determines the consumption pattern among different groups, what may be termed relations of consumption.

Material production is the basis of human existence. Thus, production basically distinguishes man from the lower animals. Labour, which is man's activity towards the creation of utilities and values, requires that man applies his physical and mental efforts to objects or things found in the natural environment. To be able to work on land, man devises or fabricates means or instruments of labour. It is the objects and means of labour that constitute the means of production. It is labour and the other assets that constitute the forces of production.

One thing you must remember, is that every production system has a corresponding political system or, more broadly speaking, civil society resting on it. The system of economic organisation in any society and the corresponding political structure resting on it constitute a socio-economic formation. Thus, society is made up of the economy or substructure and the political structure (broadly, civil society) or super-structure.

At the same time, the forces and dynamics of the civil society, particularly the political class and the ruling ideology, provide the economy with a guiding compass. The issue of provision of a guiding compass or direction is very important, indeed. It means that as far as the economy and its development and transformation are concerned, the orientation, system of value, and character of the political elite are fundamental.

There is another meaning of political economy. This is political economy as the study of the nature and organisation of the economy in the ramifications we have explained above. From the second perspective, political economy is therefore a field of study.

Political Economy as a discipline or method of inquiry and analysis is indispensable in understanding society's organisational problems the way they are. First, it recognises the primacy of the economy and material production as the foundation of society. Second, it recognises the necessity for continuous expansion and transformation of productive forces. Third, the Marxist variant of political economy particularly recognises the inevitability of change and transformation which lead to successive emergence of new and better systems of economic and social organisation. Change and transformation occur when contradictions develop rapidly within an existing system and when such contradictions are resolved through the struggle of opposing forces. Fourth, political economy takes a comprehensive view of phenomena.

All elements of every phenomenon inquired into are examined in their organic interconnectedness. The comprehensive method of studying society (and its problems) requires that every aspects of the society, as well as its philosophy,

worldview and system of value, are taken together. This means that the methods of inquiry in the different disciplines that focus on the different aspects of society's life that need to be covered are employed for a comprehensive and balanced view. Thus, political economy is necessarily conceptually and methodologically multidisciplinary. Finally, political Economy enables the researcher to establish the relationship between the present and the past rather than merely focusing on the present.

Having discussed the meaning and dynamics of political economy generally, we will now examine the nature of Nigeria's political economy. At this juncture, you should be able to explain the meaning and characteristics of political economy.

In-text Question

1. The structure of ownership of the means of production is termed:

- a. Property relations.
- b. Wealth of nature.
- c. Social capital.
- d. Investment infrastructure.



2. Every production system has a corresponding:

- a. Political class.
- b. Social theory.
- c. Cultural beliefs.
- d. Political system.

3. Political Economy as a discipline or method of inquiry recognizes:

- a. the gross capital expenditures as the basis for development.
- b. the primacy of the economy and material production as the foundation of society.
- c. the monopolization of means of production in the hand of the lower class.
- d. the exploitation of group by another powerful group.

In-text Answers

1. (a) Property relations
2. (d) political system
3. (b) the primacy of the economy and material production as the foundation of society.

9.3 The Nature of Nigeria's Political Economy

In this section, we will focus on the structure and organisation of production. What is the meaning of structure and organisation of production? That is the distribution of the means of production or property relations, relations of wealth distribution and relations of consumption. Nigeria emerged as a country in 1914 after the amalgamation.

You must remember, that before the colonization of Nigeria, the different peoples and empires organised their production to meet their basic subsistence needs of food, clothing and shelter. They also took care of their medical needs through the development of herbal medicines from plants and roots. The education of their youths was done through organised system of apprenticeship and training in the traditional occupations of farming, fishing, animal husbandry, the crafts, and trade. In the process, each group devised enduring systems of organising productive activities. They also devised suitable technologies which were improved from time to time.

The production engagements of the different areas and groups were dictated by their natural environments and geography. Thus, while the northern parts were associated with annual production of cereals and livestock farming, much of the south was associated with annual root crops. In addition, the southern groups had tree crops such as oil palm, kolanut and wild rubber. The swamps of the Niger Delta area were associated with fishing, salt-making and thatch-making. The riverine areas of the country were all associated with fishing. The different groups practised communal system based on cooperation and reciprocity, with each group in control of its land which was the major object of production.

The involvement of people in production naturally led to exchange and trade. For example, there was trade between and among Oyo, Ijebu, Benin, Etsako, Igbo, Igala, Kano, Katsina, Urhobo, Ijaw, Efik and between geographically defined zones, for example, Hausaland and Yorubaland, Igboland and Upper Benue area, Niger Delta groups – Ijaw, Itsekiri, Nembe, Opobo, etc. Nigerian peoples were also involved in

external relations with the peoples of North Africa through the Saharan trade routes, and with Europe through the Atlantic Ocean.

As British merchants began to move into the hinterland beyond the coast, the traditional political elite and merchant princes such as King Kosoko of Lagos, Oba Ovonramwen of Benin, King Jaja of Opobo, Chief Nana Olomu of Itsekiri and Ijebu merchants began to resist, not because they did not welcome the British merchants but because their lucrative middleman positions were threatened by British advocacy of free penetration and free trade. In the ensuing conflict of commercial interests, British merchants appealed to their home government which responded with military support. With the conquest of the indigenous peoples of southern Nigeria and then northern Nigeria, all the conquered peoples were coupled as "one" Nigeria. Then, the imperial power turned its attention to the primary motive of conquest which was



economic exploitation. In order to effectively organise exploitation, an administrative machinery was created in the form of central colonial state apparatus. The colonial state took instructions from the Colonial

Office in London and implemented policies and programmes as dictated by the Colonial Office.

The backbone of the colonial economy was agriculture. The focus was simply to provide industrial raw materials for factories and industrial plants. The Department of Agriculture was established from 1910 to 1912 to oversee agricultural development. Export agricultural production was promoted through the provision of new seedlings, the development of botanical gardens and experimentation farms, and the training of technical assistants. Schools of agriculture and research institutes and stations were established to promote production. The Moor Plantation was established in Ibadan between 1912 and 1916.

The plantation was an experimentation station for the dissemination of technical knowledge to local farmers. Other experimentation stations were opened in 1923 in Zaria, Umuahia and Benin. An agricultural research station was established at Vom, near Jos in 1925, while a school of agriculture was established in Ibadan in 1927. In 1934 an agricultural station was opened at Samaru, near Zaria and in 1942 two veterinary schools were opened in Kano and at Vom.

In-text Questions

1. The backbone of the colonial economy was:



- a. Manufacturing.
- b. Oil and gas.
- c. Trading.
- d. agriculture.

2. The involvement of people in production naturally led to:

- (a) exchange and trade.
- (b) War and competition.
- (c) Corruption and nepotism.
- (d) Injustice and inequality.

In-text Answers

1. (d) agriculture.
2. (a) exchange and trade

9.3 The Development of Transport System

To facilitate the transportation of agricultural produce, the colonial administration embarked on railway development. There were two lines. The western line from Iddo, Lagos to Kaura Namoda, near Sokoto was completed in 1929, while the eastern line from Port Harcourt to Nguru, near Maiduguri was completed in 1930. The western and eastern lines run from the coast to the northernmost end of the country, hence much of the country was not linked. However, the areas left out of the rail system were connected to it by the network of roads.

The development of the north-south railway system and the extension to potentially rich agricultural belts like western Nigeria stimulated production. Road development achieved more or less the same result for the rest of the country. There were three categories of roads, namely, Trunk A, Trunk B and Minor roads. Trunk A roads were those constructed and maintained by the Public Works Department (PWD) of the government. The Trunk A roads were main produce routes. Trunk B roads were constructed and maintained by Native/Local Authorities with the help of local chiefs who were the main agents of local administration under the "indirect rule" system. The minor roads were earth roads maintained by local chiefs and their subjects.

To ensure that the goods evacuated from towns to the ports were shipped to Britain, the colonial administration extended what has been termed "transport revolution" to ports development. Between 1860 and 1914 there were 14 customs ports – in Lagos, Koko, Sapele, Warri, Burutu, Forcados, Akassa, Brass, Bonny, Degerma, Port Harcourt, Opobo, Calabar and Ikang. However, colonial rationalisation of ports development reduced the number to seven, namely, Lagos, Port Harcourt, Sapele, Warri, Calabar, Burutu and Degerma. Further rationalisation from the early 1920s led to the concentration of traffic in Lagos, Port Harcourt and Sapele. The major shipping line or companies in colonial era were Elder Dempster Lines Ltd., American West African Line, Compagnie Fabre et Fressinet, Holland West Afrika Liju & Allied Companies, Woerman Line and Allied Companies, and Navigazione Liberia Triestina Line.

From the beginning of colonial rule to political independence in 1960, export-import trade of Nigeria was dominated by British firms floated by metropolitan mercantile bourgeoisie. The major firms were the United African Company, John Holt and Company and Messrs Cadbury Brothers Limited. The British firms bought up African produce and organised their export. They also were responsible for the importation and distribution of industrial goods and consumables in Nigeria. Indigenous trading interests operated in the commercial field only as commission agents and sub-agents who were dependent on the British firms and operated according to terms defined by their patrons, i.e. the expatriate firms.

You must remember that the trading firms ensured that there was always a demand for agricultural produce. This encouraged expansion of production. Expansion was also stimulated by the desire by the local population to acquire imported goods and consumables distributed by the firms. These included cloths, spirits, beer, beverages, soaps, umbrellas, iron beds, bicycles, radios, gramophones, roofing sheets, paints, etc. Earnings from agricultural produce were the only means by which these goods were acquired; hence efforts were made by the people to expand their output. The crops cultivated were generally called "cash crops". The pressure for cash was also caused by the obligations imposed on the people, for example, taxation and licenses for bicycles. Cash earnings were also expended on children's education.

Apart from agriculture, the colonial administration encouraged mining. Tin was exploited in Jos, while coal was mined at Udi in Enugu. There was also the exploitation of gold in Zaria, Kano, Nupe, Kotangora, Sokoto, Ilesha and Ile-Ife. While tin was exported to Britain, the coal industry served the needs of the railway department and the rest of British West Africa as local coal was cheaper than coal imported from Britain. Unlike agricultural production which was left in the hands of indigenous peoples, mining was taken over by the colonial state.

The state expropriated the mineral deposits and promulgated ordinances to that effect. This meant that the colonial masters made themselves landlords by right of

conquest of the landowners. The state granted concessions to British tin mining interests. The concessionaires exploited the tin deposits and paid royalties to the colonial state. Coal exploitation was the business of the state. It was administered by the Railway Department up to 1937 when a separate Colliery Department was created for the industry. As in the case of agriculture, tin and coal exploitation was stimulated by the development of transport infrastructure and the growing demand for the products.



With regard to industrialisation, the colonial administration did nothing towards its promotion. Indeed, the official attitude of the administration and its metropolitan principal, Her Majesty's Government, was outright hostility to industrialisation. The hostility to industrialisation was such that prior to 1939 and 1945 the agricultural produce of Nigeria was exported without simple valorisation. It must be emphasized, however, that the British conquered and colonised Nigeria to get industrial raw materials and as an outlet for their surplus industrial products. Thus, industrialisation of the colony would have defeated the basic aims of conquest and colonisation. Raw materials produced by Nigerian farmers and the mineral products of the colony would not have been readily available for export as they would have been used mostly to feed the home industries. Besides, industries in the colony would have produced substitutes for imported industrial products and consumables.

In- text Questions

1. Nigeria emerged as a country in:
 - a. 1914 after the amalgamation.
 - b. 1906 amalgamation of southern Nigeria.
 - c. 1922 Clifford constitution.
 - d. 1961 annexation of Lagos.

2. Before the colonization of Nigeria, the different peoples and empires:
 - a. Were already existing as federal republic of Nigeria.
 - b. Were members of the Ecowas and African Union.
 - c. Organised their production to meet their basic subsistence needs of food, clothing and shelter.
 - d. Had been waiting for the Europeans to come and teach them how to manage their economy.

In-text Answers

1. (a) 1914 after the amalgamation.
2. (c) Organised their production to meet their basic subsistence needs of food, clothing and shelter.

9.4 Dependent Status and Culture of Underdevelopment

In this section you will learn about the origin of underdevelopment and structure of dependency that continues to prevent the economic development of Nigeria. The concentration of the colonial administration on primary or extractive production and colonial hostility to industrial production had their implications. First, the colony depended on the external or metropolitan economy, i.e., Britain, for the purchase of its raw materials. The raw materials had no local value as there were no industries at home to utilise them. Therefore, the colony exported, willy-nilly, all its raw materials. It did not matter at all whether the prices offered the producers were rising or falling. Similarly, in the absence of an industrial sector, the colony depended on external sources for industrial goods and consumables. The absence of an industrial sector in colonial Nigeria was the major factor in the emergence of the economy as a dependent one. Dependency meant that the level of growth and expansion of the economy was externally determined and conditioned. The volume of production at all times responded to the behaviour of the metropolitan economy with which the colony had become vertically integrated.

A dependent economy is a disarticulated one. It lacks internal inter-sectoral interdependence and symbiosis. Therefore, it cannot achieve internal macroeconomic stability. Colonial agriculture in Nigeria was integrated with the industrial sector in Britain. You must note here that, the British economy could not, and still cannot, be planned in the strict sense of economic planning based on public ownership of the commanding heights of the means of production.

The absence of an industrial sector limited the expansion of the economy and therefore denied it the multiplier and accelerator effects associated with industrial growth and transformation. Without an industrial sector, it was impossible to increase the capacity to improve the technology of production even in the primary sector. Industrialisation involves the manufacturing of machine tools and work equipment. The absence of an industrial sector also meant the absence of opportunities for employment for the people. The consequent imprisonment of the creative energies of the people meant that they could not contribute to economic growth and earn a decent living in the process.

The political economy of colonialism was exploitative, through and through. The economy was structured and organised to feed Britain with raw materials and to serve

as a dumping ground for her industrial goods. British firms dominated import-export trade of the colony. With the protection of the colonial government and the metropolitan power, the firms fixed prices for both Nigerian produce and imported goods distributed in the colony. Because prices were fixed arbitrarily, resources generated within the colony were mobilised and repatriated by the firms to Britain through criminally low prices offered Nigerian producers and through scandalously high prices demanded for imported items. Exploitation was also achieved through outright expropriation of mineral deposits by the colonial state and through the various obligations forced on the people also by the state, for example, colonial head tax and income tax.

The resources mobilised by the colonial trading firms from the colony through "unequal exchange", and by the colonial state through the expropriation of the mineral deposits and the obligations imposed on the people, and repatriated to the Mother Country could not at the same time be available to meet the development needs of the country. Thus, physical infrastructure development was confined to produce areas and the port towns at the coast. Besides, social infrastructure provision remained tokenistic all through the colonial period. Schools and colleges, health centres and hospitals were few in relation to the growing population. At independence in 1960, Nigeria could only boast of one University College at Ibadan, which was a college of the University of London.

The question now is, if colonialism was exploitative in its policies and programmes because it was meant to be so, what has Nigeria done about this since the achievement in 1960 of what Kwame Nkrumah called "the political kingdom"? Has the "life in abundance" promised the people by the nationalist political elite of the 1950s – 60s been provided? This is the focus of our attention in the rest of this session. The most significant, if not the sole change, in the economy of post-colonial Nigeria has been the emergence and dominance of the petroleum sector. Crude oil was struck at Otuakeme village near Oloibiri in present-day Bayelsa State in 1956, while production began in earnest in 1958. Since the early 1970s petroleum export earnings have been the major sources of fiscal revenue of the nation. The sector has contributed over \$630bn to the nation's treasury.

However, the sector's impact on the nation's development and transformation has been limited by its domination by the metropolitan states and their oil transnationals such as Shell, Texaco, Mobil, Chevron, Agip, Slumberger and former British Petroleum. The transnationals explore and exploit oil and pay taxes and royalties to the Federal Government of Nigeria which, by the Petroleum Decree (No. 51) (later Act) of 1969 and other Decrees and Acts, had appropriated all oil wealth of the nation to itself.

It must be noted here that, like export agricultural production, crude production is extractive. The petroleum sector has remained vertically integrated with industrialised

economies of the metropolitan states, which depend on petroleum exporting countries for oil as energy for their economies and as raw materials for their petrochemical industries.

Nigeria began petroleum production with the bold initiative of establishing refineries at Port Harcourt, Warri and Kaduna to meet domestic needs. Today, the nation exports about 2.6 million barrels of crude oil per day; the refineries generate at about 30 percent. The result of course has been that while the nation exports its crude oil to the metropolitan countries, it depends on them for refined petroleum products, i.e., premium motor spirit (petrol), diesel and kerosene. Empirical evidence shows that although Nigeria is a major oil producing nation, it continues to depend on the developed nations for refining its crude oil.

An aspect of the petroleum industry that cannot be glossed over is the contradiction associated with oil exploitation in the oil-producing area, the Niger Delta area. Production has been associated with oil spillage, the destruction of the ecosystem, and environmental pollution. These have made it impossible for the people to continue gainfully with their traditional occupations of farming, fishing, craftworks, and trading. At the same time, the capital-intensive technology of oil production has made it technically impossible for the sector to provide alternative employment for indigenous people thrown out of their traditional occupations. Indeed, just a few people in Nigeria are employed in the oil companies, and mostly as casual workers, "hired and fired" at will.

The transfer of ownership rights from the oil hosting communities to the federal government has deprived the communities of the fiscal revenue accruing from oil production. This has been the major problem between the oil-producing communities and the federal government. The agitation of the Niger Delta people for some sovereignty over the oil wealth of their area and their frustration by the government often fuel violent struggles for the actualisation of their dreams. This is what is today known as the struggle for resource control and fiscal federalism by people of the Niger Delta area.

Expansion of oil production has not generated any linkage effect, for example on industrialisation. On the contrary, the emphasis on petroleum has diverted the attention of the ruling elite from the necessity of industrialisation. Consequently, the nation has continued to depend on the metropolitan areas for the sale of its agricultural produce and crude oil. Consequently, the nation has remained dependent on, externally vertically integrated with, and peripheralised by the so-called developed countries. It must be noted that the attainment of political independence in 1960 freed Nigeria from British monopoly imperialism and paved the way for the free penetration of other imperialist states such as the United States, Germany, France and Japan.

Another contradiction of the post-independence Nigeria is between uncontrolled urbanisation and abysmal neglect of rural areas. Colonial administration had witnessed the growth of few towns and cities as centres of commerce such as Kano, Lagos, Asaba, Onitsha; as agricultural produce centres such as Ondo, Ife, Ijebu Ode, Zaria; as mining centres such as Jos and Enugu; as seaports such as Lagos, Port Harcourt, Sapele, Warri and Calabar; and as centres of administration such as Ibadan, Benin, Enugu and Kaduna.

The towns and cities were more or less “enclaves” of growth with very little impact on the surrounding districts. The colonial administration concentrated the few public utilities and social amenities on the towns and cities. Thus the towns and cities “pulled” migrants from the districts. This is very fundamental in understanding the phenomenon of rural-urban “drift” or migration. Not much has been done over the post-colonial period to address the asymmetry of urban growth and neglect of rural areas. On the contrary, the situation has worsened with the creation of states and the emergence of new state capitals since



1963.

In-text Questions

1. Crude oil was struck at Otuakeme village near Oloibiri in present-day Bayelsa State in:
(a) 1901
(b) 1956
(c) 2006
(d) 1966

2. Nigeria began petroleum production with the bold initiative of establishing refineries at:



- a. Port Harcourt, Warri and Kaduna
- b. Oyo Ondo and Port Harcourt
- c. Abia, Imo and Lagos
- d. Badagry, Kaduna and Niger

In-text Answers

1. (b) 1956

2. (a) Port Harcourt, Warri and Kaduna

9.4 The State and the Dependent Culture

The fight against corruption suffered a major setback during the administration of General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (1985-1993). General Babangida toppled the Buhari administration in August 1985. To win the support of the political elite, General Babangida freed all detained civilian governors of the Alhaji Shagari administration. Besides, he reversed the confiscation of the ill-gotten properties of the military governors of the General Gowon administration. But it turned out that General Babangida was simply paving the way for the looting of public wealth by him and members of his administration. Apart from outright diversion and misappropriation of public revenue through abuse of due process and reckless extra-budgetary spending during his period, General Babangida squandered much of the commonwealth on his long but failed political transition programme and on his intervention in Liberian and Sierra Leonean crises through ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

General Sani Abacha took over as Head of States in November 1993. Huge savings in foreign currencies were later traced to General Abacha and his family. General Abacha died in 1998. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo emerged in May 1999 as elected president. He tried to salvage the situation by creating the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC). Many of the state governors and administrators of public agencies, corporations and institutions were exposed.

Nevertheless, not much was achieved. Those charged with the anti-corruption assignment did not have the courage and guts to deal with suspects most of whom were sacred cows. It was alleged that the People's Democratic Party (PDP) government used the anti-crime commissions to settle scores with not only members of the opposition parties but also with deviant members of the ruling party. Chief Obasanjo's successor, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua could not do much. Apart from his health challenges, the militant struggles of the peoples of the oil-rich Niger Delta region diverted his attention. The same could be said of the Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration. His regime was bedeviled with myriad of problems, ranging from corruption, book-haram uprising in the North-east and Niger Delta insurgency in the south –south. However, his administration made remarkable achievement in the aspect of economic growth sustainability and food security. The current Head of State, President Mahamadou Buhari, can only be assessed after his administration.

In-text Questions

1. The political economy of colonialism was:

- a. Developmental and impactful.
- b. Anti-indigenous culture and ethics.
- c. exploitative, through and through.
- d. revolutionary for the Nigerian people.



2. One of the main feature of dependency is that the colony depended on:

- a. the external or metropolitan economy, i.e., Britain, for the purchase of its raw materials.
- b. Disregard the rules that govern international trade.
- c. Decide to produce what it likes.
- d. Promotes its traditional means of exchange.

3. A dependent economy is a:

- a. disarticulated one.
- b. developed economy.
- c. articulated one.
- d. neoliberal economy.



4. Crude oil was struck at Otuakeme village near Oloibiri in present-day Bayelsa State in 1956, while production began in earnest in:

- a. 1958.
- b. 1960
- c. 1970
- d. 1968

5. The transfer of ownership rights from the oil hosting communities to the federal government has deprived the communities of:

- a. Land and water for production of goods and services.
- b. Able man power for economic development.
- c. The fiscal revenue accruing from oil production.
- d. Judicious spending of the oil wealth.

In-text Answers

1. (c) Exploitative, through and through
2. (a) The external or metropolitan economy, i.e., Britain, for the purchase of its raw materials.
3. (a) Disarticulated one
4. (a) 1958
5. (c) The fiscal revenue accruing from oil production



9.5 Summary of Study Session 9

In this study session, the neo-colonial exploitation and corrupt enrichment by the political elite and their hangers-on in public agencies, corporations and institutions has meant poverty for the state. State poverty is manifested in its inability to transform the economy through improvement in existing sectors and especially through diversification. Besides, neo-colonial economic exploitation and the parasitic activities of the elite, and the resulting poverty of the state have left the state without any option but to transfer its poverty to the people. Herein lies the explanation for the lack of basic needs approach to “development” issues and for lack of good governance.

Since the political economy of imperialist exploitation and the plunder of public resources by the ruling class are responsible for underdevelopment of the economy and for the poverty of the people, imperialism and mass poverty must be addressed as fundamental problems. However, it must be emphasized that those who promote exploitation, underdevelopment and mass poverty, and benefit from them, cannot at the same time address the problems. It is therefore the responsibility of the progressives and the people in chains to free the country from the culture of underdevelopment.



Activity for Study Session 9

Now that you have completed this study session, you should assess how much you have learned by attempting the following questions. You can write your answers in a note book so as to be able to discuss extensively on it with your tutor at the next interactive session.

9.6 Self-Assessment Question(SAQ)

- ✓ Explain the nature of Nigeria's Political Economy in the pre-colonial era.
- ✓ Assess the extent of dependent status and the culture of underdevelopment in Nigeria since 1960.
- ✓ Define Political Economy.
- ✓ Explain the characteristics of a dependent and underdeveloped economy.

9.7 References/ Suggestions for Further Reading

- Kozlov, G.A. (1997) (ed.) *Political Economy: Capitalism*. (Moscow: Progress Publishers).
- Oni, O & Onimode. B. (1975) *Economic Development of Nigeria: The Socialist Alternative*. (Ibadan: The Nigerian Academy of Arts, Science and Technology.
- Onyekpe, J.G.N. (2003). 'The Nature and Problems of Nigeria's Dependent Economic Status' in O.A. Akinyeye (ed.) *Nigeria and the Wider World in the 20th Century: Essays in Honour of Professor Jide Osuntokun*. (Ibadan: Davidson Press).