

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND THE ENTRENCHMENT OF THE CAPITALIST MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

This study examines the relationship between colonial development planning and the consolidation of the capitalist model of development in Nigeria during the late colonial period. It seeks to interrogate how development policies introduced by the British colonial administration between the 1940s and the 1950s shaped the structure and orientation of Nigeria's economy. Employing the historical method and relying primarily on secondary sources, including scholarly monographs, journal articles, colonial economic reports, and archival materials, the study analyses the ideological foundations, institutional frameworks, and economic outcomes of colonial development planning. The findings reveal that although development planning was officially presented as a strategy for economic modernization and social welfare, in practice it primarily served to expand export agriculture, improve trade infrastructure, and deepen Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist economy. Consequently, colonial development plans reinforced Nigeria's role as a peripheral supplier of raw materials and a consumer of manufactured goods, thereby entrenching a pattern of structural economic dependency that persisted into the postcolonial period.

Keywords: Colonial rule, Development Planning, Capitalist Model, Development, Nigeria

Introduction

Colonial development planning in Nigeria emerged in the mid-twentieth century as part of a broader transformation in British imperial policy. Prior to the 1940s, colonial administration largely adhered to the doctrine of fiscal self-sufficiency, under which colonies were expected to finance their own governance with minimal metropolitan support.¹ Economic activity during this period was organised primarily around the extraction of raw materials for British industries and the importation of manufactured goods from the metropolitan economy. Nigeria's colonial economy therefore developed as an export-oriented system centred on commodities such as cocoa, palm produce, groundnuts, cotton, and tin. By the late 1930s, these commodities accounted for more than 70 per cent of Nigeria's export earnings, underscoring the structural dependence of the colony on external markets.²

The global economic crisis of the 1930s, however, exposed the vulnerability of this economic structure and prompted a reassessment of colonial governance across the British Empire. The collapse of international commodity prices during the Great Depression significantly reduced colonial revenues and destabilised colonial economies. In Nigeria, export values declined by nearly 40 per cent between 1929 and 1932, resulting in fiscal crises and widespread socio-economic hardship.³ The crisis revealed the structural weaknesses of an economic system that relied heavily on a narrow range of primary commodities while neglecting industrial diversification and domestic production. Consequently, colonial policymakers in London increasingly recognised the need for more systematic approaches to economic management and development within the colonies.

This shift in imperial thinking culminated in the enactment of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA) of 1940, which was expanded significantly in 1945. The legislation marked the first substantial commitment by the British government to fund development projects in its overseas territories. Through the CDWA, Britain allocated approximately £120 million for colonial development and welfare programmes between 1945 and 1955.⁴ Nigeria, as one of Britain's largest and most economically significant African colonies, became a major beneficiary of these initiatives. The introduction of formal development planning, including the Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare (1946–1956) and the subsequent Development Plan of 1956–1960, signalled the institutionalisation of economic planning within colonial governance.

Despite the apparent developmental orientation of these policies, scholars have argued that colonial development planning fundamentally reinforced the capitalist structure of the colonial economy rather than transforming it. Development initiatives prioritised infrastructure, agricultural productivity, and administrative expansion in ways that facilitated the continued extraction of raw materials and integration of colonial economies into global capitalist markets. As Walter Rodney famously observed, colonial development policies were designed "not to develop Africa but to develop Europe through Africa."⁵ This article therefore examines colonial development planning in Nigeria as a mechanism through which the capitalist model of development was institutionalised and entrenched during the late colonial period.

The ideological foundations of colonial development planning

The ideological foundations of colonial development planning in Nigeria were deeply rooted in the broader logic of imperial capitalism that shaped European colonial expansion from the late nineteenth century. British colonial administrators conceptualised development not primarily as a process of autonomous economic transformation for colonised societies but as a mechanism for strengthening imperial economic integration. Nigeria was incorporated into what economic historians have described as a “metropolitan–peripheral economic structure,” in which colonial territories supplied raw materials to industrialised Europe while simultaneously serving as markets for manufactured goods.⁶ This ideological orientation was reinforced by the economic doctrines prevailing in Britain during the early twentieth century, particularly classical liberalism and imperial mercantilism. Colonial policy makers therefore perceived development largely in terms of increasing productivity in agriculture and improving infrastructure necessary for trade. The emphasis was not on industrialisation or technological transformation within the colony but rather on enhancing the efficiency of export production. In this sense, colonial development planning functioned as an instrument for consolidating Nigeria’s position within the global capitalist economy rather than altering it.

A key intellectual justification for this model of development emerged from the belief that colonial territories lacked the institutional and technological capacity for autonomous economic growth. British officials often portrayed colonial societies as economically “backward” and therefore requiring guidance from metropolitan expertise. This paternalistic perspective was reflected in the rise of technocratic planning institutions within the British Empire during the 1940s. The creation of bodies such as the Colonial Economic Advisory Committee in 1943 signalled the increasing reliance on professional economists, agronomists, and administrators to design development strategies for the colonies. Joseph Hodge has argued that this period marked the ascendancy of what he terms the “rule of experts,” whereby development policy became heavily influenced by agrarian economists and colonial technocrats who promoted productivity-oriented reforms in agriculture.⁷ These experts regarded African economies primarily through the lens of efficiency and output, advocating agricultural modernisation, cooperative marketing, and improved transportation networks to stimulate export growth. Consequently, development planning became closely tied to the expansion of capitalist agricultural production rather than to broader structural transformation.

The ideological orientation of colonial development planning was further reinforced by the economic philosophy embedded in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 and its expansion in 1945. Although the Act was presented as evidence of Britain’s commitment to improving living conditions in the colonies, its underlying objective remained the stabilisation of imperial economies after the disruptions of the Great Depression and the Second World War. Under the scheme, Britain allocated approximately £120 million for development and welfare projects across the empire between 1945 and 1955.⁸ Nigeria received significant funding under this programme, including £23 million for the implementation of the Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare (1946–1956).⁹ Yet the distribution of these resources reflected priorities consistent with the logic of imperial capitalism. Large proportions of development expenditure were directed towards transport infrastructure, agricultural research, and marketing systems designed to facilitate export production. For example, transport alone accounted for about 34 per cent of federal capital expenditure between 1955 and 1961, far exceeding allocations for sectors such as health or education.¹⁰ This pattern demonstrates that colonial development planning was structured primarily to enhance the efficiency of commodity extraction and international trade.

Another important ideological element underpinning colonial development planning was the doctrine of fiscal conservatism and financial self-sufficiency. British colonial policy maintained that colonial administrations should operate on balanced budgets and avoid excessive borrowing. This principle significantly shaped the scale and orientation of development initiatives in Nigeria. According to P. N. C. Okigbo, colonial planners consistently prioritised projects that could generate immediate economic returns—such as infrastructure supporting export agriculture—over long-term investments in industrialisation or technological capacity.¹¹ The emphasis on fiscal prudence ensured that development programmes remained compatible with the financial interests of the colonial state and metropolitan investors. Consequently, development planning reinforced the dominance of private commercial capital in sectors such as export trade, mining, and shipping. As Walter Rodney famously observed, colonial development projects often “expanded the infrastructure necessary for exploitation while leaving the internal productive structure largely unchanged.”¹²

Furthermore, colonial development planning was influenced by the broader ideological climate of post-war reconstruction and the emergence of modernisation discourse in international economic thought. During the 1940s and 1950s, development came to be framed as a technical and administrative challenge rather than a political or structural issue. Colonial officials increasingly adopted the language of “progress,” “productivity,” and “modernisation,” portraying development planning as a neutral and scientific process.¹³ In reality, however, these policies reproduced existing economic hierarchies between the industrialised North and the agrarian South. By prioritising export agriculture, infrastructural expansion, and administrative efficiency, colonial planners ensured that Nigeria remained integrated into the capitalist world economy as a supplier of primary commodities. The

ideological foundations of colonial development planning therefore entrenched patterns of economic dependency that persisted into the post-independence era.

Institutionalisation of development planning in late colonial Nigeria (1940–1956)

The institutionalisation of development planning in late colonial Nigeria began with the introduction of formal policy frameworks that sought to regulate economic growth and administrative reforms after the economic dislocations of the interwar period. Prior to the 1940s, colonial governance in Nigeria was largely guided by the principle of fiscal self-sufficiency, whereby colonial administrations relied on locally generated revenue and avoided extensive metropolitan financial intervention. However, the economic crises of the 1930s and the growing international discourse on colonial welfare compelled the British government to reconsider this approach. The enactment of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA) of 1940 marked a decisive turning point in colonial economic policy across the British Empire. The Act provided an initial grant of £5 million annually for development projects in colonial territories and was expanded significantly in 1945 with a ten-year allocation of £120 million for development and welfare schemes.¹⁴ Nigeria, as Britain's most populous African colony and a major supplier of export commodities, became one of the principal beneficiaries of this policy shift. The introduction of these funds provided the institutional and financial foundation for systematic development planning within the colonial state.

The first comprehensive attempt at structured development planning in Nigeria was the Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare (1946–1956), which represented a coordinated effort by the colonial administration to direct economic and social development through state planning. The plan was designed to address infrastructural deficiencies, stimulate agricultural productivity, and improve social services such as education and health. The Nigerian government initially proposed a capital expenditure programme of approximately £55 million for the ten-year period, although financial constraints and administrative challenges meant that the plan was implemented in phases.¹⁵ Of this projected expenditure, a substantial proportion was allocated to transport and communications infrastructure, reflecting the colonial government's priority of facilitating the movement of export commodities from the hinterland to coastal ports. Railway expansion, road construction, and harbour improvements constituted major components of the programme. By 1954, for instance, the Nigerian railway system had expanded to over 2,300 miles, linking major agricultural producing areas in the north and west with export terminals such as Lagos and Port Harcourt.¹⁶ These infrastructural investments significantly enhanced the efficiency of colonial trade networks and strengthened Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist economy.

The institutional structure for development planning was further consolidated through administrative reforms that decentralised certain aspects of economic management. The Richards Constitution of 1946 and the subsequent Macpherson Constitution of 1951 introduced regional governance structures that allowed the Northern, Western, and Eastern Regions to participate more actively in development planning. These constitutional reforms coincided with the growing recognition that regional economic disparities required differentiated development strategies. Consequently, regional governments began to formulate their own development plans within the broader framework of federal planning. The Western Region's development programme, for example, emphasised agricultural modernisation and cooperative marketing for cocoa production, while the Northern Region prioritised groundnut production and irrigation schemes.¹⁷ These initiatives were supported by marketing boards established during the Second World War, which regulated commodity prices and generated surplus revenues for development projects. Between 1947 and 1955, marketing boards accumulated reserves estimated at over £120 million, a substantial portion of which was channelled into regional development programmes.¹⁸

Despite these apparent efforts at economic transformation, the institutionalisation of development planning during this period largely reinforced the existing colonial economic structure. Development initiatives were overwhelmingly directed towards sectors that supported export agriculture and colonial commerce rather than industrialisation or technological advancement within Nigeria. Statistical evidence illustrates this orientation clearly. Between 1946 and 1956, more than one-third of federal development expenditure was devoted to transport and communications infrastructure, while less than 10 per cent was allocated to industrial development.¹⁹ Similarly, agricultural research and extension services received substantial funding, reflecting the colonial administration's commitment to improving the productivity of export crops such as cocoa, palm oil, cotton, and groundnuts. As A. G. Hopkins observes, colonial development planning "sought to increase the efficiency of primary production rather than alter the fundamental structure of the colonial economy."²⁰ Consequently, although development planning introduced modern administrative and economic institutions, it simultaneously entrenched Nigeria's role within the international capitalist system as a supplier of raw materials to metropolitan industries.

Furthermore, the implementation of development plans during the late colonial period revealed the limitations inherent in colonial economic policy. Administrative inefficiencies, shortages of technical personnel, and the competing priorities of regional governments often constrained the execution of planned projects. For example, by the early 1950s only about half of the originally proposed projects under the Ten-Year Plan had been fully implemented. Nevertheless, the institutional legacy of this period proved significant for the post-colonial state. The planning mechanisms, bureaucratic structures, and financial institutions established during the late colonial

era became the foundation upon which Nigeria's post-independence national development plans were later constructed. Thus, the period between 1940 and 1956 represented a formative phase in the institutionalisation of development planning in Nigeria, even though the underlying objectives of these policies remained closely aligned with the economic interests of the colonial capitalist system.

Colonial development plans and the expansion of the export-oriented economy

One of the central objectives of colonial development planning in Nigeria during the late colonial period was the expansion and consolidation of an export-oriented economy that would serve the industrial requirements of Britain and the wider capitalist world system. From the early decades of colonial rule, Nigeria had been integrated into global trade primarily as a supplier of agricultural raw materials and mineral resources. The introduction of formal development plans after the Second World War did not fundamentally alter this structure; rather, they strengthened it through systematic investments in infrastructure, agricultural research, and commodity marketing institutions. Export crops such as cocoa, palm produce, groundnuts, cotton, and rubber became the cornerstone of colonial economic policy. By the early 1950s, agricultural exports accounted for approximately 60–70 per cent of Nigeria's total export earnings, demonstrating the centrality of primary commodity production within the colonial economy.²¹ The development plans introduced during this period therefore focused on expanding the productivity and commercialisation of these export commodities.

A major mechanism through which colonial development plans facilitated the expansion of the export economy was the improvement of transport and communications infrastructure. Colonial administrators recognised that the efficient movement of commodities from the interior to coastal ports was essential for sustaining international trade. Consequently, significant portions of development expenditure were directed towards the construction of roads, railways, and port facilities. The Nigerian railway network, which had initially been constructed in the early twentieth century to link agricultural zones with coastal export terminals, continued to expand under colonial development programmes. By the mid-1950s, the railway system extended over 2,300 miles, connecting major producing regions in the north and west with ports such as Lagos and Port Harcourt.²² Similarly, thousands of miles of feeder roads were constructed to facilitate the transportation of agricultural produce from rural farming communities to urban markets and export depots. These infrastructural developments significantly reduced transportation costs and increased the volume of export commodities entering international markets.

Another critical instrument in the expansion of the export-oriented economy was the establishment and consolidation of commodity marketing boards during the Second World War and their continued operation during the post-war development planning era. The marketing boards were initially created to stabilise prices and regulate the purchase of export crops, but they soon became important financial institutions within the colonial economy. Through price controls and the accumulation of surpluses, these boards generated substantial revenues that were later invested in development projects. For instance, between 1947 and 1955, marketing boards in Nigeria accumulated reserves estimated at more than £120 million.²³ These funds were channelled into infrastructure, agricultural extension services, and other development initiatives designed to enhance export production. However, historians have noted that the pricing policies of the boards often favoured colonial financial interests, as African producers received only a fraction of the world market prices for their commodities. According to A. G. Hopkins, marketing boards "served not merely as instruments of price stabilisation but also as mechanisms through which colonial governments extracted surplus from African agriculture."²⁴

Agricultural research and extension programmes also played a vital role in expanding the export economy under colonial development plans. Research institutions such as the West African Institute for Oil Palm Research and the Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria were established to improve crop yields and combat plant diseases affecting export crops. These institutions introduced improved seedlings, pest control techniques, and modern farming practices aimed at increasing the productivity of peasant farmers engaged in export agriculture. By the mid-twentieth century, Nigeria had emerged as one of the world's leading exporters of several agricultural commodities. In 1954, for example, Nigeria accounted for approximately 18 per cent of global cocoa exports and remained the largest producer of palm oil in the world.²⁵ These achievements were frequently cited by colonial officials as evidence of the success of development planning. Yet such successes were largely confined to the expansion of primary commodity production rather than to the diversification of the economy through industrial development.

Despite the apparent economic growth generated by export expansion, the structure of the colonial economy remained fundamentally dependent on external markets and metropolitan industrial centres. Development planning largely neglected the establishment of domestic manufacturing industries capable of processing Nigeria's raw materials locally. Instead, the colonial economy continued to export unprocessed agricultural products while importing finished goods from Britain and other industrialised countries. As Walter Rodney famously observed, colonial economic policies ensured that African territories functioned primarily as "producers of raw materials and consumers of manufactured goods," thereby reinforcing global economic inequalities.²⁶ The expansion of Nigeria's export-oriented economy during the late colonial period therefore represented both an economic achievement and a structural limitation. While development plans succeeded in increasing agricultural output and

export revenues, they simultaneously entrenched Nigeria's subordinate position within the international capitalist system.

Development planning and the entrenchment of the capitalist model of development

The introduction of formal development planning in late colonial Nigeria did not fundamentally transform the structural orientation of the colonial economy; rather, it reinforced and institutionalised the capitalist model of development that had emerged during the earlier phases of imperial expansion. Colonial development plans, particularly the Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare (1946–1956), were framed within an economic philosophy that prioritised the expansion of production, the improvement of trade infrastructure, and the efficient extraction of primary commodities. While these policies were presented as instruments for modernisation and welfare, their practical effect was to consolidate Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist economy as a peripheral supplier of raw materials and a consumer of manufactured goods from industrialised countries.²⁷ The colonial state therefore utilised development planning as a mechanism for strengthening economic linkages between the colony and the metropolitan economy, thereby entrenching patterns of dependency that would persist beyond the colonial era.

One of the most significant ways in which development planning reinforced the capitalist model was through the prioritisation of infrastructure designed to facilitate commercial production and export trade. Colonial development expenditures were heavily concentrated in transport and communications sectors, which were essential for integrating rural production zones with coastal export ports. Between 1946 and 1956, transport and communications accounted for approximately one-third of federal development expenditure in Nigeria, far exceeding allocations for sectors such as health, education, or industrial development.²⁸ Railways, trunk roads, and port facilities were expanded primarily to ensure the efficient movement of export commodities such as cocoa, palm oil, cotton, and groundnuts. By the mid-1950s, Nigeria had developed one of the most extensive transportation networks in West Africa, with over 2,300 miles of railway lines and thousands of miles of feeder roads connecting agricultural producing areas to export terminals.²⁹ While these infrastructural improvements stimulated commercial activity, they were largely designed to serve the requirements of international trade rather than to promote balanced national economic development.

Furthermore, colonial development planning contributed to the entrenchment of capitalist relations of production within Nigeria's agricultural sector. The expansion of export agriculture encouraged the monetisation of rural economies and increased peasant participation in commodity markets. Farmers increasingly oriented their production towards cash crops destined for export rather than subsistence agriculture, thereby integrating local economies into global market fluctuations. The establishment of commodity marketing boards during the 1940s further strengthened this process by regulating prices, controlling the purchase of export crops, and accumulating financial surpluses. By the mid-1950s, marketing boards in Nigeria had generated reserves estimated at over £120 million from export commodities.³⁰ These funds were used to finance development projects, but the pricing mechanisms of the boards often allowed the colonial government to capture a significant portion of the surplus generated by African producers. In this regard, development planning functioned as a tool through which the colonial state mediated and extracted value from agricultural production within the framework of capitalist exchange.

The capitalist orientation of colonial development planning was also reflected in the limited attention given to industrialisation and technological transformation within Nigeria. Although colonial administrators occasionally emphasised the importance of economic diversification, practical investment in manufacturing remained extremely limited throughout the late colonial period. Instead, Nigeria continued to export unprocessed agricultural commodities while importing finished goods from Britain and other industrialised countries. Statistical evidence illustrates the persistence of this pattern. In the mid-1950s, manufactured goods constituted more than half of Nigeria's imports, while exports remained overwhelmingly dominated by primary commodities.³¹ This imbalance reinforced Nigeria's position as a peripheral economy within the global capitalist system, dependent on external markets and vulnerable to fluctuations in world commodity prices. As Walter Rodney observed, colonial development policies were structured in such a way that African economies "expanded their role as producers of raw materials without acquiring the industrial capacity necessary for independent development."³²

In retrospect, the institutional legacy of colonial development planning extended far beyond the immediate colonial period. The planning frameworks, economic institutions, and infrastructural networks established between the 1940s and the 1950s became the foundation upon which post-independence development strategies were constructed. However, because these structures were originally designed to support an export-oriented capitalist economy, they also reproduced many of the structural inequalities and dependencies associated with colonial rule. Consequently, while development planning introduced modern administrative practices and economic institutions in Nigeria, it simultaneously entrenched a model of development that prioritised external economic integration over internal industrial transformation. The enduring influence of this colonial economic legacy continues to shape Nigeria's developmental challenges in the post-colonial era.

Conclusion

This study set out to examine colonial development planning in Nigeria and its role in entrenching the capitalist model of development during the late colonial period. It has demonstrated that the emergence of formal development planning in the 1940s represented a significant shift in British colonial policy, particularly with the introduction of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act and the Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare (1946–1956). The study found that these initiatives institutionalised development planning within colonial governance and facilitated large-scale investments in infrastructure, agricultural research, and administrative reforms. However, the ideological foundations and policy orientation of these plans were closely aligned with the economic interests of the colonial state and metropolitan capital. Rather than promoting structural transformation and industrial diversification within Nigeria, colonial development planning largely prioritised the expansion of export agriculture and the improvement of transport networks necessary for the efficient movement of commodities to international markets.

The study further established that colonial development policies played a crucial role in consolidating Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist economy. Through the expansion of export-oriented agriculture, the establishment of commodity marketing boards, and the concentration of development expenditure on trade infrastructure, colonial planners reinforced Nigeria's position as a supplier of raw materials to industrialised economies. While these policies contributed to increased agricultural productivity and export revenues, they simultaneously perpetuated structural economic dependency and constrained the development of domestic industrial capacity. The research therefore concludes that colonial development planning, far from transforming the colonial economy, functioned primarily as a mechanism for institutionalising the capitalist model of development in Nigeria. The economic structures and planning institutions established during this period subsequently influenced post-independence development strategies and continue to shape Nigeria's developmental trajectory in the contemporary era.

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