HIS 212/ECO 255/AAS 260, Africa's Sleeping Giant: Nigeria Since the Islamic Revolution of 1804

Spring 2016

Joseph E. Inikori B & L Room 269 RRL 437 – X59020 Monday & Wednesday 10.25-11.40 am Office Hours: Wednesday, 3.00-5.00 pm

I. Scope and Focus

Nigeria is a West African country, 923,800 square kilometers (356, 680 square miles) in geographical area. In Africa, the country ranks as the fourteenth largest country in geographical size; but, with 177.5 million people in 2014 (World Bank, *World Development Indicators 2015*), it is the most populous country in Africa. The country has vast natural resources, which include large reserves of crude oil and natural gas. The people are highly talented and ambitious in their pursuit of personal economic advancement and material comfort. The American anthropologist, Daniel Smith, who has worked and researched in the country for several years since 1989, has this to say about Nigerians:

In my experience, the people are outgoing, warm, and welcoming. They exude confidence and pride. For scholars and other friends of Africa who sometimes feel compelled to combat misguided stereotypes that the continent and its people are helpless and hopeless, nothing could serve as a stronger counter than witnessing ambitious, vibrant, and entrepreneurial Nigerians going about their daily lives. Against seemingly insurmountable obstacles, people exhibit fortitude and persevere with great resilience. As big as Nigeria is, it sometimes seems too small to contain its astonishing fury of human activity. More than any place I have ever been, there is never a dull moment [Daniel Smith, *A Culture of Corruption* (2007), p. xi)].

Given the geographical extent, the size of its population, the resourcefulness of the people, and its abundant natural resources, the country has a considerable potential to become one of the leading economic powers of the world. Yet, the national economy has been performing below expectation for decades. It has been performing relatively well since 2000, the GDP growing at an annual average of 8.2 percent in 2000-2014.¹ The World Bank's *Development Indicators 2015* (Table 1.1) puts the Gross National Income

¹ World Bank, *World Development Indicators, 2015*, Table 4.1. GNI and GDP are different measurements. GDP measures the total amount of goods and services produced in a country in a calendar year, while GNI measures the amount of goods and services at the disposal of people resident in a country in a calendar year. The difference between the two measurements arises from international income transfers, such as the repatriation of profits and interests to non-residents. Countries, such as Great Britain, which receive large incomes from overseas investments, usually have GNI larger than their GDP. On the other hand, countries like Nigeria, which are hosts to large foreign investments, usually have GNI less than their GDP.

(GNI) for 2014 at \$1,013.7 billion and GNI per capita at \$5,710 (based on Purchasing Power Parity, PPP, values), placing the country among "Lower Middle Income" countries. The Nigerian economy has now overtaken the South African economy (2014 GNI, \$685.7 billion) and it is currently the largest economy in Africa. The 2014 GNI is almost one-third (30.42 percent) of the GNI of all of sub-Saharan Africa. But stakeholders are unsure if the current performance can be sustained, given the sociopolitical factors which have produced over the years the paradox of poverty in a dynamic and resource-rich country, leading to the characterization of Nigeria as a sleeping giant.

To properly understand the current problems, the course traces socioeconomic development in Nigeria over the very long run, within the context of the integrated development process in the Atlantic world. A discussion of developments before the midfifteenth century provides a context for comprehending how the integrated development process in the Atlantic world, 1450-1850, impacted socioeconomic development in Nigeria during the period. A major development, with long-lasting effects on socioeconomic development in Nigeria, is the creation of the nineteenth-century Islamic Sokoto Caliphate in what later became Northern Nigeria. This constitutes a major subject in the long-run narrative. Our discussion of the Sokoto Caliphate runs logically to the colonization process — from the growth of "legitimate commerce"(trade in products, such as palm produce, following the ending of the tans-Atlantic slave trade) to the establishment of British colonial rule and its administrative institutions, 1861-1960. In post-colonial Nigeria, the inter-play between inherited colonial institutions and new elements, such as growing revenues from crude oil and natural gas, takes the center stage in the narrative. A major concern is the historical origins of unequal development among the ethnic and regional groups, which has tended to provoke inter-group conflict in recent times, and the state policies designed to tackle the problem. For purposes of clear understanding of the issues, we conduct a brief comparison of Nigeria and the United States on this problem of unequal development among racial, ethnic, and regional groups.

II. Course Requirements

Students are required to **attend all classes punctually;** class attendance accounts for 10 percent of the total marks in the course, and class assignments account for 30 percent. Class assignments will be given without prior notice. Students are, therefore, advised to prepare for each class by reading at lease one of the listed texts for each class. The attendance score for each class missed is zero. Class assignments will not be repeated for students who fail to do them because of absence from class. Every student is required to write one term paper, twelve to fifteen pages long, on a topic selected from a list drawn up by the professor. The paper will be thoroughly researched, using newspapers, the internet, government publications, journal articles, and books. It carries 30 marks. **The paper is due on April 27, 2016.** As stated in the course outline, a Take-Home Mid-Term Examination accounts for the remaining 30 marks in the course. There is no final examination.

Students are advised to utilize the office hours to discuss with the professor all matters concerning the course. In particular, students are expected to start work early on the term paper and to discuss regularly with the professor during office hours the main issues raised in their chosen topics as the research progresses. A list showing the office hours slots for each week will be circulated in class every Monday. The office hours are held in the professor's office (RRL Room 437).

III. Required Textbooks

- 1. Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- 2. Daniel J. Smith, A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- 3. William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Second edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

4. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, *Reforming the Unreformable: Lessons from Nigeria* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2012).

IV. Course Outline

1. January 13, 2016:

Introduction — Geographical matters; contemporary dimensions of inter-group conflict and political instability; the nature and requirements of the course.

Reading: Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1-15;

2. January 20 & 25, 2016:

Nigeria before the emergence of the Atlantic Economy: An examination of the socioeconomic process from early times to the fifteenth century.

Reading: Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 16-37;

Obaro Ikime (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1999; first published, 1980), pp. 30-52.

Joseph E. Inikori, "West Africa's Niger Bend in Global Perspective, 1000-1591 CE," Paper Presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, January 7-10, 2010.

3. January 27 & February 1, 2016:

Nigeria and the emergence of the Atlantic Economy: A discussion of the development process in Nigeria during the era of the Transatlantic slave trade, including some comparison with Brazil.

Reading: Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 39-60;

- Joseph E. Inikori, "The Development of Commercial Agriculture in Pre-Colonial West Africa," African Economic History Working Paper Series, No. 9/2013 [African Economic History Network: http://www.aehnetwork.org/].
- Joseph E. Inikori, "English versus Indian Cotton Textiles Competition: The Impact of Imports on Cotton Textile Production in West Africa," in Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy (eds.), *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 85-114.
- Joseph E. Inikori, "The Development of Entrepreneurship in Africa: Southeastern Nigeria during the era of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," in Alusine Jalloh and Toyin Falola (eds.), *Black Business and Economic Power* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), Chapter 2, pp. 41-79.

4. February 3 & 8, 2016:

The Islamic Revolution and the Sokoto Caliphate in Northern Nigeria: An examination of the causal factors in the establishment of an Islamic theocracy in parts of Northern Nigeria, issues concerning its geographical extent, and its significance in the development process of the nineteenth century.

Reading: Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 61-84;

Ikime (ed.), Groundwork of Nigerian History, pp. 303-366;

J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Milestones in Nigerian history* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1962), pp. 3-27.

5. February 10 & 15, 2016:

"Legitimate commerce," Christian Missions, and the nineteenth-century development process: A discussion of the change from slave to commodity export, the consequences for the development process, and the place of Nigeria in the evolving global economy. The discussion will include the differing regional impact of legitimate commerce and Christian Missionary activities.

Reading: Joseph E. Inikori, "The Economic Impact of the 1807 British Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs

(eds.), *The Changing Worlds of Atlantic Africa: Essays in Honor of Robin Law* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2009), pp. 163-182;

- Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997);
- Robin Law (ed.), *From slave trade to 'legitimate' commerce: The commercial transition in nineteenth-century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 240-264;

Ikime (ed.), Groundwork of Nigerian History, pp. 249-302, 367-380.

6. February 17 & 22, 2016:

British Conquest of Nigeria: Examination of issues in the imposition of British colonial domination, the construction of the British colonial state, and the impact on socioeconomic and political structure.

Reading: Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 83-109;

Ajayi, Milestones in Nigerian history, pp. 28-37.

Ikime (ed.), Groundwork of Nigerian History, pp. 393-481.

[Take-Home Mid-Term Examination; questions will be distributed in class on February 17, and completed answers submitted on February 24, 2016.]

7. February 24 & 29, 2016:

British Colonial Rule and the Development Process: British policy of 'Indirect Rule' and the consolidation of feudal structure in Northern Nigeria and the creation of "traditional elites" in Southern Nigeria; British colonial religious policy and the welding of religious and ethnic identity; British colonial regional structure and the creation of an ethnic and religious political market; the colonial state and the development of indigenous entrepreneurship; the colonial state and industrialization.

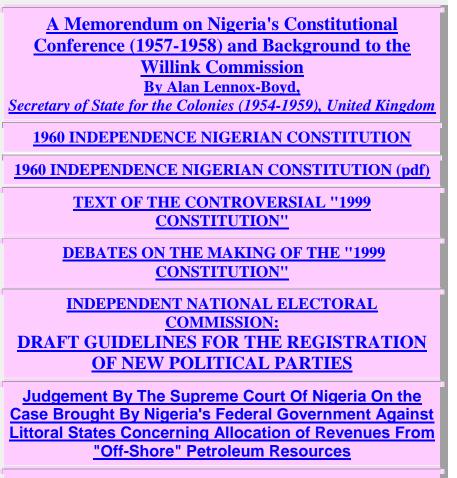
Reading: Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 110-157;

Tom Forrest, The Advance of African Capitalism: The Growth of Nigerian Private Enterprise (London: University of Edinburgh Press, 1994), pp. 13-28; Tom Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 17-43;

Ikime (ed.), Groundwork of Nigerian History, pp. 482-600;

- Ajayi, Milestones in Nigerian history, pp. 38-46;
- Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 1-30.
- Joseph E. Inikori, "Ethnicity and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Case Study of Nigeria," Paper Presented at the Conference, 'New Frontiers in African Economic History,' The Graduate Institute, Geneva, Switzerland, September 9-13, 2012.

Nigerian Constitutional Matters: Documents and Comments



Supreme Court's Verdict On Resource Control: The

Political Imperatives BY DAVID DAFINONE

Nigerian Supreme Court's Ruling on "Low Water <u>Mark of the Land Surface"</u> <u>For State-Federal Boundary Determination</u> <u>By Retired Justice Atake</u>

THE POSITION OF THE NIGER DELTA ON THE 1999 CONSTITUTION By Oronto Douglas

How the President Can Convene A National Conference By The Patriots

URHOBO AND THE NIGERIAN FEDERATION: <u>WHITHER NIGERIA?</u> <u>By Peter P. Ekeh</u>

STATEMENT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA ON THE JUDGEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AT THE HAGUE (CAMEROON VS. NIGERIA WITH EQUITORIAL GUINEA INTERVENING)

Report of Investigation Panel That Impeached Alamieyeseigha, Governor of Bayelsa State

Okop Usem Leadership Council, INC Appeals to Nigerians for Help in Its Litigation on Bakassi Island Case

8. March 2 & 7, 2016:

Class, ethnicity, regionalism and post-colonial politics and economic development: Colonial economic underdevelopment and weakly developed production-based classes; dominance of the aristocratic class in the North and the pre-eminence of the merchant class and professionals in the South; inherited colonial regional structure, ethnic and religious political market, and the growth of ethnic and regional parties: the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), and the Action Group (AG); the election of 1959 and the enthronement of ethnic and regional politics; the problem of the minorities, North and South, the Civil War, 1967-1970.

Reading: Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 158-180;

Forrest, Politics and Economic development, pp. 17-43;

Paul A. Becket & Crawford Young (eds.), *Dilemmas of Democracy in Nigeria* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), pp. 15-23, 45-62, 243-250, 361-375;

Osaghae, Crippled Giant, pp. 31-109.

[March 5-13, 2016: Spring Break]

9. March 14 & 16, 2016:

Petroleum, Post-Civil War Reconstruction, Education, States Creation, and Post-Civil War Politics and Development: Oil revenue and the healing of Civil War wounds; oil revenue and the creation of states; mini-states structure and the evolution of atomistic, competitive political market; the growth of education; the collapse of the elites consensus in Northern Nigeria; using religion to firm up elites consensus and religious crisis in Northern Nigeria; the military and Post-Civil War politics and development.

Reading: Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 181-208;

Forrest, Politics and Economic development, pp. 47-129;

M. H. Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 1993);

Toyin Falola, Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1998).

10. March 21, 23, 28, 30 & April 4, 2016:

The Development Process since Political Independence: Import Substitution Industrialization Strategy; industrialization and agriculture; impact of the "oil boom" on manufacturing and agriculture; oil revenue, the politics of rent-seeking, and economic development.

Reading: Forrest, Politics and Economic development, pp. 133-229;

Forrest, The Advance of African Capitalism;

Falola and Heaton, A History of Nigeria, pp. 209-279.

.Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, *Reforming the Unreformable: Lessons from Nigeria* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2012).

11. April 6, 11, 13, 18, 20 & 25, 2016:

Unequal Development and Affirmative Action Policy in Nigeria and the United States of America: Comparative discussion of the historical origins of unequal development in the two countries; factors that account for the persistence of unequal development in recent times; policies employed to deal with the problem, and the outcome.

- *Reading.* William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Second edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012);
 - Darrick Hamilton, "Race, Wealth, and Intergenerational Poverty: There will never be a post-racial America if the wealth gap persists," August 14, 2009, pp. 2-7,

[http://prospect.org/article/race-wealth-and-intergenerationalpoverty].

- William A. Darity, Jr., "A Direct Route to Full Employment," *The Review* of Black Political Economy (2010) 37: 179-181.
- William A. Darity, "From Here to Full Employment," *The Review of Black Political Economy*, DOI 10.1007/s12114-012-9154-2
 [Published online, 22 November, 2012].
- William Darity, Jr. and Darrick Hamilton, "Bold Policies for Economic Justice," *The Review of Black Political Economy* [Published online: 07 January, 2012], DOI 10.1007/s12114-011-9129-8.
- Joseph E. Inikori, "Inequality among Ethno-Religious Groups and Long-Run Development: The Case of Nigeria," Paper Presented at the 8th "New Frontiers in African Economic History" Workshop, Lund University, Sweden, 6-7 December, 2013.

Report of the Presidential Implementation Committee for the Recommendations of the National Seminar on the National Question (Lagos: Ministry for Special Duties, Office of the President, May 1987);

Government Views and Comments on the Findings and Recommendations of the Political Bureau (Lagos: Federal Government of Nigeria, 1987).

12. April 27, 2016:

Concluding Summary Discussion:

Reading: Smith, Culture of Corruption, pp. 28-240.

Mark Pieth (ed.), *Recovering Stolen Assets* (Bern, Berlin, New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

US Senate Report on Foreign Corruption (http://www.scribd.com/doc/26403239/Keeping-Forein-Corruption-Outof-United-States-Four-Case-Histories

Collection of Media Reports and Written Pieces on Corruption

Books to be placed on print reserve

- Mark Pieth (ed.), Recovering Stolen Assets (Bern, Berlin, New York: Peter Lang, 2008).
- M. H. Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 1993);
- Toyin Falola, Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1998).
- Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, *Reforming the Unreformable: Lessons from Nigeria* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2012).
- Femi Kayode and Dafe Otobo (eds.), Allison Akene Ayida: Nigeria's Quintessential Public Servant (Lagos: Malthouse Press, 2004).
- John Iliffe, Obasanjo, Nigeria and the World (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2011)
- Chinua Achebe, *There was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012).
- Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
- A. Becket & Crawford Young (eds.), *Dilemmas of Democracy in Nigeria* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997).
- Tom Forrest, *The Advance of African Capitalism: The Growth of Nigerian Private Enterprise* (London: University of Edinburgh Press, 1994), pp. 13-28;
- Tom Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993)
- Martin Lynn, Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997);
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- J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Milestones in Nigerian history* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1962)
- Obaro Ikime (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1999; first published, 1980).

Texts for Electronic Reserve

- 1. Report of the Presidential Implementation Committee for the Recommendations of the National Seminar on the National Question (Lagos: Ministry for Special Duties, Office of the President, May 1987);
- 2. Government Views and Comments on the Findings and Recommendations of the Political Bureau (Lagos: Federal Government of Nigeria, 1987).
- 3. US Senate Report on Foreign Corruption (http://www.scribd.com/doc/26403239/Keeping-Forein-Corruption-Out-of-United-States-Four-Case-Histories)
- 4. Nigerian Constitutional Matters: Documents and Comments

<u>A Memorendum on Nigeria's Constitutional</u> <u>Conference (1957-1958) and Background to the</u> <u>Willink Commission</u> <u>By Alan Lennox-Boyd,</u> Secretary of State for the Colonies (1954-1959), United Kingdom

1960 INDEPENDENCE NIGERIAN CONSTITUTION

1960 INDEPENDENCE NIGERIAN CONSTITUTION (pdf)

TEXT OF THE CONTROVERSIAL "1999 CONSTITUTION"

DEBATES ON THE MAKING OF THE "1999 CONSTITUTION"

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION: DRAFT GUIDELINES FOR THE REGISTRATION OF NEW POLITICAL PARTIES <u>Judgement By The Supreme Court Of Nigeria On the</u> <u>Case Brought By Nigeria's Federal Government Against</u> <u>Littoral States Concerning Allocation of Revenues From</u> <u>"Off-Shore" Petroleum Resources</u>

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- Joseph E. Inikori, "The Economic Impact of the 1807 British Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (eds.), *The Changing Worlds of Atlantic Africa: Essays in Honor of Robin Law* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2009), pp. 163-182.
- Joseph E. Inikori, "West Africa's Niger Bend in Global Perspective, 1000-1591 CE," Paper Presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, January 7-10, 2010.
- 10. Joseph E. Inikori, "Ethnicity and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Case Study of Nigeria," Paper Presented at the Conference, 'New Frontiers in African Economic History,' The Graduate Institute, Geneva, Switzerland, September 9-13, 2012.
- 11. Joseph E. Inikori, "The Development of Commercial Agriculture in Pre-Colonial West Africa," African Economic History Working Paper Series, No. 9/2013.
- Joseph E. Inikori, "Inequality among Ethno-Religious Groups and Long-Run Development: The Case of Nigeria," Paper Presented at the 8th "New Frontiers in African Economic History" Workshop, Lund University, Sweden, 6-7 December, 2013.
- Darrick Hamilton, "Race, Wealth, and Intergenerational Poverty: There will never be a post-racial America if the wealth gap persists," August 14, 2009, pp. 2-7, [http://prospect.org/article/race-wealth-and-intergenerational-poverty].

- 14. William A. Darity, Jr., "A Direct Route to Full Employment," *The Review of Black Political Economy* (2010) 37: 179-181.
- William A. Darity, "From Here to Full Employment," *The Review of Black Political Economy*, DOI 10.1007/s12114-012-9154-2 [Published online, 22 November, 2012].
- 16. William Darity, Jr. and Darrick Hamilton, "Bold Policies for Economic Justice," *The Review of Black Political Economy* [Published online: 07 January, 2012], DOI 10.1007/s12114-011-9129-8.