

Scramble for Africa - Country Focus: Nigeria

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African History through the lens of Economics

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Overview

- ▶ Important theme: Diverse ethnicity-based institutions
- ▶ Scramble for Africa: Overlay new national institutions
- ▶ Interactions between both: Diverse outcomes
- ▶ Presentation focus
 - ▶ Formal education
 - ▶ Resistance and violence during colonial period

Where is Nigeria



Figure: Africa

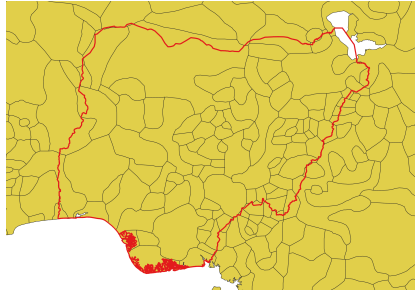


Figure: Nigeria

Colonial institutions and ethnic Institutions

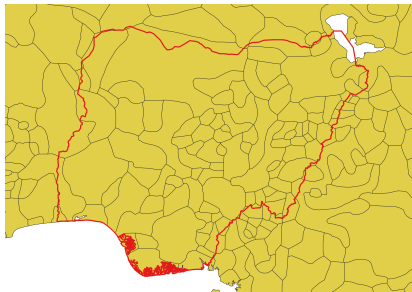


Figure: Nigeria

- ▶ pre-1861: Primarily ethnicity-based institutions
- ▶ Between 1861 (annexation of Lagos) and 1914 (Amalgamation)
- ▶ New 'national' institutional arrangement on top of ethnicity-based arrangements
- ▶ Colonial arrangement until independence in 1960

Economic Transformations

- ▶ Agriculture transformation
- ▶ Transport

- ▶ Given that ethnic institutions are important, colonial period is a good time to study how those institutions mattered and matter.
- ▶ Good period to better understand how some historical events transmit to contemporary outcomes.

Outcome focus

- ▶ Education
- ▶ Violence and resistance

Education - Formal education

- ▶ Education predates colonialism
 - ▶ From Ehret's lecture: lots of evidence of transmission of knowledge in agriculture, metallurgy, etc from one generation to the next.
 - ▶ Islamic education
- ▶ 'Formal' education: read and write in English.
- ▶ Systematic and available data collection.
- ▶ Significant increase in number and share of educated.

Education - Outcomes

- ▶ Nigeria Census 1921
 - ▶ 51 govt schools, 139 assisted schools, 2053 non-assisted schools, and 137,235 scholars (1.5% of population) in Southern Provinces.
- ▶ Nigeria Census 1931
 - ▶ 176 govt schools, 291 assisted schools, 2772 non-assisted christian schools, 33,426 Muslim schools, and 378,543 scholars (1.9% of population) in both Northern and Southern provinces.
- ▶ Nigeria Census 1956
 - ▶ 2,568,381 people (8.24% of the population) with some type of education.
- ▶ significant advancement in educational attainment
- ▶ but.... a lot of internal variation

Education - Outcomes

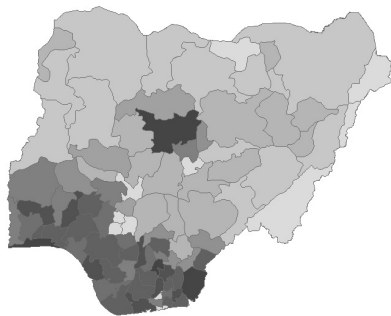


Figure: Literacy rates 1956

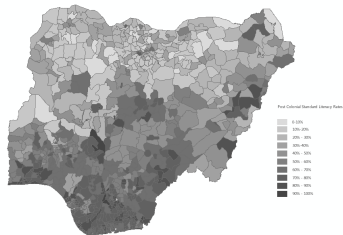


Figure: Literacy rates 2008

Education - Causes?

- ▶ Lots of reasons (more detailed lectures on human capital in Africa coming up)
- ▶ But what impact did historical events have?
 - ▶ Slave trades important
 - ▶ Nunn: Impact of slave trade on contemporary GDP at national level
 - ▶ Contemporary countries don't exit during the slave trade era
 - ▶ Can we examine these correlations outside the context of contemporary national institutions?

Education - Outcomes

- ▶ Look at colonial period.
- ▶ Challenge: no subnational GDP data but there is education data
- ▶ Similar correlations between slave exports and literacy in contemporary data at national level
- ▶ Do these translate to the sub national level during colonial period?

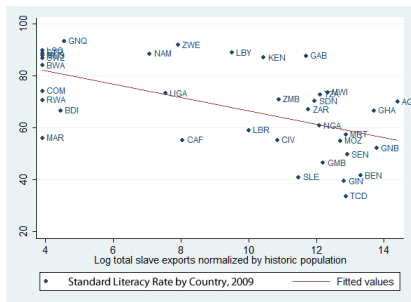


Figure: Slave exports and literacy

Education and Slave Trade

- ▶ Compile district level data from Nigeria and Gold Coast from censuses in 1950s
- ▶ Slave export data from Nunn and Wantchekon by ethnic groups
- ▶ Match districts to ethnic groups and analyze

Education and Slave Trade

Table 2: Relationship Between Slave Export and Literacy Rates During the Colonial Era

| | Standard literacy rates | | | Extended literacy rates | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Slave exports/pop | -5.35*** (1.92) | -6.74*** (1.02) | -7.47*** (1.11) | -6.86** (2.59) | -8.34*** (1.48) | -8.65*** (1.58) |
| Fraction of females | | -72.94*** (16.25) | -83.91*** (16.92) | | -97.46*** (17.93) | -105.09*** (19.16) |
| Fraction employed in agriculture | | -16.79*** (4.95) | -13.30*** (4.50) | | -17.52*** (6.15) | -14.70** (6.03) |
| Christian missions dummy | | 4.02*** (1.17) | 2.52* (1.27) | | 4.69*** (1.38) | 3.59** (1.44) |
| Distance to the coast | | | -5.59** (2.51) | | | -3.10 (3.46) |
| Malaria ecology | | | -0.12 (0.10) | | | -0.11 (0.12) |
| Historic density | | | 0.03** (0.01) | | | 0.03 (0.02) |
| Number of observations | 69 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 69 |
| Number of ethnic groups | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| R ² | 0.03 | 0.67 | 0.73 | 0.03 | 0.65 | 0.67 |

Education and Slave Trade

- ▶ Compile district level data from Nigeria and Gold Coast from censuses in 1950s
- ▶ Slave export data from Nunn and Wantchekon by ethnic groups
- ▶ Match districts to ethnic groups and analyze
- ▶ Repeat exercise using contemporary literacy data from 2010 with same result
- ▶ Example of historical event with contemporary outcomes running at least partly through ethnicity based institutions.
- ▶ The Impact of the Slave Trade on Literacy in West Africa. Obikili. 2016. Journal of African Economies

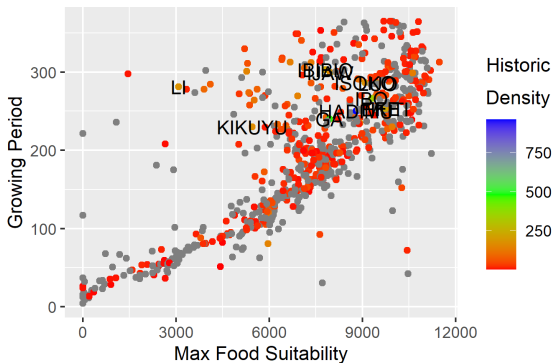
Violence and other resistance

- ▶ Interactions between new colonial 'national' institutions and subnational ethnic institutions
- ▶ Does politics within the ethnic institution matter?
- ▶ Revisit state centralization
 - ▶ Mayshar, Moav, Pascali (2021) - Journal of political economy
 - ▶ Food surpluses were essential for state formation or centralization
 - ▶ But this only happens due to a shift to dependence on appropriable cereal grains,
 - ▶ However, about 18% of groups are tuber-based (36% in Nigeria)
 - ▶ Are there differences in potential surpluses?

Violence and other resistance

Growing Period vs Max Food Suitability

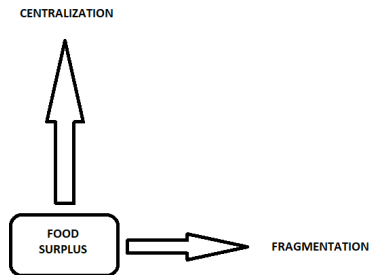
Groups with Historic Population Density above 150 labelled



- ▶ Cereals
- ▶ Li, Kikuyu, Luo, Ga
- ▶ Roots and Tubers
- ▶ Ibibio, Ijaw, Isoko, Ibo, Hadimu

Figure: Environmental conditions

Violence and other resistance



- ▶ For cereals, food surplus get expropriated 'upwards'
- ▶ What happens to food surpluses for roots and tubers?
- ▶ Do they form other types of complex political structures that are local or 'sideways'?

Figure: Environmental conditions

Fragmentation

- ▶ Back to Murdock Ethnographic Atlas
- ▶ Centralization: Jurisdictional hierarchy **beyond** the local community
- ▶ Fragmentation: Jurisdictional hierarchy **within** the local community
 - ▶ First question: Are roots and tubers based groups associated with more fragmentation?

Violence and other resistance

Table 4: Precolonial political fragmentation and Tuber Producers

| | Political Fragmentation | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Tubers | 0.294*** (0.093) | 0.300*** (0.095) | 0.315*** (0.097) | 0.263** (0.103) |
| Mean Growing Period | -0.001 (0.0004) | -0.001** (0.0005) | -0.0001 (0.001) | -0.001 (0.001) |
| Dependence on Agriculture | | 0.515 (0.984) | 1.097 (0.781) | 0.841 (0.783) |
| Intensity of Agriculture | | 0.697 (0.973) | 1.230 (0.768) | 1.183 (0.776) |
| Animals and Plow Cultivation | | 0.494 (0.958) | 1.046 (0.749) | 0.828 (0.752) |
| Major River | | 0.545 (0.952) | 1.123 (0.740) | 0.909 (0.741) |
| Forest Coverage | | 0.616 (0.951) | 1.194 (0.738) | 0.928 (0.741) |
| Forest Coverage Squared | | -0.419 (0.698) | 0.179 (0.368) | -0.006 (0.385) |

Fragmentation - Violence during colonization?

- ▶ Does this fragmentation influence resistance to colonial state?
 - ▶ Colonial transformation dataset compiled by Ziltener, Künzler, and Walter (2017) - amount of violence against colonial authorities during the process of implementing colonial rule, during the years of colonization, and during the period of independence
 - ▶ Ethnic-based political fragmentation - fraction of groups in colony with more fragmentation
- ▶ source: A work in progress that has been in 'progress' for a long time but hopefully not for much longer.

Violence and other resistance

Table 11: Resistance to Colonization and Precolonial political fragmentation

| | Violence during colonization | | Violence at colonization | | Violence at independence | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Political Fragmentation | 0.596** (0.276) | 0.642* (0.326) | -0.077 (0.101) | -0.122 (0.101) | -0.001 (0.510) | -0.203 (0.359) |
| Slave Exports | | 0.017 (0.039) | | 0.003 (0.012) | | 0.020 (0.045) |
| Fraction Islam | | -0.001 (0.003) | | 0.0003 (0.001) | | -0.004 (0.003) |
| Population Density 1400 | | -0.043 (0.075) | | 0.038 (0.023) | | 0.078 (0.083) |
| Ethnic Fractionalization | | 0.548 (0.555) | | 0.418** (0.173) | | -0.689 (0.615) |
| Constant | 0.202 (0.231) | -0.557 (0.368) | 1.034*** (0.085) | 0.725*** (0.115) | 0.433 (0.260) | 0.958** (0.406) |
| Observations | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 |
| R ² | 0.118 | 0.221 | 0.016 | 0.369 | 0.00000 | 0.152 |
| Adjusted R ² | 0.093 | 0.095 | -0.012 | 0.267 | -0.029 | 0.015 |

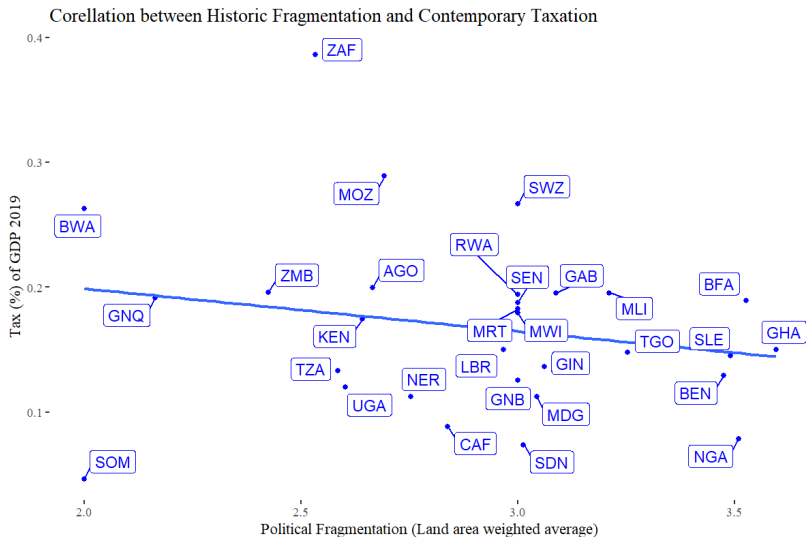
Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Zooming back into Nigeria - Examples of Resistance to new state

- ▶ Aba Women's War in 1929
 - ▶ Violent resistance against taxation
- ▶ Revolts in Abeokuta in 1946
 - ▶ Driven by the Abeokuta Women's Union (AWU) led by Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti
 - ▶ Revolts against corruption and taxes.

Does fragmentation still matter?



Conclusion

- ▶ Nigeria, like much of Africa, is a multi institutional context with national and ethnicity based institutions
- ▶ Ethnicity based institutions vary accross many different characteristics.
- ▶ Interactions between ethnicity-based and colonial institutions resulted in complex mosaic of outcomes
- ▶ Some of these interactions and outcomes continue to be relavant
- ▶ Still so much that is not known which means a lot of room for new research