

## THE NIGERIAN STATE AND THE CRISIS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION: LESSONS FROM SINGAPORE

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### **Abstract**

*Nigeria faces the crisis of industrialization and development despite rich mineral and natural resources endowment. The present work is therefore set out to investigate the role of the Nigerian state in this crisis. The Nigerian post-colonial state, due to a certain stereotyped rationalization for explaining her underdevelopment, is dressed in a borrowed rope of certain characters; such characters, the paper contends are rather those of the ruling and political class, not the Nigerian state. It is the dependencia propositions that by the nature and character of the post-colonial state; and by the global character of capitalism, the integration of peripheral and dependent economies into the world capitalist orbit, portends disaster. This by the emergence of the Asian tigers such as Singapore has proven to be ahistorical and not in sync with contemporary reality. This paper finds the crisis in leadership, in the manner of organization of resources and in the patrimonial redistribution instead of wealth creation, thus making the Nigerian state a failed planner and regulator of development. The resource curse theory is adopted as the theoretical framework for the present work. As desktop, qualitative and descriptive research, extensive reliance is placed on secondary data with the use of content analysis. The example of Singapore proves that what is needed is a transformational leadership, whether democratic or totalitarian, with the political will to make sacrifices, champion, organize and utilize Nigeria's abundant natural and mineral resources and lead her on the path of industrialization and social progress.*

**Keywords:** *The State, Nigerian State, Crisis, Industrialization, Resource Curse.*

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## **1. Introduction**

The degree of economic development of a nation can be measured by the level of industrialization and infrastructural development. For over six decades, Nigeria and other third world countries have been journeying for economic growth, industrialization, and development; a journey it began with some Asian countries especially, Singapore. Nigeria and Singapore share similar politico-historical background and development. Both were colonized by Britain and got independence in 1960. Economically, Nigeria is endowed with abundant natural and human resources. Singapore is comparatively disadvantaged in resource endowment, except her geographical resource of location. The country is an island. Today Singapore has left Nigeria behind in the development race and has advanced from “the third world to the first world” (Yew, 2010). Sixty-one years after colonialism, Nigeria is still struggling to step her feet on the rungs of the ladder of development. Nigeria in the effort to realize the goals of development, has experimented with different models of industrialization and development. The country is enmeshed in the crisis of industrialization and development. In this quagmire situation, the blame is still thrown at colonialism; globalization and the character of the state bequeathed to her at independence- the character of the post-colonial state.

All through history, all countries have transformed or developed through the process of industrialization. Industrialization is the driver of economic development. Manufacturing is the back bone of industrialization while infrastructure is the fulcrum or wheel of industrialization. As such economic diversification towards industrialization requires investment in infrastructure. Nigeria suffers from infrastructural deficit. Her infrastructural deficit currently stands at USD 100 Billion (Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, 2021). The deficit is three times the size of the 2021 her budget projected at USD345.1 Billion (FGN, 2021). This amongst others constitutes a barrier to Nigeria’s industrialization huge revenue extracted from resource endowment of the years.

As Joseph observed that, “Nigeria has always been one of the most amply endowed territories carved out by the European” (1978, p.221). The land is fertile and arable and rich in and mineral deposit. Understandably, at early independence, there were significance improvement in infrastructural development, at which agriculture contributed 61% of the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP), (Ekekwe, 1986). Agriculture triggered her growth and development. Her rich population constituted a potential market for industrialization. This together with the

level of manpower development at that time gave the impression that Nigeria was on the path of progress. Nigeria experienced positive growth rate of 4.96% in 1962, 8.58% in 1963; negative growth rate in the civil war period; 24.20% and 25.01% in 1969 and 1970 respectively. The growth nosedived from 14.24 in 1971. It has since been on the decline, except in 2002 (World Bank, 2021). The discovery, exploitation and exploration of oil in commercial quantity suddenly turn a curse to her development rather than a blessing. From 1971 down, the country's GDP has been on decline. In 2020 Nigeria's GDP stood abysmally at 1.79% (World Bank, 2021). Available records also indicate that in 1958, the manufacturing sector contributed 4% to Nigeria's GDP, 5.6% in 1963, 8.4% in 1967, 11% between 1973- 1981 and by 2008 it had dropped to 5% (see, Iwuagwu, 2009). The current manufacturing growth rate stands at -13.90% (NBS, 2021). Nigeria's state of development does not reflect her potentials in wealth (human, mineral and agricultural resource and good environmental factors). Nigeria remained underdeveloped and sliding into the fourth world.

### **1.1. Statement of the Problem**

The whole essence of the drive for industrialization is the quest for socio-economic development. Socio-economic development robes off well on all other facets of development. Since independence, Nigeria has experimented different models and paradigms of development. This amounts to "a confusion in agendas" (Ake, 1996). Consequent upon this confusion of agendas, the desired result has not been delivered as efforts are undermined. Most political economists and development scholars buried in the *dependencia* propositions hold Nigeria's colonial past and experience as responsible for her backwardness. Some such as Claude Ake, Gunder Frank, Dos Sontos, averred that with the integration of Nigeria and other third world countries in the world capitalist orbit, by their socio-economic status and by the structure and character of the inherited post-colonial state, the dependent countries would not industrialize and develop. The exception rule is to delink from such exploitative relationship created by the world capitalist order. Recent scholars such as Alapiki (2005), Uranta (2019) etc. also follow such proportions. To this extent Alapiki averred:

Notwithstanding, the peculiarities of the structure of the post-colonial state (e.g., differences in class structure) the reality remains that the state survive only within the context of its dependence on developed economies. Since the economy and the state form an integral unity, the nature and the role of the state in Africa is tied to her economy which in turn is enmeshed in the global relation of production. The second assumption is that the nature of the enmeshment is influenced by the mode

or production that dominates and directs the global economy (Alapiki, cited in Uranta, 2019, p. 399).

Following the above, it is also averred that, “most of the western developed theories which the state of Africa had adopted and domesticated did not come in terms with the historical specificities of backward countries of which Nigeria is a good example”( Uranta, 2019,p. 397).

This position

worried the researcher to some extents. Going by the above and other assumptions of the dependency theorists, the integration of the Asian countries such as Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia etc into the world market could not have resulted in their development but disaster. The emergence these countries particularly Singapore accentuates that worry and brings the dependency proposition to circumspect. Singapore was a third world and dependent nations. It bears similar character of the post-colonial state. Astonishingly, Singapore, a small island of about 433 square mile ( Yew, 2010), with less resources as compared to Nigeria, which began the development race with Nigeria at same time had advanced industrially and joined the league of developed nations, leaving Nigeria behind. With the hindsight of their politico-historical background, the begging questions are: why have Singapore industrialized and developed? Why has Nigeria not development? Is it truly caused by the nature and the character of the Nigerian post- colonial state? What did Singapore did differently that occasion her pace of industrialization and accelerated development? What can Nigeria learn from the Singapore experience?

## **1.2. Objectives of the Study**

The overall aim of this paper is to examine the primary factor undermining the industrialization and development, otherwise called the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria. This will be done against the current of grand standing of popular theory that dominates development discourse especially among some self-acclaimed Marxist scholars. From the above premise, the objectives this of paper shall are to:

- i. investigate the relationship between the Nigerian state and development as industrialization in Nigeria;
- ii. investigate the problem of the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria.
- iii. demonstrate how the application of the Singapore example could answer the question of Nigeria’s industrialization crisis

### **1.3. Research Questions**

The simple questions the present paper asked and attempted to provide answers to are:

- i. What is the relationship between the Nigerian state and the industrialization in Nigeria?
- ii. What is the problem of the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria?
- iii. What differently did Singapore did to industrialize and develop and how can Nigeria benefit from the Singapore experience?

### **1.4. Significance of the study**

All intellectual research or discourses are in many ways about promotion of development. The present work is about development as industrialization. Industrialization, in all its ramifications, is a vehicle of economic growth and socio-economic development. This is despite the negative externalities it may sometimes generate and impact on the environment. This work significantly contributes to how Nigerian can resolve her industrialization per development crisis. It therefore adds to the existing body of literature on development.

Secondly, it calls for a re-visiting of the underlying currents of the dependency arguments. Their case selection and reference has been particularly for post-colonial, dependent and third world countries and their difficulty of escaping the dependency trap of global imperialism. This they argued remained the bane of their state of underdevelopment. The rising developmental profile of the Asian countries seems to have put paid to the historicity of the premise of the dependency proposition and arguments. In revisiting their proposition, the present suggest, they bring in racial denominator in the argument to make a difference. This may hold sway to some extent. Blanket application of the theory as it were to all society is no longer fashionable, it has become ahistorical.

Thirdly and fundamentally, present work also finds real time solution to the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria. The problem or the crisis is not caused by the character of the state. State qua state does not have a character. Such imposed state character that does not exist. The paper rather redirects attention to the character and behavior of the operators of the state.

## **2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1. The Concept of the State:**

The state, both as a concept and an entity has always been domineering in public and social discourse. The state therefore has an overbearing influence on all spheres of human endeavour. Notwithstanding the rampant theorizing and phenomenal growth in literature, the state lacks a settled usage. It is a collection of institutions; a territorial unit; a philosophical idea, an instrument of coercion or oppression and so on

For liberalist, the state is a neutral arbiter and balancer of things between contending (elite) groups in the society. This viewpoint denies the existence of any ruling class in whose interest state power is exercised. For Marxian Scholarship, the state is not what it pretends to be, as it is not a *reconciliator* nor balancer of antagonistic class interest and their inherent contradictions; it is rather “a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie...the form in which the individual of a ruling class assert their common interest” (Marx and Engel, 1967, p.37). Class dynamics of the state is hinged in Marxist interpretation of what the state is and is not. It is to this extent that the state supports the interest of the capitalist (see, Miliband cited Ekekwe, 1986). The state therefore embodies the contradiction of ruling. It is simultaneously an agent of the dominant class yet not controlled by it. “While the state does not act on behalf of the ruling class it does not for the most part act at its behest” (Miliband 1977 cited in (Ekekwe 1986). The state “is not a thing... it does not as such exist...what the state stands for is a number of particular institution(s) which together constitute its reality, and which interact as part of what may be called the state system” (Miliband, cited in Ekekwe, 1986,p.10). For them, the state cannot be separated from the economy. As such both political (state) power and economic power are interwoven.

It is the Marxist orientation that birthed the structuralist view of the state. This view is also of the position that the capitalist class maintains a structure through which it controls the state even though it does not administer the state directly (Poulantzas, cited in Ekekwe, (1986). This creates a more precarious situation for underdeveloped states such as the Nigerian state, whereby, its economy is manipulated from outside; as a state which appeared as an instrument of accumulation, it lacks autonomy for regulation (Alavi, 1979). This undermines its regulatory role of the post-colonial state. Thus, Alavi (1972) maintained, that state is an instrument of the ruling class in the promotion of capitalist accumulation under the guise of national

development. In doing so, it projects the accumulative interest of both foreign and domestic capital for its survival even against the health, survival and livelihood of its population.

The state is therefore the “crowning point of modern social edifice” (Laski, 1961, p.1 cited Nwosu, 2006). It is a veritable and salient agency in the advancement of society’s development. It is a political organization of human society that comprises organized attributes of contemporary institution which “consist of the executive, the judiciary, the legislature, administration, armed forces, the prison, governing parties and governmental institutions” (Toyo, 1987, p. 110). According to George-Genyi, (2005) these governmental institutions make and enforce laws that are binding on people within a definite geographical territory. These laws, rules or regulation determine the basis of the supreme authority in the land. The state, therefore, provided the structure through which the people and resources in a society are organized and policy priorities set up. It plays the role of organizing people and resources. The effectiveness of this is consequent upon the operational capacity of the state. This operational capacity, Dahl (1984) says is a function of the skill and loyalty of the citizens and the revenue available to the system.

## **2.2. The concept of the Nigerian State**

It is trite that the Nigerian state, as presently constituted is the product of colonialism. Extant literatures show it was externally created and imposed by forces of imperialism and colonialism as the socio-economic and political foundation of the development of capitalism in Nigeria as well as other colonized and third world countries. This clearly shows that the Nigerian State as presently constituted is/was not an indigenous construct designed and developed by Nigerians as a reflection of her historical-cultural heritage and experiences. Because it was forcefully implanted from the outside, the Nigerian State is said to reflect the vision of its implanters, aimed at the continuous plunder of the resources of the Nigerian State as a peripheral state in the system of global capitalism (see, Kieh & Agbese, 2014). For them, it is this external imposition imbued with the vision of its driving force that also defines the character of the Nigerian State.

To execute its mission and in order to effectively secure the control of the subjugated people and their resources, colonialism developed a repressive political architecture replete with unfriendly institutions and rules. As such, the state uses force as the *deus ex machina* in

enforcing obedience to the unfriendly, exploitative and repressive rules (see Ekekwe 1986; Ake, 1996; Kieh & Agbese, 2014; Nwosu, 2006).

This is the type of state that was said to have been bequeathed to Nigeria at independence, and its nature and structure of the have equally remained fundamentally unaltered. It follows that the nationalist leaders who took over the running of the affairs of the state at independence failed to restructure or dismantle the repressive colonial state. This is simply because, the state in the form bequeathed, serve better the interest of managers of the state. As such, they did not see the need to restructure or dismantle it. It is a fact that the culture of misrule that followed flag independence subverted the ideals of the nationalist struggle, to the extent that all attempts at restructuring the form of the state inherited from colonialism, has remained unsuccessful. So rather than restructure, dismantle or reconstruct the state to fit the yearnings of the independent Nigerian state, the leadership inherited the oppressive structure, ostensibly to continue with the exploitation of natural resources for private gains. Ake clearly elucidate it when he said:

The character of the colonial state did not change significantly at independence since with few exceptions; the colonial state was inherited rather than transformed. Like the colonizers before them, most of the nationalist leaders regarded the state as the instrument of their will. They privatized and exploited it for economic gains and used it oppressively and absolutize their power, even after independence, the state in Africa has not become a reassuring presence but remains a formidable threat to everybody except the few who controls it (Ake, 1994, p.7).

Ake in the above quote speaks more directly to Nigeria. To be sure, the inherited legacies of devastating colonialism and exploitation have continued unabated with far-reaching implication for Nigeria national development. This is so because, in Nigeria, political power or control of the state power is the most reliable means to accumulation of wealth. Armed with the “most oppressive instrument, the same state apparatus was bequeathed to the nationalist leadership dominated by majority elements in the same form, content and character and effectively utilize to suppressive...” (Ogali, 2017, p. 50). With its tenuous accumulative base, the Nigerian bourgeois class turned the state as its instrument of accumulation and “rather than building a productive base in industry, the bourgeois class began to extend the power of the state to build up its own capital base” (Ihonvbere, 2014, p. 100-101). To this extent, features of this state shows a total disconnect between the state and the society. The Nigerian state has shown from the above premise is said to have developed multi-dimensional characters. The



said character is described in the literature as “criminalized”, “exploitative”, “negligent”, “predatory” “rentier”, “dependent” and “prebendal” etc.

From the above understanding, Nigerian state is said to be rather more exploitative, negligent, predatory, rentier and dependent. These are general features or “character” of the post-colonial African state. The Nigerian state “wearing a negligent garb” therefore shows no interest in fettering to the basic needs of the people. It is not interested in development. The Nigerian state been malevolent and exhibits a predatory character. As predatory, it is like the *Dead sea does not give. It only takes*. It is a collection of self-interested persons solely concerned with the extraction of rent in form of economic resources (Jomo, 1997). Thus, the Nigerian ruling class uses the state and state power as a vehicle for accumulation of capital. Again, the Nigerian state shows the characteristic of a rentier state. Its operators are only interested in extracting rent in the form of economic resources. As a rentier state, it operates peripheral capitalism, dependent on externally generated revenue or rent derived from extractive industry such as oil rather than a productive domestic economy (Kuru, 2000). It is interested in the redistribution of wealth than the creation of wealth. Rent seeking is an overbearing feature of a predatory state. The predatory state would negate all attempts of meaningful and purposeful involvement of the state in economic development and social transformation.

### **2.3. Crisis of Industrialization**

The degree of economic development is also an indication of level of industrialization and infrastructural development. Industrialization is a component of economic development. Meanwhile, economic development is the process of sustained increase in average living standard or overall human welfare in a given country. There are two approaches to industrialization: the capitalist approach and socialist approach. Their currents and features vary. There will be no need dissipating energies and space on the features in the present work. Industrialization refers to an “increase in the share of manufacturing in the Gross National Product (GNP) and in the composition of the economically active population” (Iwuagwu, 2009, p.153). It is “the development of economic activity in relatively large units of production using machinery and other capital asset” (Remmer cited in Adefolaju, 2017, p.2). Samita says, “industrialization is the marked departure from a subsistence economy that is largely agricultural towards a more mechanized system of production that entails more efficient and highly technical exploitation of natural resources in a highly formal and commercialized economic setting” ( cited in Otohile & Ebomoyi (2016, p.11). This is such that agriculture,

fishing, lumbering, mining, extraction of oil and gas is transformed into a value adding process based on manufacturing.

Generally industrialization is concerned with the expansion of the manufacturing sector to be the highest contributor to GDP, including the generation of electricity and the growth of its communications network. Industrialization reduces reliance on the extractive industries and increasing that of the secondary and tertiary sector. It raises productivity, creates employment, reduces exposure to risk, causes improved balance of payment, economic stimulation and diversification, technological development and knowledge transfer, training and development of skill and manpower, infrastructural development, enhance income generation assets of the people and diversify the economy and export. It explodes growth. As manufacturing activity expand, instead of running against shortage of land or resources as obtainable in agriculture or extractive industries. It produces economics of scale. The beauty of industrial development is that it results in improved socio-economic condition and welfare.

The absence of industrialization or stimulation of industrialization is referred to as the crisis of industrialization. Crisis is a situation a complex or high level of uncertainty and threat or perceived threat to the actualization of a group or societal goals. Nigeria has suffered from the crisis of industrialization and development. Some sources such as Otohile & Ebomoyi (2016), Yahaya (2003), Cheta *et al* (2013) etc. say factors such as shortage of capital and resources as well as poor use of available resources account Nigeria's industrialization crisis. This is what stopped Nigeria from productivity investing the surplus from oil in necessary oil economy for industrialization. Sometimes the "character" of the state is said to be responsible.

#### **2.4. Theoretical Framework**

The present work finds the resource curse theory as a most suitable explanatory framework, especially in reference to Nigeria. The resource curse theory otherwise called the paradox of plenty or the poverty paradox is popularly identified with Richard Auty. Resource curse is a characteristic or phenomenon of countries with abundance of natural resources having less economic growth and development (Smith & Walder, 2021). Auty (2000) used the theory to explain how countries rich in natural and mineral resources did not leverage on resource wealth to boost economic development. It has been argued that in countries of the greatest plenty, there is the poorest living. Sach & Warner (1995) also corroborate Auty's position by finding a strong correlation between natural resource abundance and poor economic growth.

Nigeria is a country endowed with abundant human and natural resources, yet it has not experienced the much-expected development. There is the difficulty of managing the complex side-effects of the new found abundant resource. No doubt, it fairly managed the agricultural surplus of the early independence era than it did its oil wealth. There is the misuse of natural resource wealth. Nigeria extract resource wealth such as oil and gas, sell and distribute oil rent without value addition. There is much emphasis on redistribution of wealth than creation of wealth. The outcome of the redistribution is often conflict and other vices of underdevelopment. This suggests that the manner in which resource income is spent, a system of government (particularly leadership) type has been used to explain success or failure (Torvik, 2009). This theory properly explains Nigeria reduced or stagnated economic growth, industrialization and development.

Resource wealth in Nigeria has become a curse rather than a blessing. There is the underutilization, misappropriation and wastage of rent that accrues from natural resources leading to less growth and underdevelopment. This is because natural resources generate rent which leads to rapacious rent seeking and abandonment of other sector in favour of the currently booming sector. This increases corruption. Corruption undermines growth and development. Natural resource abundance also exposes countries to volatility particularly commodity price. It is susceptible to the Dutch-disease- the tendency of real exchange rate becoming overly appreciated in response to positive price shock (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012).

This paper aligns with the understanding that the industrialization, economic growth and resource rich country depends highly on leaders and actors. Except the character and behavior of the leaders and actors' changes; or except the followership allows the ascendance of a charismatic and transformational leader that manage the resource wealth well, there will be no industrialization, no development, no progress.

### **3. Methodology**

The present work is essentially desktop research. It is qualitative, empirical, but theoretical. Reliance was placed on secondary data. The secondary data were generated from books, academic journals, newspaper etc. As desktop research, the World Wide Web otherwise called internet also provided very useful for this work.

As a qualitative and theoretical research, this paper used the descriptive research design. It also adopted content analysis for the interpretation of the secondary data. Meanwhile, content

analysis is a research technique used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material by systematically evaluating the texts.

#### **4. Data Presentation and Analysis**

In this section and for the present work, data presentation and analysis are taken together. The method adopted was to recall the research questions and attempted providing answers for them using secondary data. The section on discussion of findings is, however, separate.

##### **4.1. The relationship between Nigerian state and industrialization**

This is the first issue formulated from the first research question. The first research question asked: *what is the relationship between the Nigerian state and industrialization?* This discourse here under is an attempt is to establish a relationship between the Nigerian state and industrialization.

The state is an organization of power. The state is the planner and regulator of industrialization. It is the responsibility of the state represented by the government to organize the institutions of the state and its resources for development. It performs the regulatory role organizing industrialization for development. This role the state has glorified itself to be performing. The Nigerian state has since independence, experimented different development model in its drive to industrialize. It has also at different times adopted socialist and capitalist approaches of industrialization. The models so far experimented include nationalization, indigenization, self-reliance, import- substitution, free market strategy.

There was the Nigeria Post-Independence industrialization period of the 1960 to the oil burst; (1980-1985). At the time monoculture economy built around agriculture gave way to another monoculture built around oil. The main policy thrusts of the period were import substitution and industrialization, later indigenization decree of 1972. This was the period centralization of industrialization planning and excessive government involvement. There was increased percentage of contribution of manufacturing to the GDP. This is shown under 4.3 below. This period snowballed into the SAP years of 1986-1998 (and all its troubles) and to the period of consolidation of structural reforms of 1999-till date. The Nigeria state efforts at industrialization led to the first national development plan (1962-1968), the second national development plan (1970-1974), third national development plan (1975-1980) and fourth national development plans (1985- 1988). There was also the economic stabilization

programme, structural adjustment programme, rolling plan, guided deregulation. At the dawn of democracy in 1999, It began with Vision 2010, later vision 20:2020, National Economic Empowerment and Development Scheme (NEEDS), transformation agenda and now Vision 20:2050. This manner of programme is what Ake (1996) described as “a confusion of agendas”. All these were geared towards socio-economic development and infrastructural expansion, industrialization and diversification. The summary is that there has been effort by the Nigerian state to industrialize; however, it has not produced the needed result. There is therefore a crisis of industrialization. All the above shows that the Nigerian state is the regulator of industrialization and development.

Another relationship could be inferred. That is to the extent that the early post- independence for industrialization said to be driven by ideology. This perhaps would have been against the argument Nigeria development policy lack ideology. In any case, the capacity to pursue and achieve social reforms and transformation depends on appropriate developmental ideology. Post-independence Nigeria political parties as the vehicle in pursuit of state all professed ideologies. For instance, Nnamdi Azikwe’s National Convention for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was premised on the ideology of “building a socialist commonwealth”. Obafemi Awolowo’s Action Group (AG) was supposedly premised on “democratic socialism” founded on the principle of national greatness, the well-being of individual and international brotherhood. The Northern People Congress (NPC) prided itself as the “vanguard of the people” (see, Mahmud, 1996) unfortunately, these were not developmental ideologies. They were mere slogans. Yes, surprisingly, this was the Zik who “at his time was one of the richest entrepreneurs in Nigeria”; an Awo that “all his life had been known to be a successful business” and an NPC that “brutally oppressed the people” (Mahmud, 1996, p.94). Against the above, the development drive of the present period is more focused on the capitalist model. It is more of private sector driven.

#### **4.2. The problem of the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria**

This second issue for analysis is drawn from the second research question which asked: *What is the problem of the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria?* In providing answers to the this, the extant literatures have identified: electricity, institutional inadequacies and pervasive corruption (Yahaya,2003; Otoghile & Ebomoyi 2016); policy inconsistency and lack of enabling environment, dearth of infrastructure, poor capacity utilization and insecurity(Iwuagwu,2019; Adefolaju, 2017); nature and character of the post-colonial state (Agbo, 2006)

etc. as the problem of the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria. This amounts to scratching the surface.

Centrally, the argument has been that the nature of the post-colonial state as designed and externally created, oriented, imposed and bequeathed to Nigeria as an appendage of the world capitalist system was not meant to develop (Agbese & Kieh, Jnr. 2014). It served as means of accumulation instead of service, nation building, industrialization, and development. Dependency theories wore it the character of a predator, rentier, patrimonial, neo-patrimonial, dependent, exploitative, repressive etc just to fit the *dependencia* rationalization of peripheral and third world states underdevelopment; on the strength of which they said the Nigerian state was collapsing and failing. No doubt it is failing. In any case, such” projected debate of the failure of the state if properly understood is a failure of the government (*operators of the state*) to effectively carry out its nation building function” (Kalu, 2014, p.188) and as such industrialization and development. The post-independent Nigerian leaders gambled with the resources, future and destiny of Nigeria and Nigerians. They failed from the onset. They gave the country a false start with no clear vision and political will for transformation. They were enamored or enmeshed in redistribution of a surplus that never actually existed. There was no emphasis on hard work to produce the surplus. They were carried away by the slogan of “uhuru-freedom, instead of uhuru na kaze- freedom means hard work” (Ake, 1996, p.9).

Given a country’s resources, it is human behavior and institutions that determine the rate of growth (Lewis, 1954). It is the manner of organizing resources that had hindered industrialization in Nigeria. This springs from the behaviour and character of the operators of the state and not any non-existent character of the any state. As such, the Nigerian state is made ineffective by the manner of organizing the resources of the state for development. This is not strange. It also springs from a wrong behavioural foundation that sees the state and state power as a means of accumulation for selfish advantage instead seeing it as a rallying point, a spring board and organized force of development. It is the lack of vision, poor organization of resource, kleptocratic behavior and character of the operators of the Nigerian that sabotaged and killed the investments made in the Ajeokuta iron and steels complex that would have revolutionized industrialization in Nigeria. The Ajeokuta steel mill later became a white elephant project with an investment of more than USD 5 Billion. It yielded no return to the country (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012). It is the same that is undermining the functionality of the power sector, refineries and other industrial initiatives. This is the manifestation of the resource curse.

Nigeria is truly suffering from the resource curse. Since the oil boom, attention has shifted from “industrial activities of a productive nature to over dependence on a single commodity” (Umezulike, 2016, p.54). Okonjo-Iweala corroborates this position. She maintains that Nigeria is suffering from the resource curse otherwise called the Dutch- Disease. She avers:

The surge in oil production in the 1970s in conjunction with the oil shock had profound effects on the shape and structure of Nigeria’s economy and politics. A diversifying economy before 1970, Nigeria quickly turned into a monoculture economy based on oil. The surge in oil was not managed properly, and the economy was awash with considerable liquidity (including foreign exchange) chasing too few goods. This quickly manifested in all the classic signs of the Dutch- Disease (Okonjo-Iweala, 2012, p.3).

Nigeria typifies the “paradoxical characteristic of the dominance of affliction in the face of seeming affluence” (Ibeanu, cited in Ferguson, 2019, 369). It is the personification for abundance resource that are largely paralyzed by mis-governance and perfunctorily commitment to the corporate good of insensitive ruling elites (class)” (Mimiko, 2010, p.12). The leadership lack vision. It has failed to rise to challenge the perennial challenge of sacrifice. It lacks commitment to nation building, industrialization and development. Leadership is the problem of the crisis of industrialization in Nigeria.

#### **4.3. Industrialization and development in Singapore: Lessons for Nigeria**

This issue last and very important issue is generated from the third research question. The third research question asked: *what differently did Singapore did to industrialize and develop and how can Nigeria benefit from the Singapore experience?*

Again, it has been the assumption of the dependency theorist that the integration of third world countries including Asian countries into the world market will end in disaster. The Asian emergence has shockingly put paid to such *ahistorical* proposition. “Comparative economic history educated better. “Comparative economic history tells us that “a country beginning industrialization is a relative backwardness requires leadership and strong action to get started. Especially during the years of transitions, the private sector... individual without policy... played a less active role... the impetus for action had to come from government” (Rosovsky, 199,p.14,15). This was the case of Singapore. Certain factor accounted for this.

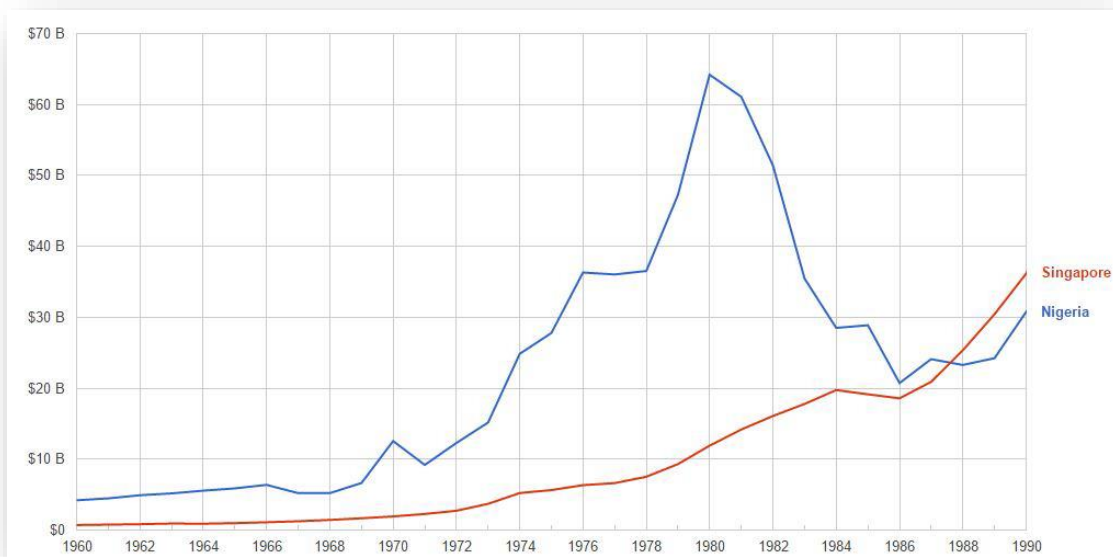
The strongest factor in Singapore rise was its leadership and political stability. It is important to note that industrialization is about gut. Singapore acknowledged her lack of natural and

mineral resources, except for port and harbor, leveraged on it as a strategic geography resource and chose the path of prudence and development. Singapore for over 40 transformational years of her struggle with industrialization and development; ran a *totalitarian democracy* under the guidance of a visionary, charismatic and transformational leader, Lee Kuan Yew as Prime Minister. It became a developmental state for its needs and aspirations. Under controversial but transformational totalitarian democracy, highly controversial but determined and effective leadership, Singapore gave up some freedom in pursuit of economic growth, development and industrialization, through pragmatic policies. The draconian but business friendly laws and environment appealed to international investment (Yew, 2010). Transformational leadership and political stability birthed focus and policy consistency. This was the mask behind the economic transformation of the Asian Tiger (Eremie, *et al*, 2019). Under a pragmatic leadership, Singapore invested in research and development (R& D) for local technological acquisition, foreign technology adaptation, technological innovation, coordinated investment through supplying inputs necessary for industrialization.

In all circumstance therefore, the first independence government of Singapore was focused on development. Also the early post-independence leadership of Nigeria was somehow focused when agriculture was the mainstay of the economy. It had an impressive growth compared to Singapore. (see, figure 1. below). Suddenly the economic fortunes of Nigeria began recording negative figures from about 1980. This was the turn of the period of the oil boom and a period where-after Nigeria began blaming a certain nature and character of a bequeathed post-colonial state; a period of essaying, proselytizing and experimenting with different models and approaches of development. Within same period Singapore was focused and embarked on a sustained effort at industrialization. It stuck to export oriented, free market development strategies. It began by focusing on first class infrastructural development through industrial estates, transportation and communication networks to attract investment. This triggered manufacturing, industrialization and attracted Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Singapore has industrialized and moved from amongst countries of the third world to join the lead of first world countries with impressive economic and development indices (Yew, 2010). The figure below explains the trend in Singapore development particular GDP, viz -a –viz Nigeria.

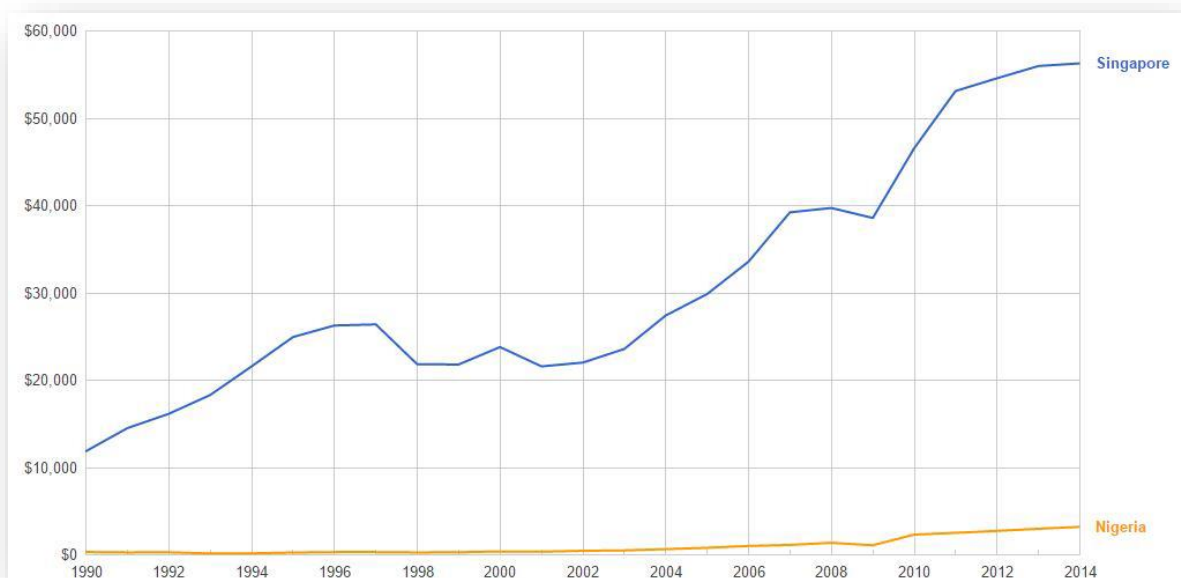


**Figure 1: Real GDP(s) of Nigeria and Singapore in US\$ (1960 - 1990)**



*Source: World Bank (1991).*

**Figure 2: Real GDP(s) of Nigeria and Singapore in US\$ (1990 - 2014)**



*Source: World Bank (2015).*

By available records of the World Bank from which the figures above were constructed (World Bank, 1991; World Bank, 2015), Nigeria's GDP at independence stood U\$4.1 billion. Between 1960 and 1966, the economy grew at an outstanding average annual rate of 8.3% (led by agriculture) more than the 4% that was targeted in the 1st National Development Plan (see figure 1). However, the Civil War (1967 -1970) interrupted growth. The 70s era saw Nigeria recording extreme high GDP growth rate. Between 1970 and 1975, the GDP jumped from \$12 billion to \$27 billion. This was greatly influenced by the oil boom of the early 70s brought enormous oil revenues earnings. GDP performance slowed from the early 80s based on fall in oil prices, economic mismanagement and global recession; and the economy went into recession. The introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) between 1986 and 1990 helped to stabilize the economic slide slightly and temporary. Growth rate in the 90s was 2.2%. This was as a result of factors such as economic mismanagement and international oil price fluctuations.

On the other side, Singapore's GDP as shown in figure 2 above is driven by services and industry. Between 1960 and 1990, its first government pursued economic reforms that were geared towards attracting Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and industrialization. This saw Singapore's GDP growing from \$1 billion in 1960 to \$36 billion in 1990 (see figure 1). Real growth averaged 8.0% from 1960 to 1999. Growth slowed down during the Asian financial crisis. However, growth picked up in 1999 after the financial crisis, with a growth rate of 5.4%, followed by 9.9% for 2000 (see, figure 2). In 2001, it was reduced to a negative 2.0%. The economy expanded by 2.2% the following year and by 1.1% in 2003. Subsequently, a major turnaround which occurred in 2004 allowed it to make a significant recovery of 8.3% growth, although the actual growth fell short of the target growth for the year with only 2.5%. In 2005, economic growth was 6.4%; and in 2006, 7.9%. Altogether, from 1990 – 2014, the GDP grew from \$36 billion to \$300 billion.

Today Singapore is developed and industrialized, Nigeria is not. Singapore's main production is in electronic, integrated circuits and computers, chemical and pharmaceutical products (Umezulike, 2016). It had the 3<sup>rd</sup> highest per capita (measured in purchasing power parity, PPP) in the world which stood at USD 82,762 (World Bank, 2019). It has more than seven thousand (7000) Multinational Corporations (MNC) contributing to its' GDP. It is the most competitive economy in the world (World Bank, 2019). It boasts of the best aviation sector in the world. Singapore is the largest rig producer, 3<sup>rd</sup> largest oil refining and trading (through it does not

have crude oil), 4<sup>th</sup> leading financial centre, major hub for ship building and repairs (Adam, 2011).

#### **4.4. Discussion of Findings**

From the analysis and discussions above, the paper found that Singapore is a developmental state, Nigeria is not. Both shared similar historic-political experience. Singapore has industrialized and development, Nigeria has not. The difference lies in leadership. While Singapore got a visionary and transformational leadership, cronyism and nepotism undermine the emergence of such leadership in Nigeria. It is the kleptocratic nature, behavior and self-sabotage of the Nigerian ruling class that is the root her economic backwardness and non-industrialization.

Secondly, system of government is another accounting factor development. Emerging economies are shown to grow faster under a totalitarian system with a visionary and transformational leadership than under certain liberal democracy. Long rule or totalitarianism ensured stability and policy consistency. While Nigeria is authoritarian, Singapore is totalitarian. There is distinction between these two.

What distinguishes totalitarianism from authoritarianism is its intention to introduce a system of positive value completely different from those prevailing in society... totalitarianism is tied to a new social value and ideology... authoritarianism is conservative... totalitarianism is revolutionary. The new system of value first of all give birth to new criteria of ought- to- be, put up against the values actually governing conduct with a society and system of value determined by the objective sought and by the problem of their realization (Drath, cited in Mahmud, 1996,p.106)

The case of Asian tigers demonstrates this. The emerging Rwandan economy under Paul Kagame is another worthy example. This is so because; it is the action, behavior choices and commitment of leadership whether liberal democratic totalitarian that drives social progress. Unfortunate for reasons earlier explained, such right system or leadership has not emerged in Nigeria.

Finally, the present work found the explanations, assumptions, and rationalization of the dependency theorists ahistorical and therefore not in sync with contemporary reality. If dependency relationship did not hold back the industrialization and development of the

Singapore and other Asian tigers, then it is not holding down the development of Nigeria. If the character of a post-colonial state did not undermine the development of these countries, then it is not responsible for the Nigeria's underdevelopment. The Nigeria post-colonial state does not have a character, the ruling elements does. Their character is responsible for the crisis of Nigeria's industrialization.

## **5. Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations**

The main thrust of the present paper is the argument that industrialization anywhere is has been the result of conscious political efforts with aftermath as socio-economic and structural transformation qua development. The present work also advanced the argument that the Nigerian state, like many other states, is a post-colonial state. The Nigerian post-colonial state, because of certain stereotyped rationalizations, is forcefully dressed in a borrowed robe or character it does not have nor own in a real sense. This forced robe of nature and character, which is rather a nature and character of the operators of the institutions of the state is used to explain her underdevelopment and lack of progress. But assuming without conceding that the Nigerian state have a nature and character which it carried through, unaltered, unmasked and "unmaked", which has hindered her social, then as Achebe (1983) will educate, the simply and squarely wrong with leadership. The non-transformation of the Nigerian state is a problem of leadership failure. It ought to unclthe the state of the character of underdevelopment. The failure to differentiate or separate the state from social classes or ethnic cleavages of the operators of the state has given rise to a state that have become a channel of private accumulation for selfish purpose and prebendal ends. This undermines social progress.

To industrialize and develop, there is need for a transformational leadership. The character of the operators of the state which has undermined efforts at development must be transformed through the action of the people. The people must however by all means hold leaders accountable. This starts with a transformation of the character and intellect of present and upcoming generations. That leadership that will salvage Nigeria must not necessarily come through a democratic process. Without sounding vulgar or playing the devil's advocate, it could be a totalitarian leader or a *benevolent* dictator. What is important is the emergence of a visionary, charismatic and transformational leader with strong political will to make sacrifices, champion, organize, develop and utilize Nigeria's abundance human and natural resources on the path of nation building, industrialization and development.

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