

COLONIAL VESTIGES, INDIGENOUS POLICY-LOGICAL-FRAMEWORK, AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Countries in Africa continue to represent practical examples of failed nation-states due to the persistence of all known indicators of underdevelopment. Ironically, the continent has a proud social history that eulogizes its contribution to global development. However, a careful look at most of the countries (such as Nigeria) that make up the continent reveals an image of adverse human development realities. This negative socio-economic scenario has put the continent at the forefront of foreign aid destinations even though Africa has all it takes to drive a healthy development agenda. The manner with which development policies are far removed from the reach of the masses in terms of their input, needs, and aspirations, shows the nature of the colonial character that surrounds policymaking in a country like Nigeria. It is the submission of this paper, that decolonizing policy-making processes and ensuring that the masses are integrated into the process would go a long way to synthesize the indigenous aspirations, elite groups, and valid experience for sustainable development. Hence, using the colonial policy template diagram and the post-colonial policy template diagram of successive governments, the paper evaluated the structure of policymaking and implementation in Nigeria and the disconnection between policy objectives and realities in the economy. Based on the findings, the paper recommends an indigenous and populist informed policymaking process to reverse the colonization of development policies in Nigeria and to engender a sustainable development policy trajectory.

Keywords: Policy-Decolonization, Logical-Framework, Socioeconomic Policies, Social Institutions, Sustainable Development

ABSTRAK

Negara-negara di Afrika terus mewakili contoh-contoh praktis negara-bangsa yang gagal karena bertahannya semua indikator keterbelakangan yang diketahui. Ironisnya, benua itu memiliki sejarah sosial yang membanggakan yang memuji kontribusinya terhadap pembangunan global. Namun, pengamatan yang cermat pada sebagian besar negara (seperti Nigeria) yang membentuk benua mengungkapkan gambaran realitas pembangunan manusia yang merugikan. Skenario sosial-ekonomi negatif ini telah menempatkan benua Afrika di garis depan tujuan bantuan asing meskipun Afrika memiliki semua yang diperlukan untuk mendorong agenda pembangunan yang sehat. Cara kebijakan pembangunan yang jauh dari jangkauan massa dalam hal masukan, kebutuhan, dan aspirasi mereka, menunjukkan sifat karakter kolonial yang melingkupi pembuatan kebijakan di negara seperti Nigeria. Makalah ini menggambarkan proses dekolonisasi pembuatan kebijakan dan memastikan bahwa massa terintegrasi ke dalam proses akan sangat membantu mensintesis aspirasi masyarakat adat, kelompok elit, dan pengalaman yang valid untuk pembangunan berkelanjutan. Oleh karena itu, dengan menggunakan diagram kebijakan kolonial dan diagram kebijakan pascakolonial dari pemerintahan yang berurutan, makalah ini mengevaluasi struktur perumusan dan implementasi kebijakan di Nigeria dan pemutusan antara tujuan kebijakan dan realitas dalam perekonomian. Berdasarkan temuan, makalah ini merekomendasikan proses pembuatan kebijakan yang diinformasikan oleh masyarakat adat dan populis untuk membalikkan kolonisasi kebijakan pembangunan di Nigeria dan menghasilkan lintasan kebijakan pembangunan yang berkelanjutan.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan-Dekolonisasi, Kerangka Logis, Kebijakan Sosial Ekonomi, Institusi Sosial, Pembangunan Berkelanjutan,

INTRODUCTION

Across the African continent lies the large chunk of colonial history, as was spearheaded by European nations. Perhaps, Ethiopia is the only nation in the African continent that has no colonial history, especially the European style. Among these nations with colonial history in Africa, there is a symbolic mark on their socioeconomic and political history in the past (colonial era), presently (neocolonial era), which may not likely go as such in the future (due to the smokescreen of globalization). The structural designs given to the socioeconomic institutions and allied policies in these colonized nations are such that could not be easily laid off the system (Okafor, 2019). Among these structural designs is the European socioeconomic model for easy administration during the colonial era, socioeconomic policy process isolated from the ruled (the electorate in modern Nigerian political parlance), and the logical framework of external dependency.

Nigeria, as one of the colonized in the African continent, bears the symbolic mark of colonialism, which has defined her socioeconomic/political outlook and prospect before the global socioeconomic and developmental paradigm. From the onset of colonialists' activities in Nigeria to the present pseudo-post-colonial state, Nigeria has continued in the harmful effects of colonial vestiges. According to Shokpeka and Nwaokocha (2009), the colonialists' approach to the socioeconomic welfare of the indigenous people was structurally designed to undermine the indigenous livelihood and to perpetually place them under constant impoverishment compared to the global socioeconomic outlook of each epoch. More so, the appearance of the colonialists in the socioeconomic and political landscape of present-day Nigeria, re-engineered the empirical understanding and approach of the phenomenon in the brain wave and experience of the indigenous people of the country, both in the colonial era and in the present neocolonial era. Okafor (2017) has traced the colonial vestiges in Nigeria into the stealth phenomenon of neocolonialism (a concept that aptly captured the transformation of colonialism into friendly socioeconomic and political abuse of the colonized nations by their former colonialists and other emerging colonialists).

From the location of the colonialists' residence to the policy statements, which guided the colonial administration, the indigenous people were isolated and by implication, placed in the category of the lower class/inferior group (Nwanunobi, 2001); a situation that continued into the post-colonial era. The socio-economic policies were only designed by Britain to suit the interest of the colonial government controlled by London. The colonialist agents only make a recommendation for policy modification, when the colonized revolted and where armed suppression could not subdue the colonized (Igbafe, 1979). This policy-making pattern played into

the major socioeconomic institutions in the postcolonial era and eventually made the nation vulnerable to neocolonialism and external-dependency socioeconomic logical policy framework (Okafor, 2020). The vestiges of colonialism and neocolonialism in the current socio-economic policies in Nigeria as one of the colonized is more complicated than the colonial experience itself. While colonialism appeared overtly with the colonized facing the human elements of the colonial structures, neocolonialism is covertly degrading the socioeconomic lives of the nation as a bilateral socio-economic and political relationship with the faceless former colonialist and the neocolonialists.

Although in reaction to the colonial situation Nigerian government after independence, clamorously declared policy of indigenization (a concept, which claimed to have focused on decolonizing the country), the process succumbed to the venom of colonial vestiges, which have already enslaved the country to her former colonialist. Rather than focusing on the circumstantial operation of the policy processes, the aforementioned move simply operates a policy of decolonization within the colonialists' policy devaluation framework. Colonialists' socioeconomic policy evaluation framework is a socio-historical colossus that has submerged the decades of developmental policies aimed at leveraging the nation from the colonial leftover of challenges. As such, to deal with the phenomenon of colonialism and its transformed form of neocolonialism, there is a need to redesign the trajectory of the socioeconomic and political policy process itself for clarity of purpose and consistency in the sustainable development agenda.

The present study is aimed at unveiling the colonial and postcolonial policies processes in Nigeria, and their implication to the ongoing neocolonialism, with a focus on proposing sustainable development, informed policy-decolonization framework. Although there have been numerous works over the decades, that have been carried out on colonialism and decolonization, the peculiarity of the present study lies in the understanding of the fluid networks of colonial, neocolonial, and socioeconomic policy logical-framework in Nigeria since the theoretical end of colonialism. The paper has at the heart of its task, the critical examination of colonial documentation on socioeconomic policies in major social institutions in Nigeria; using these to explain the present socio-economic and institutional challenges in Nigeria and putting forward, domestic and international policy structural model for sustainable development in Nigeria.

Concepts of Interest in the Study

The concept of colonialism as it operated in Africa, can be captured with the picturesque of Portugal penetration of Africa around the 14th century with a focus on the indirect and forceful

domination of the small scale societies found in Africa in the quest of building business empires in the African continent (Shokpeka&Nwaokocha, 2009; Arukwe, 2010; Ziltener, Künzler& Walter, 2017). Formally, the theoretical concept of colonialism to be realized later was set in motion by the 1884 Berlin conference in Germany, which empowered the European nations to take over the African small scale society in the smokescreen of civilization mission. With the avalanche of information so far revealing the classified and covert interest of colonialism and the pseudo missionary activities of the Europeans at the time, colonialism can be captioned in the definitional framework as the politico-economic mission in Africa [with the situation in Nigeria as evidence] by the European nations aimed at, facilitating the network of capitalism and exploitation in their modified forms among the so-called third world societies. These were aroused by the scarcity of needed natural and human resources for industrial productions and were powered by political will mustered by the industrialists via the political networks of the European nations (Okafor, 2020).

Neocolonialism is a modified but advanced form of colonialism, with more complex processes of operation (Osman, 2017). Neocolonialism is the covert socioeconomic and political domination of the developing and underdeveloped nations by their colonizers and new colonialists looking for territories. This is actualized through economic and political influence via the global network of power equations such as the United Nations, regional organizations such as the African Union, and the Economic Community of West African States (in the case of Nigeria) (Okafor, 2020). Furthermore, Okafor opined that the indices of neocolonialism include foreign aids, political cum economic advice, and other vertical bilateral relationship. The symptoms include the inability to make critical domestic and international decisions without the covert or overt approval from the developed nations in this relationship.

Socioeconomic policies are those decisions appearing as quasi statutory statements and documentation specific to timeframe, with regard to the numerous situations of the different social institutions of the society such as political, economic, family, education, religious and cultural institutions; putting into consideration, the availability and scarcity of resources at the dispose of the government in question (Okafor, 2020). Equally, social institutions as a generic concept, capture the dominant understanding and bunch of rules governing the aspects of human social existence, which covers how we survive (economy), how we relate with each other (involving the microcosm[family] and the macrocosm[the society in general]), how we learn (education), what we believe in (religion) and how we acquire and exercise power (politics).

According to Laurijssen and Spruyt (2014), populism is the theoretical and empirical option for the hapless masses in the face of ever-growing selfish and group-induced interests among the

elites. For more socioeconomic and political framework put together as this paper focused to deal with, populism is the concept capturing the activity instead of passivity of the concerned masses in the society in the face of the elite class dominating the decision-making affairs in the society (Okafor, 2020).

Meanwhile, the logical framework of socioeconomic policies captures the covert sum of cause-effect action analogy of the basic interests, principles, and agenda, guiding the initiation, making, and implementation of socio-economic policies (Okafor, 2020). Similarly, Policy-decolonization captures the processes involved in decolonizing policy orientation among the colonized. Contrary to the popular concept of “policy of decolonization” among the majority of the colonized nations across Africa and Latin America, policy-decolonization focuses on changing the policy orientation, whose logical framework anchors on the colonialists’ covert intentions and strategies in exploiting the colonized during the colonial era.

The Logical Framework of Colonial Socioeconomic Policies: Nature, Indices in the Major Social Institutions and Implications to the Colonial Subjects

In the words of Shokpeka and Nwokeocha (2009:1), “The colonial economy in most African nations was structured to improve the economies of the colonizing or metropolitan powers”. Although there are claims of civilization mission via missionaries, who opened the gateway into the subconscious mind of the vulnerable colonial subjects for the colonialists, there is evidence that faulted the genuineness of the mission (Ekundare, 1973; Njoku, 1987). The deep interpretation of the timeframe of the missionaries’ intervention, the interaction between the metropolitan governments and the missionaries in the field, and the subsequent policy reactions to the missionaries’ activities in the colonies especially in the case of Nigeria, speaks volumes about the role of “civilization mission” in perpetuating the colonial agenda (Ekundare, 1973; Arukwe, 2010). There are several surface arguments by the colonialists and the colonialists’ apologists, capable of displaying the picturesque of developmental intension by the colonialists’ activities however, the empirical indices found in the policy structures and contents of the colonial administrations really betrayed the colonialists’ intension (Aghalino, 2000; Crowder, 1968; Dike, 1956). The logical framework of the colonialists’ socioeconomic policies in Nigeria was founded on the immediate and remote socioeconomic needs of the metropolitan government especially because of the industrial revolution and first and second world wars, which generated these needs.

The *logical framework* of the colonial socio-economic policies was first informed, by the basic needs of the metropolitan population such as food, clothing, and shelter (at least in the

primary definition of human basic needs). While industrialization fueled the high consumption needs of the metropolitan population, the natural and human resources required to maintain the high consumption standard, were scarce in the metropolitan population and geography. In a quest to satisfy the collective consumption needs of the metropolitan population such as human resources and raw materials for the industrialized farming and the local factories, the slave markets in Africa began to attract the Europeans first, the Portuguese and later Spain, Britain, and America. According to Ekudare (1973), the slave trade roughly started in 1444 with the first shipment to Portugal. The early slaves were sold to wealthy men for house chores and farming activities. However, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards had joined in the trade. The first batch of slaves from West Africa arrived at the Spanish island of Haiti in 1510, and another batch arrived in Cuba in 1521. This was as a result of the incompetence of red Indians in the Latin American farms and that of Mexico, compared to the African slaves, who were found ten times stronger than the Red Indians (Bandinel, 1969; Blake, 1937). The competence of the African slaves in the farming industry in Latin America started telling on the European and American network of markets, as there were more supplies from the farmers in Latin America, who used African slaves (Ekundare, 1973); of course, by 1576, it was recorded that about 40,000 African slaves have entered into Spanish Southern American territory, though Spaniards themselves were not interested in the final use of the slaves save for the middleman business of slave trade. In the subsequent years, European nations with the observation of the positive effect of slave workers joined the trade with the approval of slave trading companies first, the Royal African Company, and later other trading companies on the African coast. The Royal African Company alone transported about 91,000 slaves to the English West Indies within thirty-nine years (1673-1711) (Boahen, 1966; Bovill, 1968). Among the European nations involved in the slave trade (the platform that ushered in colonialism proper), including Britain, the first agenda was to use the human resources of the African slaves to meet the needs of their farming industry and other factories feeding the basic needs of the metropolitan population.

From the onset of colonialism, the need for economic capital expansion arose as the European and South American nations competed in the global market. While the colonialists adjusted the slave-trading pattern from the shipping of human beings to the metropolitan territories to using the slaves in their own (the colonized) territories, the underlying logic of the socioeconomic policy shifted to using the colonial territories in producing the much-needed goods for the metropolitan population such as agricultural goods and other raw materials. These were shipped from the colonial territory to the metropolitan population. As such, the colonialists enacted

policy statutes to compel the colonized to intensify farming for the metropolitan market. In Nigeria, such policy was focused on land acquisition, types of farming, and types of crops (Aghalino, 2000, Shokpeka&Nwaokocha, 2009). While the foreign companies dealing in the farming industry were granted a concession to the indigenous lands, the indigenous people were forced to work as quasi slaves in these farms and also to give up their lands to the colonialists' government, which had ostensibly set up a development program, to deceive the people into believing that such was in their interest. According to ShokpekaandNwaokocha, (2009), such policy forced the indigenous people out of their routine farming for basic needs into the cash crop business resulting in food crises. In the Niger Delta region, for instance, acquisition of land by the foreign companies and palm plantation was intensified; transferring, the majority of the available lands to these companies as the indigenous people were yet to pick interest in the business and have no financial capacity required for the business (Hopkins, 1973; Julius, 1928; Ikime, 1972). The following table displays the compilation of land acquisition for oil palm and the increase in the number of planters empowered for the business in the Niger Delta region during the active years of colonial administration.

Table 1. Progress of Planting of Oil Palm Trees Urhobo/Isoko; 1932-1937

Year	No. of Planters	No. of Extension of Groves	Average% Increase in Acres
1932	4	*	19.2
1933	3	3	16.4
1934	*	1	0.2
1935	6	2	21.0
1936	2	4	9.0
1937	8	1	12.7
Total	28	11	78.5

*Not available. Source: Ughelli District, 1 File No. 391, NAI, 1937 (cited in Aghalino, 2000).

According to Aghalino (2000), these concessions were conceived by the colonial government as model states for the cultivation of selected and improved seedlings, to encourage African palm plots. In 1930, as recorded by (Udo, 1967), the United African Company owned 6,900 total acreages of palm plantation in the Urhobo/Isoko palm district alone. Somewhere in the same Niger delta, rubber plantation was thriving on the platform of government-induced land

acquisition and shift from basic farming to rubber plantation and forest reserve. According to the Annual Report of Benin Division (1937), the total land area converted to forest reserve as of 1937 was 4,000 square miles. Subsequently, about half of the total area of the Benin Division was constituted into forest reserves by 1938.

While the cash crop business was being intensified in the area of rubber plantation, palm plantation, cocoa plantation, and forest reserve for lumbering in the south, the northern protectorate of the British Nigerian colony was compelled to intensify the production of groundnuts, cotton, and benniseed (Ade, 1966; Allen, 1848; Anene, 1966). As such, there was huge exportation of cash crop goods from 1900-1944 as shown below:

Table 2. Palm Oil Production Estimates, Palm Oil and Palm Kernel Exports, Nigeria 1900-44

Year	Total Export (Tons)				
	Palm Oil	Palm Kernel	Cotton	Cocoa	Groundnuts
1900-4	53.729	120.778	132	305	475
1905-9	65.177	130.241	1.383	1.167	1.531
1910-14	77.771	174.236	1.884	3.857	8.195
1915-19	80.485	184.567	2.112	13.887	41.300
1920-4	90.352	203.021	3.940	27.276	44.278
1925-9	124.716	255.469	6.038	45.483	109.068
1930-4	122.302	274.584	4.594	62.978	188.744
1935-9	139.000	334.000	8.332	96.000	249.600
1940-4	134.377	320.613	9.913	102.379	181.901

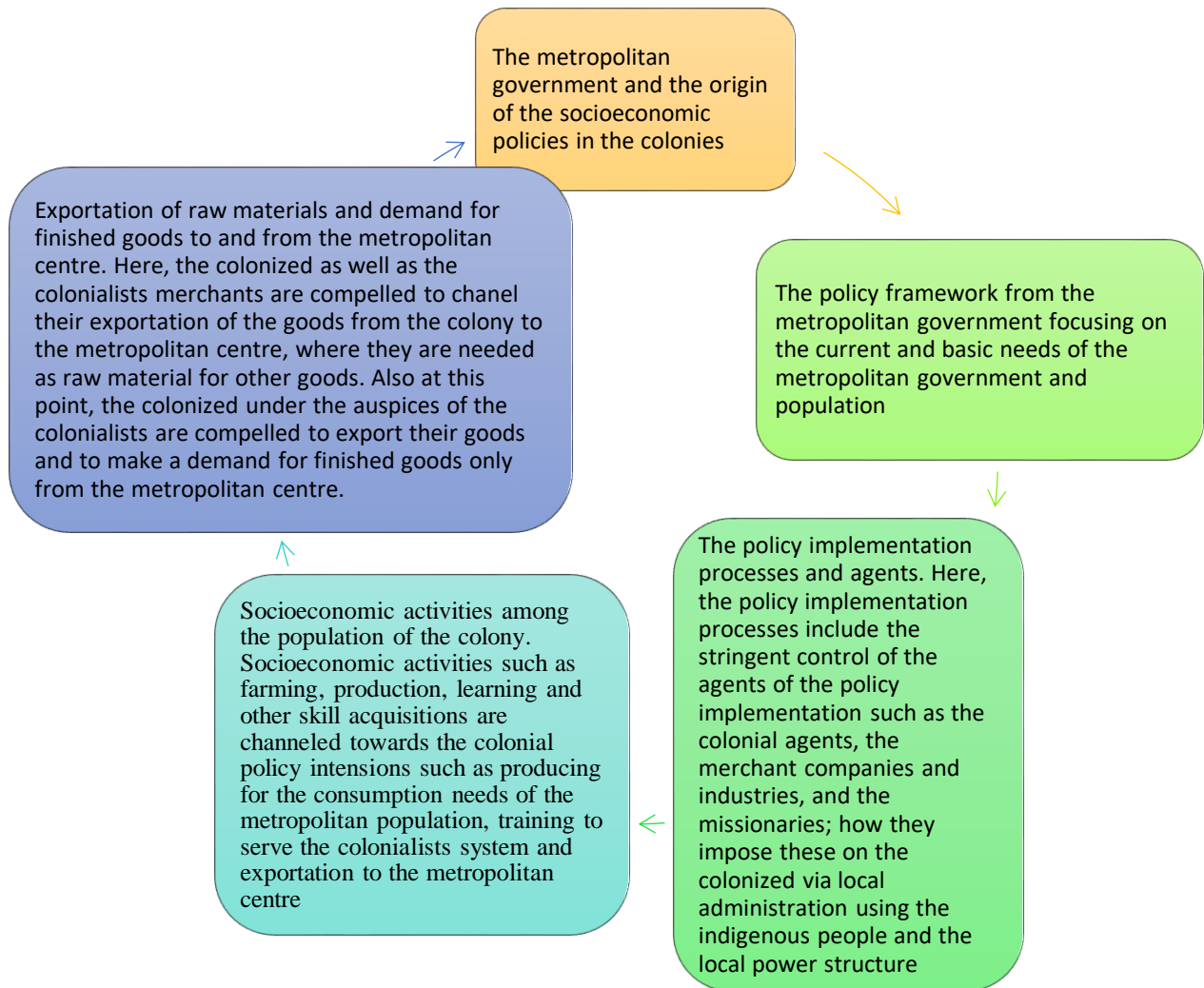
Notes:

Figures averaged for each quinquennium.

Sources: *Nigerian Handbook, 1936, and Nigerian Trade Reports 1939-45, Lagos, Government Printer.*

In effect, the logical framework of the colonialists' government was successful in enriching the metropolitan center and impoverishing the colony. For instance, while the needs of the metropolitan population were met by the cash crop policy in the colony, the indigenous people were pushed into food crises as the time and resources for the regular production of food crops were spent for cash crops. This in turn led the colonized to the indirect dependence on the imported food items from the metropolitan center. The educational system developed by the missionaries only prepared ad-hoc workers for the colonial administration and destroyed the indigenous skill acquisition via informal education, which has existed before the colonial era. In essence, the indigenous people were trained to be useful to the colonialists' government but had nothing to offer themselves from their training except to work as the quasi slaves the colonialists had wanted them to be.

Figure1. The Diagram Showing the Logical Policy Framework of the Colonial Socio-economic Policies



The above diagram displayed the internal logic and intention of the socioeconomic policies carried out by the colonialists in Nigeria during the colonial era. While the policy structures themselves originated from the metropolitan center, it carries the basic and current needs of the metropolitan government and the government ignoring, the needs and aspirations of the colonized. The policy implementation framework follows distinct and stringent processes to make sure that the chain network of the implementation did not suffer error in-between the metropolitan center and the colonized population. For the stringency of the implementation processes to be feasible, there was proper coordination among the colonial merchants and the colonial agents with the cooperation of the indigenous leadership structures. The colonized were compelled to be trained, worked, and participated in the colonialists' economic interests to the detriment of their pressing

needs. As a result, their exportation and importation were automatically tailored in the direction of the colonialists' interest and destination.

The Logical Framework of Neocolonial Socio-economic Policies: Nature, Indices in the Major Social Institutions, and Implications to the Neocolonial Subjects

Although the colonialists claimed to have offered their colonies independence, in the case of Nigeria, as far as this study has observed, there was no substantive independence of the socioeconomic and political policies in the nation. After the 1960 “flag independence” in the country, Britain really carried out a determined follow-up to make sure the former colony never go out of her covert policy raider. After the anthropological and historical evaluation of the socio-ethnic groups making up the nation, a global network of racism, and the malleable nature of the Fulani/Hausa oligarchy in northern Nigeria, the British colonialists were convinced of the possibility of continuing colonialist agenda in another stealth appearance through the Hausa/Fulani socio-ethnic group hence, the covert transfer of power to the group and the subsequent neo-colonial mission.

Britain followed up Nigerian territory using Sanhurst academy-trained soldiers to scuttle the civilian government through coups and counter-coups and subsequently created a version of government in the country, which is better described as civilian/military government. The evidence of this is visible in the Nigerian government after the colonial government, which has been anchored on the military personnel both the military and civilian regimes, with over 60% of leadership from the Hausa/Fulani, who were anointed for power by Britain. This of course has helped Britain after the colonial era, to appropriately monitor the socioeconomic policies in the country. Having studied and understood the huge exploit of policy influence by proxy (the underpinning element of neo-colonialism), America and other nations have queued into the game. In the quest to operate stealthily, the league of European, Asian, and North American nations, which was baptized to be United Nations Organization and subsequently, United Nations were hidden under the cloak of United Nations and allied bodies to perpetuate socioeconomic domination and exploitation. These were the same group of nations except America and Asia, who gathered in 1884 in Berlin Germany to proclaim the African nations a forest for the European nations' hunters.

The United Nations as a global organization has become a smokescreen for modern colonialism (neo-colonialism), especially for North America and Western Europe, who are covertly piloting the affairs of the organization. While Britain has locked Nigerian socioeconomic policy in

a permanent raider with common wretched of nations (commonwealth of nations), other mini international organizations, and other covert networks of socioeconomic policy observations, America and other nations, through United Nations, project their policy of exploitation overseas stealthily in the framework of policy recommendations. This group of nations tracks the economy of their interest nations through the United Nations allied bodies and parastatals, and their homegrown secret intelligence agencies. Where a huge opportunity is located like in the case of Nigeria, a proposal is forwarded to the United Nations allied bodies such as World Bank, World Health Organization, UNICEF, etcetera, in collaboration with their academic group. At the surface, these policy recommendations, which usually come with aid donation and self-donation by the interested nations will appear to be humanitarian assistance however, underneath is the body language of socioeconomic policy influence and domination by the recommending and donor nations.

Neocolonialists' socioeconomic policy logical-framework overseas has at its base, the basic needs and interests of the neo-colonialists home government with the interest of the neo-colonized appearing as secondary interest; while giving out aid to the colonized, supporting the government and recommending policy shift via the United Nations appear as an incentive to the assumed development of the neo-colonized, the donor nations use these as a smokescreen to cover their policy intentions, which had been formulated at home and usually in the direction of exploitation. These policy intensions of the neo-colonialists are usually complex and incomprehensible except to the originators of these policy frameworks. It usually cut across the major social institutions of the system such as education, economy, politics, religion, culture, and the family.

These policy formulations carrying the interest and the aspirations of the neocolonialists are projected through different globally designated organizations as the current global issues. These globally designated organizations such as the United Nations and the allied regional organizations are tele-guided and covertly compelled to make these policy projections imperative and inalienable options to the targeted group of nations usually the neo-colonized, who are majorly found in African, Asian, and Latin American continents. While the perpetrators of this covert policy control subtly present their contribution (where it is obvious), as globalization, mutual and collective development for humanity; the neo-colonized nations are made to understand that the credibility of their government lies on the recognition and implementation of the globally recognized socioeconomic policies via the United Nations and the allied organizations. The next orbit in the network of the neocolonialists' socioeconomic policy logical framework is the instrument of

implementations, which include first, the globally designated organizations' supervision, multinational corporations, and aid-donor organizations' involvement.

The penultimate orbit in the network of the neocolonialist socioeconomic logical framework is the socioeconomic activities in the neo-colonized territory. The socio-economic activities are usually locked in the socioeconomic policy, which had been developed in the direction of the already designed policy framework from the neocolonialists, via the globally designated organizations. As a matter of fact, the socio-economic activities will acknowledge the interest of the neo-colonialist, unknown to the neo-colonized both at the governmental levels and at the level of the poor masses. Education, production, consumption, and other socio-economic activities will be patterned after the taste and interest of the neocolonialists. The last orbit in the network, which finally links back to the originator of the neo-colonialist socioeconomic logical policy framework, is the direction of export and import among the neo-colonized. Having been patterned after the neo-colonialist taste and interest in the production and consumption processes, the exportation of raw materials and importation of finished goods are automatically locked in the direction of the neo-colonialist agenda.

Figure 2. The Diagram Showing the Logical Policy Framework of the Neocolonial Socio-economic Policies



The above diagram displayed the internal logic and intention of the socioeconomic policies carried out by the neocolonialists in Nigeria during the postcolonial era. While the policy structures themselves originated from the neocolonialist territory, it carries the basic and current needs of the neocolonialist government. The policy implementation framework follows distinct and stringent processes to make sure that the chain network of the implementation did not suffer errors in-between the metropolitan center and the neo-colonized population. For the stringency of the implementation processes to be feasible, there must be proper coordination among the multinational corporation, the employees of the multinational donor agencies, and the supervisors from the United Nations and allied bodies with the cooperation of the indigenous leadership structures among the colonized. The neo-colonized are compelled to be trained, work, and participate in the neocolonialists' economic interest at the detriment of their pressing needs as a population. As a result, their exportation and importation will be automatically tailored in the direction of the neocolonialists' interest and destination.

The Vestiges of the Neo-colonial Logical Framework of Socio-economic Policies in the Postcolonial Nigeria

The Nigerian postcolonial era has been locked in the satellite of neo-colonial socioeconomic policy logical framework (Okafor, 2019). After Britain left the power structure in the hands of the Fulani Islamic enclave in northern Nigeria owing to their malleable foreign manipulation, Nigeria entered into the era of neocolonialism. Every single socioeconomic and political policy in the nation has followed the trajectory of the neocolonial socioeconomic logical policy framework. Beginning from the coups and counter-coups in 1966, Nigerian political activities have been patterned to acknowledge first, the British government interest and subsequently, the league of neocolonialist nations among which are mostly the western European nations, North America, Asian nations, and recently the league of Islamic nations from the Middle East led by Saudi Arabia. Embedded in the neocolonialist interest in Nigeria among other things are socioeconomic policy influences in order to develop a conducive atmosphere for the neocolonialists to continue their economic exploitation.

In the political circle, every leader that has led the Nigerian government was enslaved to the neocolonialist bilateral relationship permanently patterned to be a vertical relationship. The neocolonialists covertly determined who comes to power based on the recommendations of the CIA, FBI, MI5, and other channels of secret intelligence. Whether they succeeded in determining who comes to power or not, as soon as any leader mount the position of president of the federal

republic of Nigeria, they will always find a diplomatic means of reaching him for political interaction. After planting their image and interest, the government will be bending to receive political and economic advice from the neocolonialist, which always ends in disadvantage to Nigerian domestic interests. All the coups that took place after the 1960 independence of Nigeria were all tele-guided by the British Sandhurst academy, where most of the Nigerian military officers were being trained even till the current era. After the era of General Sani Abacha, who proved tough to the neocolonialists from Western Europe and North America, coupled with the increasing demand across the globe for the abolishment of military rule, the vicious cycle of coups that became a formality in Nigeria died down. After the era of incessant military coups, the era of anointed candidates of Britain, America, and Saudi Arabia began in 1999 with Obasanjo. Obasanjo while leaving the office followed the British trajectory of power handover to the Fulani Islamic enclave but ran into complications by choosing Jonathan as a vice president from the south, where they were trying to follow American recommendation on how to quell militancy in the Niger Delta region. That complication nearly plucked out the neocolonialists' interest as Jonathan appeared to be approaching socioeconomic policy from the perspective of empirical socioeconomic evaluation of the situation of the country. As such, he changed the Nigerian bilateral relationship posture on the international scene by trying to play the game of a non-allying nation. In a quest to solve the puzzle, the league of neocolonialists holding Nigeria in ransom started raising dust through their domestic allies. This, of course, created the opportunity for Saudi Arabia to take the upper hand in the league of neocolonialists in Nigeria. By 2015 Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, and the league of Sunni Islamic nations assiduously pushed in money into the country to use the loophole of the problem between Jonathan and the league of neocolonialists in Nigeria. This worked out as was planned and Muhammadu Buhari was advised to quickly acknowledge Western Europe and North America even during the campaign in order not to incur their wrath. Buhari quickly acknowledged this by technically avoiding anti-American and European comments (a hallmark of the pro-Islamist political campaign) in his campaign and also, extended his campaign officially to these nations. After the handover of power to him, he went to America for baptism and later to Britain for an official thank you message for the granting of power to him.

There are stringent networks for the financial circulations in supporting the political interest of the neocolonialists. This is facilitated by multinational corporations and some local companies. In the case of Nigeria, the multinational oil corporations have played a huge role in harboring European and American spies as well as shielding the financial transactions for political activities of the neocolonialists in the country. Similarly, some indigenous companies and the former Etisalat

Company became a proxy for financial transactions, for Saudi Arabia and the league of Islamic neocolonialists.

Nigeria has continually followed the trajectory of Britain, Western Europe, and recently Saudi Arabia. From 1960 after the Nigerian independence, socioeconomic activities first followed the trajectory of the colonial policy framework and after the policy of indigenization, the European and American ideology embedded in the foreign-trained elements, (who were positioned to handle the policy affairs of the nation), planted the same socioeconomic logical policy framework of the colonialists in the system in the foil of indigenous socio-economic policies. Embedded in the postcolonial indigenous socio-economic policies were the invisible webs of dependency on the neocolonialist's socioeconomic and political systems domicile with the territories of the neocolonialists. The educational system had no indigenously informed transformation order other than the rehearsal of colonial legacies, which further forced Nigeria to rely on foreign-trained elements. Currently, a foreign-trained graduate is 10 times more preferred to a Nigerian graduate from a local university. The colonial educational system in Nigeria, which was designed to produce ad-hoc staff trickled into the postcolonial era and finally left the Nigerian educational system as a certificate selling institution. Due to the shift of neocolonialism structure, given Saudi Arabia's upper hand, our current problem is the Arabianization/Islamization of the Nigerian education system. The government currently takes instruction from Saudi Arabia and maintains a socioeconomic policy template directly forwarded from Saudi Arabia.

Export and import in postcolonial Nigeria, have followed the same pattern of colonialist socioeconomic policies. The post-colonial Nigeria was patterned to export and import in the network of the neocolonialists influencing Nigeria. More importantly, the production of raw materials and the approval of exportation and importation are dependent on the current interest of the neocolonialist allies. Currently, Britain, America, Western Europe, and Saudi Arabia are the policy influencers in Nigeria. While America and Western Europe follow a complex tracking via the United Nations, allied organizations, and their multinational aid donor agencies in pursuing their policy interest, Saudi Arabia and the Sunni Islamic world follow the trajectory of the religious institution via the cabal, in compelling the current government to policy influence. Although Saudi Arabia chose to play the silent game, the indices of their interest and activities continue to betray them. First and foremost, the increase in the number of forceful conversions to Islam is an increment in the amount of money realized from hajj every year and a guarantee to their dominant influence over the nation. Also, Saudi Arabia is one of the Middle East nations that have developed indigenous oil exploration and refining companies. As such, the country had been working round

the clock to push America and Europe of the Nigerian oil sector via policy adjustment. As a matter of fact, America and Europe have put their searchlight beam on the Nigerian oil sector, to remind the Nigerian government since 2015 that any unfavorable policy in the sector will be equally retaliated to. In a bid to survive between the devil and the deep blue sea, the Nigerian government had been playing around the issues surrounding the oil sector with huge leverage to European and American exploration companies and compensation contracts to the Saudi Arabian oil expatriate in the fruitless river Chad basin oil search. Originally, one of the economic imperialism strategies the neocolonialists have adopted in trapping the developing nations is borrowing out to these nations via IMF, Paris Club, and the likes. This of course has turned the Nigerian economy into the rhetorical concept of the more you plan, the less you develop. In the current situation, due to the shift in the hierarchy of neocolonialist chart in Nigeria, putting Saudi Arabia on the top, the Nigerian economy is gradually being enslaved in the Saudi Arabian SUKUK bond business, which has impoverished many Islamic nations.

Policy-Decolonization and Not Policy of Decolonization: The Antithesis of Neocolonization and Thesis for Sustainable Development

Decolonization as a concept captures the sum total efforts by the colonized, politically, educationally, psychologically, and culturally in freeing themselves from colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism, and neo-imperialism (Uwakwe, 2007 as cited in Arukwe, 2010). After the era of colonialism, the colonized across Africa, Latin America and Asia, embarked on the process of decolonization. In Nigeria in particular, such a move appeared as a policy of indigenization around the early 70s. Far from solving the problem, of course, the policy of indigenization as we observed in Nigeria even threw the nation into chaos as the elements of the colonialists in the social institutions were simply baptized with an indigenous name instead of internal transformation of these institutions to bear the hallmark of indigenous socio-economic needs and aspirations. In Nigeria alone, all those instruments the colonialists used to facilitate the colonial administration and economic exploitation in the banking institution, export and import, education, raw material extraction and processing, foreign exchange commission, security, and other service rendering institutions, were simply renamed with Africanized concepts but were never subjected to re-orientation and transformation in principle and practice. At worst some of these industries and companies in different institutions were forcefully transferred to government properties without changing the internal logic of operations of these companies and industries. In reality, this process

of decolonization policy was a total failure as it effectively dug a hole for the subsequent collapse of the system.

If the Nigerian system will be effectively unhooked from the orbit of the colonialist and neocolonialist, decolonization of the socioeconomic and political policies in Nigeria (ie policy-decolonization) is the option and not policy of decolonization as the colonized population has pursued in the past. Policy-decolonization focuses on changing the policy orientation, whose logical framework anchors on the colonialists' covert intentions and strategies in exploiting the colonized during the colonial era. In the policy-decolonization process, socioeconomic policies originate from the concerned; goes through the indigenous policy-making processes; the indigenous government compels the indigenous/foreign organizations and citizens to observe and implement the policy components as it affects their respective areas of interest; the socioeconomic activities informed by the policy will then compel the pattern and direction of extraction of raw materials, the production of goods and services, to follow the needs and aspirations of the indigenous people; the outcome of the obtainable socioeconomic activities in the system will then determine the type of exportation, importation and the direction of international transaction and the bilateral relationship the country will involve itself in it and finally, the cumulative of the origin of socioeconomic policy, the process of its development, the implementation strategies and agents, the obtainable socioeconomic activities in the system and the international posture of the country will inform her policy suggestion capacity to the United Nations and the allied organizations, and the capacity of the country to influence policy process on regional and domestic issues involving the country.

Originally, the socioeconomic policy as an ongoing process and not permanent statutes or robotic exercise is the byproduct of the human collective behavior and reaction to an ongoing phenomenon or natural situation in an ongoing society. As such, it requires more empirical information than an armchair thesis and alien hypothesis. The empirical information here must be directly obtained from the people in the social system and the direct circumstances surrounding them. Although in the globalization agenda, there seems to be a need for acknowledging some tested hypotheses from elsewhere while dealing with certain situations; such hypotheses ought to be subjected to the internal logic of operation of the social system, synthesizing such before adoption and application. In essence, it is crime against humanity especially in the modern human rights analysis, to impose socioeconomic policy theses on a group without acknowledging the empirical realities among the group in question.

Figure 3. The Diagram Showing the Logical Policy Framework of Policy-Decolonization



For sustainable development to take place, the socioeconomic policies must originate from the circumstances surrounding the population in question for maximum result and self-sustaining cycle. These circumstances directly affecting the population are subject to diverse processes of capturing, comparison and evaluation before they become socioeconomic intelligence. While sponsored research is one of the processes, non-sponsored research, public opinion from individuals, interest groups, and academia from the system are equally important. For the colonialist government to be successful in Nigeria (though in the negative direction), there were accumulated intelligence from the government and nongovernment anthropologists, economists, archeologists, and other social scientists, who penetrated the population to understand the

prevailing condition in the system so as to know the best way to manipulate the population. Similarly, the colonial government equally observed the direct and indirect reactions of the population while implementing certain policies from the metropolitan government in London, a situation that led to a number of modifications of the policy strategies from the colonialist home government. For the purpose of policy decolonization, utmost priority ought to be given to the empirical realities surrounding the population such as the needs and aspirations of the population via their response and reactions to socioeconomic issues in their daily activities. Again, no group should be taken for granted no matter how little they are, ranging from the demographic grouping (infants, youth, aged, maternal, and other vulnerable populations), socio-ethnic and religious grouping, and social class grouping.

Policy projection channel in the policy-decolonization process and sustainable development agenda ought to follow a regular pattern in order to achieve decency and sustainability in the process of capturing socioeconomic realities among the population. At the apex of decision making with regard to socioeconomic policies, is the Federal Executive Council, at the base, are the public involving the individuals and various interest groups, whom the policies are being made for, while in-between are the three tiers of government (the federal, state and the local government) through which the policy proposals can be properly channeled (Ogunloye, 1980, Jega, 2007). By implication, there ought to be decorum and consistency in the levels and manners in which the socioeconomic factors informing the policies should be projected. As such, policy-decolonization, which is the collective duty of the general public and the government, can be achieved, if the members of the public under different auspices such as individually informed policy suggestions, interest groups, and government parastatals at the three levels of government properly channel their policy proposals following the defined structures. In the interest of policy-decolonization and sustainable development, policy formulation by the major bodies involved such as the Central Bank of Nigeria, Federal Executive Council, and the Senate, should strictly follow the trajectory of the indigenously verified socioeconomic needs and aspirations by giving weight to such, compared to the alien socioeconomic policy framework from external bodies.

Policy implementation in Nigeria is one of the toughest challenges in the process of development compared to other aspects and stages of policy-making processes. While the onus of the matter lies with the government authorities empowered to bring policy design to reality, the general public is also culpable. The colonial socioeconomic policies became a reality and bore their expected fruits because of the stringent measures in implementing these policies. For policy-decolonization and sustainable development to be realized first, the government should set up some

strict measures in compelling the members of the society at different levels, to adhere to the already set out policy design for various aspects of the socio-economic activities as it concerns each group. Nevertheless, the general public, who are always at the receiving end of the effect of policy failure, have the responsibility of self-monitoring as well as collective surveillance over certain government policy outlines in their various constituencies and areas of socio-economic activities. When the three strategic processes in the policy decolonization such as the policy origination, policy projection, and policy formulation are actualized, the socio-economic activities in the system will definitely display the policy design and the indigenous socio-economic needs and aspirations. Consequently, the socio-economic activities in the system will determine the import and export needs and interests of the population. Similarly, the outcome of the processes of policy-decolonization is bound to give the nation an international posture commanding some level of respect and dignity.

CONCLUSION

The foothold of the British Empire builders in what is known today as Nigeria came with some complications that bedeviled the indigenous people. While the complications were carefully orchestrated to perpetually cage the indigenous people, they worked out for the colonialists' economic and political interests. In the post-colonial era, which is supposedly the freedom of the colonized in decision making and policy proposals in line with indigenous needs and aspiration, the colonized were trapped in the net of neocolonialism, which is more complicated than colonialism itself. While the colonial vestiges enabled the British government to tie the Nigerian system to her apron, the monologue nature of the United Nations designed by North America and Western Europe, opened the door for America and the host of other countries, to trap Nigeria in the framework of neocolonialism. Each of these stages of colonial experience such as colonialism and neocolonialism has the socioeconomic logical policy framework. In each of the epochs marked by a regime, Nigerian political and economic landscapes are locked in the orbit of one neocolonialist or more. Currently, we are in the cage of Saudi Arabia with America, Europe, and Asian nations. The vestiges of colonial structured policies will continue to make the Nigerian system “the more you look, the less you see” save for the reversion of policy-making processes and patterns. To achieve this, there is a need for collective force. Although the political structure of postcolonial Nigeria is fraught with the problem of external dependency, and somewhat internal anarchy, the pre-colonial grouping such as tribe and ethnic groups, on which the subsequent regionalization and political units were created can still be relevant in the current need for policy

process reversion. The policy process reversion can start from individual active participation and bear fruit at the level of collective consciousness hence, pressure on the political system and the leaders for careful acknowledgment of the indigenous needs and aspirations in the policy-making processes.

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