

BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN NIGERIA (1926-1959)

Agomuo Kevin Obinna
Department of History and International Relations
Abia State University, Uturu.
clarity_llb@yahoo.com, 08066703497

Abstract

This study examines the role of British colonial administration in shaping infrastructural development in Eastern Nigeria between 1926 and 1959. During these periods, the British colonial government implemented various infrastructural projects aimed at consolidating colonial control, facilitating resource extraction, and integrating the region into the global economy. The research focuses on key infrastructure sectors, including transportation (roads and railways), communication (telecommunications), and utilities (water supply and electricity), assessing their impact on the socio-economic landscape of Eastern Nigeria. Utilizing archival records, government reports, and secondary literature, the study analyzes the strategic motivations behind infrastructural investments and their implications for the indigenous population. It explores how infrastructure development was primarily designed to serve colonial interests, often at the expense of local needs and development. The study also investigates the long-term effects of these infrastructural changes on the economic and social structures of Eastern Nigeria, highlighting both the benefits and drawbacks experienced by the local communities. The findings reveal that while infrastructural development facilitated economic activities such as agriculture and mining, it also led to the displacement of communities, disruption of traditional lifestyles, and the creation of economic dependencies. The study concludes that the infrastructural legacy of the colonial period has had a lasting influence on the development trajectory of Eastern Nigeria, with implications that continue to resonate in the post-independence era. This research contributes to the broader understanding of colonial infrastructural policies and their enduring impact on post-colonial development in Nigeria. It underscores the need for a critical assessment of colonial legacies in contemporary infrastructural planning and development strategies.

Introduction

The British colonial administration in Nigeria, particularly in the Eastern region, profoundly influenced the socio-economic landscape through the development of infrastructure. This infrastructural development was primarily driven by the colonial objectives of resource extraction, economic exploitation, and the establishment of control over the indigenous populations. The period up to 1959 witnessed significant transformations in transportation, communication, education, and urban planning, which have had lasting impacts on the region. The period between 1926 and 1959 was pivotal for the British colonial administration in Nigeria, particularly in the Eastern region. This era was marked by significant infrastructural changes which were largely shaped by colonial interests. The British aimed to create systems that would facilitate the extraction of resources from Nigeria, integrate it into the global economy, and maintain colonial control. The Eastern region of Nigeria, which was made up of several ethnic groups such as the Ibo, Efik, and Ijaw, underwent notable infrastructural transformations in this period. The British colonial administration brought about key infrastructural developments such as the construction of roads, railways, ports, and schools. However, these developments were often driven by the needs of the colonial government, which prioritized the extraction and transportation of resources over the welfare of the local populations. This paper explores the infrastructural developments in Eastern Nigeria between 1926 and 1959, examining the motivations behind these changes, their impacts, and the legacy of British colonial rule in the region.

Colonial Objectives and Infrastructural Development

Chukwu, M. (1999), the British colonialists aimed to exploit Nigeria's resources for economic gain. To facilitate the extraction and export of raw materials, they prioritized the development of transportation networks, including railways and roads. These infrastructures were designed to connect resource-rich areas to ports, ensuring efficient movement of goods to international markets. In Eastern Nigeria, this strategy was evident in the construction of railways linking coal mines in Enugu to ports like Port Harcourt. The British colonial government, through a system of indirect rule, aimed to control large territories in Nigeria while ensuring that resources could be easily extracted, Chukwu, M. (1999). The Eastern region, which was rich in natural resources such as palm oil, timber, and minerals, was critical to the

economic goals of the British Empire. By the early 20th century, Nigeria had become a major supplier of palm oil, which was in high demand for the European soap and candle industries. The British focus on economic exploitation in Eastern Nigeria led to infrastructural developments designed to facilitate the movement of these resources. The colonial administration constructed roads, railways, and ports, which were vital for the transportation of goods. However, these developments were not primarily designed to improve the living conditions of the local population. The construction of infrastructure in the Eastern region was directly linked to the British desire to create an efficient system for resource extraction, Dike, V.A. (1974).

Urban Planning and Development

The British colonialists implemented urban planning strategies that reflected their administrative and economic priorities. Cities like Enugu and Aba were developed as administrative and commercial centers, with infrastructure tailored to support colonial objectives. The urban planning during this period laid the foundation for the modern urban landscape of Eastern Nigeria. Smith, S. (2002).

Education and Social Infrastructure

Afigbo, A.E. (1992), the colonial administration established educational institutions to train a cadre of local administrators and workers who could assist in the colonial enterprise. These institutions were often limited in scope and access, serving primarily the interests of the colonial state. The development of social infrastructure, including health facilities, was also aligned with colonial objectives, focusing on the well-being of the colonial workforce and the maintenance of order. Colonial Education and Social Infrastructure Under British rule, education and healthcare infrastructure in Eastern Nigeria was rudimentary and often neglected, Fafunwa, A.B. (1971). The colonial government did establish schools and hospitals, but these were primarily for the benefit of the expatriate population and a small educated elite of Nigerians who were deemed useful for administering the colony. Most of the population, particularly in rural areas, had limited access to formal education and health services. The few educational institutions that existed were designed to train clerks, interpreters, and other low-level administrative officers who could assist in the running of the colonial government. Education and Social Infrastructure, Ayandele, E.A. (2001).

While the British colonial administration focused primarily on economic infrastructure, there were also some developments in the social infrastructure of Eastern Nigeria. The British established schools in urban centers, and missionary schools played a significant role in the education system. However, these schools were designed to serve the needs of the colonial administration rather than to provide comprehensive education to the local population, Young, A. (1994).

Fafunwa, A.B. (1971), the education system in Eastern Nigeria was characterized by a strong emphasis on vocational training, which aimed to prepare students for roles in the colonial administration or in the service of European firms. Few schools were established in rural areas, and the quality of education was often poor. The British colonial government did not prioritize the development of a robust education system, as the primary focus was on training a small group of educated elites who could assist in the administration of the colony, Fafunwa, A.B. (1971). Healthcare infrastructure was similarly neglected. While the British established some hospitals and clinics in urban areas, these facilities were often underfunded and poorly equipped. The majority of the population in Eastern Nigeria had limited access to healthcare, and many rural communities relied on traditional healers rather than formal medical services, Oyeniyi, O. (2005). The development of social infrastructure was minimal and often centered around the needs of the colonial state. The establishment of schools and hospitals in urban areas, such as Enugu and Calabar, further entrenched the divide between urban and rural areas, Nwachuku, C. (2011).

Economic Policies and Their Impact

The economic policies of the British colonial administration had a significant impact on the infrastructural development of Eastern Nigeria. The focus on cash crop production and resource extraction necessitated the development of infrastructure to support these activities. However, these policies often neglected the needs of the indigenous population, leading to disparities in development and access to resources. The British colonial administration in Nigeria adopted economic policies that directly influenced the pattern of infrastructural development in the country. These policies were often based on resource extraction and exploitation of local labor for the benefit of British economic interests, Young, A. (1994) The Eastern Nigerian region, rich in natural resources such as coal, palm oil, and timber, became an integral part of Britain's economic exploitation model, Chukwu, M. (1999).

The Resource-Extraction Focus

Eastern Nigeria's coal mines in Enugu were central to the colonial administration's infrastructure strategy. In 1915, the British initiated the establishment of a coal industry to provide fuel for the colonial industries, particularly in the construction of railways. Coal from Enugu was transported via the railway to Port Harcourt, from where it was shipped abroad to meet industrial needs, Young, A. (1994). This railway line, later expanded, became one of the most crucial infrastructures in the region, although it was primarily designed for export and not for the socio-economic benefit of the indigenous population. Similarly, the palm oil trade, an essential component of the colonial economy, necessitated the development of port facilities and transportation systems to connect the hinterlands to the coast. The establishment of roads and railways facilitated not only the movement of goods but also the control and administration of the colonies, Chukwu, M. (1999).

The Public Works Department and Infrastructure Construction

The British colonial government in Nigeria established the Public Works Department (PWD) to oversee the construction and maintenance of critical infrastructure. The PWD played an essential role in developing roads, railways, and ports in the Eastern region, Young, A. (1994). However, the department's activities were not entirely aimed at fostering the welfare of the local populace. Its primary role was to ensure that the colonial economy functioned effectively, and as a result, infrastructural development was concentrated in areas that benefited the colonial administration and economy. One notable example was the development of the coastal rail network that connected areas like Port Harcourt to the interior. This network was crucial for the transport of goods, such as agricultural produce and minerals, to the port for export, Young, A. (1994).

Urban and Rural Infrastructural Development

In urban centers like Enugu, Aba, and Calabar, the British colonial administration undertook significant urban planning projects. The creation of these towns as centers of commerce, administration, and resource extraction led to the development of basic infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and water supply systems.

Urbanization and Modern Cities

Akinwumi, O. (2014), Enugu, known as the "coal city," was developed as the administrative and economic center of coal mining in the southeastern part of Nigeria. The town's infrastructure was closely linked to the needs of the coal industry. Railways, electricity grids, and communication networks were expanded to support the coal mining and processing industries. Similarly, Aba emerged as a major commercial hub due to its strategic location and the development of transport networks that connected it to major urban centers, Young, A. (1994). While these developments contributed to the growth of urban areas, they were largely focused on supporting the colonial economy. The indigenous population, however, faced challenges in accessing these benefits as colonial policies often neglected the well-being of the local people, particularly in rural areas. Udo, B. (1998)

Rural Infrastructure and its Limitations

In contrast to the urban development, rural areas in Eastern Nigeria saw limited infrastructural development. The rural areas where agricultural production, including palm oil, cassava, and yam, was most prominent remained underdeveloped, Akinwumi, O. (2014). The British administration prioritized infrastructural investment in areas that directly benefited the colonial economy, such as the transport of resources from rural hinterlands to coastal ports, but did little to improve the living conditions of the rural population Udo, B. (1998). This disparity between urban and rural infrastructure played a role in the socio-economic marginalization of many indigenous communities. Despite the infrastructural progress in urban areas, rural populations often lacked access to basic services such as clean water, healthcare, and education, Young, A. (1994)

The Role of Indigenous Labor in Infrastructure Projects

Another crucial aspect of the British colonial infrastructure development in Eastern Nigeria was the extensive use of indigenous labor, Young, A. (1994). The British colonial state employed African workers in the construction of roads, railways, and buildings. These workers were often subjected to exploitative labor conditions, including low wages, poor working conditions, and inadequate living standards. In many cases, colonial administrators relied on forced labor and a system of taxes to ensure that local communities provided the necessary labor force, Gann, L.H. (1969). The heavy reliance on indigenous labor for infrastructure projects without providing significant social benefits for the workers further deepened the economic inequality in the region.

Political and Social Impacts of Colonial Infrastructure

Colonial infrastructural development in Eastern Nigeria was not merely an economic or technical issue but also had significant political and social implications. The construction of infrastructure served as a means of consolidating British control over the region. The railways, roads, and telecommunication systems allowed the British to assert political authority and control the movement of both goods and people across the region, Alubo, O. (1993).

The creation of urban centers like Enugu and Aba as administrative hubs also meant that the colonial government had a direct presence in these areas. This development led to the centralization of political and economic power, reducing the influence of traditional institutions and local leadership. However, the British colonial emphasis on infrastructural development to serve their own economic interests left a legacy of inequality. The lack of attention to the needs of the indigenous population, particularly in rural areas, sowed the seeds of resentment that would later contribute to political unrest, particularly as Nigeria moved towards independence, Young, A. (1994).

Post-Colonial Legacy of Colonial Infrastructure

The legacy of British colonial infrastructure in Eastern Nigeria was both positive and negative. On the one hand, the development of railways, roads, and urban centers created a foundation for future growth, Adeyemi, D. (2002). On the other hand, the uneven and exploitative nature of colonial infrastructure left long-lasting socio-economic divides between urban and rural areas. After Nigeria gained independence in 1960, the new government inherited an infrastructure system that was designed primarily to serve colonial interests. However, this infrastructure was vital for the country's post-colonial development, and successive Nigerian governments worked to expand and improve upon these colonial foundations. The Legacy of British Colonial Infrastructural Development The infrastructural developments during the colonial period laid the foundation for post-independence development in Eastern Nigeria. However, the colonial legacy also posed challenges, including the need to address inequalities and adapt infrastructure to meet the needs of an independent nation. The post-independence period required a reevaluation of infrastructure to promote inclusive development and rectify colonial-era disparities.

The infrastructural developments carried out by the British colonial administration in Eastern Nigeria had both positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, the construction of roads, railways, and ports helped to integrate Eastern Nigeria into the global economy and facilitated the extraction of resources, Obi, C.I. (2009). The urban centers of Enugu, Aba, and Port Harcourt grew as a result of these developments and became important economic hubs. On the other hand, the British focus on resource extraction and economic control meant that the infrastructure was often inadequate to meet the needs of the local population. While urban areas saw some development, rural areas remained largely neglected, Adeyemi, D. (2002). The poor quality of roads and limited access to education and healthcare in rural communities left a lasting legacy of inequality and underdevelopment Udo, B. (1998). In addition, the British colonial infrastructure created an economic system that was heavily reliant on the export of raw materials, Ekpo, M. (2015). This left Eastern Nigeria vulnerable to fluctuations in global markets and made it difficult for the region to diversify its economy. The legacy of British colonial rule in Eastern Nigeria is therefore marked by a duality: while there were some infrastructural advancements, they were primarily designed to benefit the colonial government rather than the local population, Aluko, Y. (2001).

The Role of Railways in Infrastructural Development

The Mann, M. (2014) development of railways in Nigeria began in the late 19th century, but the most significant expansion occurred between 1926 and 1959. The British colonial government recognized the importance of railways for both administrative control and economic purposes. In Eastern Nigeria, the construction of the railway network facilitated the transportation of palm oil and other cash crops from the interior to the coastal areas, where they could be shipped to European markets, Kwanashie, G. (2004). The railways played a crucial role in connecting the Eastern region to other parts of Nigeria and the broader British Empire, Adeyemi, D. (2002). The most important railway lines were those that linked Port Harcourt, Aba, and Enugu, which became major centers for the extraction and export of resources Mann, M. (2014). The railway system also contributed to the growth of urban centers in Eastern Nigeria, such as Enugu, which became the coal-mining hub of the region. However, the benefits of the railway network were not evenly distributed. While the railways enabled the British to transport goods efficiently, they did little to improve the infrastructure or welfare of local communities, Kwanashie, G. (2004). Many rural areas in Eastern Nigeria remained underdeveloped, with limited access to education, healthcare, and other essential services. Kalu, O.U

The establishment of railways was a cornerstone of colonial infrastructure. In Eastern Nigeria, the British constructed rail lines to transport coal from the Enugu mines to the port of Port Harcourt. This not only facilitated the export of

coal but also integrated the region into the global economy. The railways played a crucial role in the economic development of Eastern Nigeria, influencing trade patterns and urbanization.

Roads and Transportation Networks

In addition to railways, the British colonial administration constructed a network of roads to facilitate transportation and trade within Eastern Nigeria Young, A. (1994). The construction of roads was often motivated by the desire to improve the efficiency of resource extraction and to maintain control over the colony. Road Networks Complementing the railways, the British colonial administration developed road networks to enhance connectivity within the region. Smith, S.O. (1988), these roads facilitated the movement of goods and people, contributing to the economic integration of Eastern Nigeria. The development of roads also had social implications, as it influenced settlement patterns and access to services. The British built roads to connect key towns and urban centers, such as Enugu, Aba, and Port Harcourt. These roads were designed to ensure that goods could be transported quickly and efficiently from the interior of the country to the ports for export. The development of the road network also allowed for greater mobility of people, which helped to maintain colonial authority, Talbot, P. (2000).

However, the road infrastructure was often inadequate and poorly maintained. Many rural areas remained isolated, and local communities had limited access to transportation. The roads that were constructed were often narrow, poorly surfaced, and subject to frequent flooding, making them impassable during the rainy season. The quality of road infrastructure in Eastern Nigeria was, therefore, a direct reflection of the priorities of the British colonial government, which was more concerned with the movement of resources than with the development of the local population, Fafunwa, A.B. (1971).

Ports and Maritime Infrastructure

The development of ports in Eastern Nigeria was another key aspect of British colonial infrastructure. The ports at Port Harcourt, Calabar, and Onitsha were crucial for the export of Nigerian resources, particularly palm oil and rubber, to European markets, Williams, T. (2017). The British focused heavily on improving the efficiency of the ports to ensure the smooth flow of goods, but they did little to develop the surrounding areas or to improve local living conditions. Port Harcourt, in particular, became an important port for the British colonial government, serving as the primary gateway for the export of oil, coal, and other natural resources, Osundare, C. (1995). The development of the port was driven by the demand for these resources in Europe, and the British built extensive port facilities to accommodate large ships. However, the local communities around Port Harcourt and other ports remained underdeveloped, with limited access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and sanitation, Fafunwa, A.B. (1971).

Challenges Faced in Infrastructural Development

The British colonial administration in Eastern Nigeria faced several challenges in terms of infrastructure development. One significant challenge was the terrain. The region's dense forests, swamps, and rivers made it difficult to build roads, railways, and other infrastructure projects, Akpan, M. (2010). Additionally, the indigenous populations were often resistant to forced labor, and this led to delays in the completion of some projects. Another challenge was the limited scope of infrastructural development, which was restricted to areas that supported the colonial economic model. This left many areas of Eastern Nigeria underdeveloped, particularly those that were not directly linked to resource extraction, Jinadu, A. (2016). The maintenance of the infrastructure was purely the affairs of the colonist. Despite the infrastructural developments, several challenges and limitations persisted. The infrastructure was primarily designed to serve colonial interests, often at the expense of the local population. There was a lack of comprehensive planning, leading to inefficiencies and underdevelopment in certain areas. Additionally, the focus on resource extraction resulted in environment fragmentation as there were total neglect to areas without colonial interest and benefits, Kwanashie, G. (2004).

Conclusion

Between 1926 and 1959, the British colonial administration undertook significant infrastructural developments in Eastern Nigeria. The construction of railways, roads, and ports helped to facilitate the extraction and export of resources, but these developments were not designed to benefit the local population Williams, T. (2017). The infrastructure was primarily geared towards economic exploitation, and rural areas remained underdeveloped. The legacy of British colonial rule in Eastern Nigeria is one of both progress and neglect. While urban centers grew and

became important economic hubs, rural areas remained marginalized Law, R. (1987). The emphasis on resource extraction left the region vulnerable to economic shocks, and the neglect of social infrastructure such as education and healthcare contributed to long-term inequality Ike, N.E. (2007). The British colonial administration's infrastructural development in Eastern Nigeria up to 1959 was primarily driven by economic motives aimed at facilitating resource extraction, supporting the colonial economy, and consolidating political control. While urban areas like Enugu and Aba saw significant developments in infrastructure, rural areas remained underdeveloped, reflecting the colonial priority of serving British interests over the needs of the indigenous population.

The British colonial administration's infrastructural development in Eastern Nigeria up to 1959 was driven by economic exploitation and administrative control. While it facilitated the extraction and export of resources, it also laid the groundwork for modern infrastructure in the region, Opara, G. (2018). However, the colonial approach often overlooked the needs of the indigenous population, leading to challenges that continue to influence the region's development trajectory. Understanding this history is crucial for addressing the legacies of colonialism and promoting sustainable development in Eastern Nigeria. The legacy of this development has had lasting effects on Nigeria's socio-economic structure, creating both opportunities and challenges for post-independence development. Understanding the colonial history of infrastructure in Eastern Nigeria is crucial for addressing the socio-economic inequalities that persist in the region today As Nigeria moved towards independence in 1960, the infrastructural development of Eastern Nigeria laid the groundwork for future growth but also highlighted the challenges of overcoming the legacy of colonialism. The colonial-era infrastructure remains a defining feature of the region's development, and its impact continues to be felt in contemporary Nigeria, Opara, G. (2018).

References

1. Afigbo, A.E. (1992). *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria, 1891–1929*. University of Nigeria Press.
2. Akpan, M. (2010). Colonial Infrastructure and Economic Growth in Nigeria: The Case of Eastern Nigeria. *Nigerian Journal of Economic History*, 32(3), 211-225.
3. Alubo, O. (1993). *Colonialism and Political Control: A Study of Eastern Nigeria*. Ibadan University Press.
4. Ayandele, E.A. (2001). *The Missionary Factor in Nigeria: A Historical Analysis of the Spread of Christianity*. Routledge.
5. Ekpo, M. (2015). The Role of Infrastructure in Colonial Economic Expansion in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science*, 29(4), 142-157.
6. Gann, L.H. (1969). *Colonialism in Africa: A Study of the British and French Empires*. Cambridge University Press.
7. Ike, N.E. (2007). British Colonial Economic Policies in Eastern Nigeria. *International Journal of African History*, 14(1), 45-60.
8. Kalu, O.U. (1980). Infrastructure and Development in Colonial Nigeria: The Case of Eastern Nigeria. *Journal of Nigerian Studies*, 15(2), 201-220.
9. Law, R. (1987). *The End of the British Empire in Africa*. Oxford University Press.
10. Mann, M. (2014). *Economic Development and Colonialism: The African Experience*. Cambridge University Press.
11. Nwachuku, C. (2011). Infrastructure and Its Role in Colonial Economic Policy in Nigeria. *Journal of African Development*, 18(2), 51-66.
12. Obi, C.I. (2009). Colonial Rule and Resource Exploitation in Eastern Nigeria. *Nigerian Economic Review*, 42(5), 79-95.
13. Opara, G. (2018). Social Infrastructure and Colonialism in Nigeria: A Critical Study. *Nigerian Historical Journal*, 25(6), 99-115.
14. Osundare, C. (1995). *Colonial Administration and Public Works in Nigeria*. University of Lagos Press.
15. Oyeniyi, O. (2005). The British Colonial Legacy in Nigeria's Infrastructure: A Case Study of Eastern Nigeria. *Nigerian Journal of Development Studies*, 20(3), 125-142.
16. Smith, S. (2002). The British Empire and African Economic Infrastructure. *African Studies Review*, 13(4), 25-38.
17. Talbot, P. (2000). *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. University of London Press.
18. Udo, B. (1998). Economic Development in Eastern Nigeria during British Colonial Rule. *Journal of African Political Economy*, 16(7), 100-118.

19. Williams, T. (2017). Colonialism and Infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and Ghana. *African Development Journal*, 22(2), 89-104.
20. Young, A. (1994). *British Colonial Rule and Economic Exploitation in Nigeria*. University of Chicago Press.
26. Adeyemi, D. (2002). Colonialism and its Impact on the Development of Nigeria's Infrastructure: A Critical Review. *African Journal of History*, 27(3), 88-105.
27. Akinwumi, O. (2014). Colonial Governance and Infrastructural Development in Nigeria: Case Studies of Eastern Nigeria. *Nigerian Review of Politics and Society*, 15(4), 199-215.
28. Aluko, Y. (2001). Infrastructure and the British Colonial State in Nigeria: A Review of Economic and Political Impact. *Journal of Colonial and Post-Colonial History*, 8(1), 53-71.
29. Babatunde, T. (2013). The Political Economy of Infrastructure in Colonial Nigeria. *African Development Perspectives*, 35(2), 203-221.
30. Chukwu, M. (1999). Resource Extraction and Colonial Economic Policies in Eastern Nigeria: 1900–1959. *African Economic History Review*, 22(2), 76-90.
31. Cohen, R. (2015). Colonialism and Infrastructure in West Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Nigeria and Ghana. *Oxford Historical Review*, 23(3), 145-163.
32. Dike, V.A. (1974). Colonial Infrastructure and Economic Development in Nigeria: A Historical Overview. *Journal of Nigerian History*, 12(2), 210-230.
33. Eke, G. (1997). Railways and Economic Integration in Colonial Nigeria: The Case of Eastern Nigeria. *Journal of Nigerian Economic Studies*, 18(1), 51-67.
34. Fafunwa, A.B. (1971). Education in Colonial Nigeria: Infrastructure and Social Development. *Educational Journal of Nigeria*, 30(2), 102-120.
35. Helleiner, G.K. (2009). Colonial Trade Policies and Economic Infrastructure in Nigeria: Case Studies from Eastern Nigeria, 1910-1960. *African Studies Review*, 52(3), 120-138.
36. Jinadu, A. (2016). Colonial Political Economy and Infrastructure in Nigeria: A Focus on the Eastern Region. *Nigerian Political Science Journal*, 28(1), 201-218.
37. Kwanashie, G. (2004). The Expansion of Colonial Infrastructure in Nigeria: An Examination of Railways, Roads, and Ports in Eastern Nigeria. *Journal of Nigerian Studies*, 14(4), 115-132.
38. Mohan, M. (2003). The Impact of Colonial Development on Nigerian Infrastructure. *African Economic Review*, 17(3), 98-115.
39. Ojo, O. (2008). Colonialism and the Shaping of Infrastructure in Eastern Nigeria: Economic and Political Analysis. *Nigerian Historical Review*, 19(1), 79-98.
40. Smith, S.O. (1988). Transportation Infrastructure and the Colonial Economy of Nigeria: An Analysis of British Colonial Rail Networks in Eastern Nigeria. *Transportation Studies Journal*, 7(2), 37-52.