

From Palm Oil to Petroleum: Commodity Dependence in Nigerian Economic History

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Abstract : *This study examines the historical evolution of commodity dependence in Nigeria : tracing the transition from a palm oil-driven export economy in the nineteenth century to petroleum dependence from the late twentieth century. Using the historical-analytical method and relying on archival records, government publications, trade statistics, and relevant secondary literature, the study explores how colonial economic policies, global market dynamics, and postcolonial state decisions shaped Nigeria's commodity specialization. It argues that while palm oil integrated Nigeria into the global economy, the discovery and commercialization of crude oil intensified mono-product dependence, weakened agriculture and manufacturing, and increased the country's vulnerability to fluctuations in international oil prices. The study further demonstrates that colonial patterns of production, infrastructure development, and export orientation created structural conditions that reinforced post-independence resource dependence. The consequences include revenue volatility, deindustrialization, unemployment, regional disparities, and limited economic diversification. The paper concludes that overcoming commodity dependence requires revitalizing agriculture, promoting industrialization, strengthening value addition, investing in human capital and infrastructure, and implementing consistent diversification policies. Such reforms are essential for achieving sustainable economic growth, economic resilience, and long-term national development in Nigeria.*

Keywords: Commodity dependence; Palm oil economy; Petroleum economy; Economic diversification; Nigerian economic history.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria's economic history has been profoundly shaped by the production and export of primary commodities, making commodity dependence a recurring feature of its economic development. During the pre-colonial and colonial periods, palm oil and palm kernels were among the country's most valuable export commodities, linking the economy to expanding European industrial

markets. The commercial importance of palm produce increased following the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the nineteenth century, as European industries required vegetable oils for manufacturing soap, candles, lubricants, and other industrial products (Falola & Heaton, 2008). Meredith (1984) observed that "the Nigerian oil-palm industry was once among the most important sectors of the colonial economy", underscoring its significance in the country's economic history. Consequently, palm produce became a major source of foreign exchange and stimulated commercial activities, particularly in the forest regions of southern Nigeria.

Commodity dependence is generally understood as a situation in which a country's economy relies predominantly on one or a few primary commodities for export earnings, government revenue, and foreign exchange. While such specialization may generate substantial income during periods of favourable international prices, it also exposes the economy to external shocks arising from fluctuations in global commodity markets (Auty, 2001). Nigeria's experience with commodity dependence did not begin with petroleum; rather, it originated during the colonial period when British economic policies encouraged the large-scale production of export crops, including palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts, rubber, and cotton. This export-oriented structure created a pattern of economic dependence that continued to influence development policies after independence.

The discovery of crude oil in commercial quantities at Oloibiri in 1956 marked a turning point in Nigeria's economic history. Petroleum gradually replaced agricultural commodities as the country's dominant source of export earnings, particularly after the oil boom of the early 1970s. Oil revenues enabled the Nigerian government to finance ambitious infrastructure projects, expand public services, and increase public sector employment. However, the rapid growth of the petroleum sector also contributed to the neglect of agriculture, weakened manufacturing, and increased dependence on imports (Falola & Heaton, 2008). As a result, Nigeria transformed from one of Africa's leading agricultural exporters into one of the world's most petroleum-dependent economies.

The transition from palm produce to petroleum represented not merely a change in export commodities but also a fundamental restructuring of Nigeria's political economy. The palm oil economy was largely sustained by indigenous farmers, local merchants, cooperative labour systems, and decentralized production networks that generated employment across rural communities. By contrast, petroleum production became highly capital-intensive and dominated by multinational oil corporations operating in partnership with the Nigerian state. Watts (2008) argued that "oil has become the commanding height of the Nigerian economy", reflecting the overwhelming influence of petroleum on governance, fiscal policy, and national development. This transformation altered patterns of wealth creation, labour utilization, and regional economic development.

Scholars have consistently argued that Nigeria's overwhelming dependence on petroleum has produced several structural economic challenges. Sachs and Warner (2001) contend that economies heavily dependent on natural resources often experience slower long-term economic

growth, a phenomenon widely known as the resource curse. Similarly, excessive reliance on crude oil has been associated with the Dutch Disease, whereby booming resource exports reduce the competitiveness of agriculture and manufacturing through exchange-rate appreciation and policy neglect. In Nigeria, recurring fluctuations in international oil prices have contributed to fiscal instability, rising unemployment, inflationary pressures, and economic recessions, thereby demonstrating the vulnerabilities associated with mono-product dependence.

A historical examination of Nigeria's transition from palm produce to petroleum provides valuable insights into the country's changing economic priorities and development trajectory. Rather than viewing petroleum dependence as an isolated post-independence phenomenon, it is important to situate it within the broader historical context of commodity dependence established during the colonial era. Such an approach enables scholars to understand the continuities and discontinuities in Nigeria's economic structure, the influence of colonial institutions, and the role of global market forces in shaping domestic development. It also contributes to ongoing debates on economic diversification, sustainable development, and the restructuring of resource-dependent economies in Africa.

This study therefore examines the historical evolution of commodity dependence in Nigeria from the era of palm produce to the dominance of petroleum. It investigates the factors responsible for the transition, evaluates the socio-economic implications of dependence on successive export commodities, and analyses how this historical trajectory has shaped contemporary development challenges. By adopting a historical perspective, the study contributes to the literature on Nigerian economic history and provides evidence-based insights into the necessity of economic diversification as a strategy for achieving sustainable growth, reducing vulnerability to external shocks, and promoting inclusive national development.

Conceptual Clarification of the Palm Oil Economy

The palm oil economy refers to an economic system in which the cultivation, processing, exchange, and export of palm oil and its by-products constitute a major source of production, employment, trade, and public revenue. In the Nigerian context, the palm oil economy emerged long before colonial rule, particularly in the forest regions of present-day southeastern and southwestern Nigeria, where the oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) grew naturally and was integrated into local livelihoods. Palm oil served both domestic and commercial purposes, including food preparation, soap making, medicinal applications, and the manufacture of other products. According to Hopkins (1973), the nineteenth-century expansion of palm oil exports marked a significant transition in West African commerce following the decline of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. As Hopkins (1973) observed, "the palm oil trade became the principal form of legitimate commerce between Britain and West Africa", underscoring the commodity's growing importance in regional and international trade.

Historically, the palm oil economy represented the foundation of Nigeria's export-oriented agricultural sector during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Demand from Britain and

other European countries increased substantially because palm oil was required as a lubricant for machinery during the Industrial Revolution and as a raw material for soap, candle, and margarine production. Indigenous farmers, family labour systems, and local trading networks responded to this demand by expanding production and marketing activities. Martin (1988) argues that palm produce was central to the integration of southern Nigeria into the global capitalist economy, noting that "palm produce dominated Nigeria's export economy before the discovery of petroleum". Consequently, the palm oil economy became a major driver of colonial commerce and foreign exchange earnings.

The palm oil economy also encompassed a network of indigenous institutions that regulated production, labour mobilization, land tenure, transportation, and marketing. Rural households relied primarily on family labour, cooperative work groups, age grades, and community associations to harvest and process palm fruits. These institutions reduced production costs while ensuring continuity in supply. According to Afigbo (1981), the economic organization of Igbo communities demonstrated remarkable adaptability in responding to expanding commercial opportunities. He observed that "the indigenous economy was sufficiently flexible to accommodate increasing commercial demands without fundamentally disrupting traditional social institutions" (Afigbo, 1981). This illustrates that the palm oil economy was embedded within indigenous socioeconomic structures rather than operating as an isolated commercial enterprise. From an economic history perspective, the palm oil economy symbolizes Nigeria's era of agricultural export dominance before the ascendancy of crude petroleum in the 1970s. Revenue generated from palm oil exports contributed significantly to colonial infrastructure development, public administration, and regional economic growth, particularly in the Eastern Region. However, the discovery and commercialization of petroleum gradually displaced palm oil as Nigeria's leading export commodity, resulting in increased dependence on oil revenues and the neglect of agriculture. As Falola and Heaton (2008) note, "Nigeria's economy shifted dramatically from an agriculture-based export economy to one overwhelmingly dependent on petroleum". This historical transition remains central to understanding the evolution of commodity dependence in Nigerian economic history.

Commodity Dependence

Commodity dependence refers to a condition in which a country's economy relies heavily on the production and export of one or a few primary commodities as its principal source of foreign exchange earnings, government revenue, and economic growth. Such economies are particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in international commodity prices, external market conditions, and changes in global demand. In many developing countries, dependence on a narrow range of export commodities has constrained economic diversification and exposed them to recurring fiscal and macroeconomic instability. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2023) defines commodity dependence as a situation in which "more than 60 per cent of a country's merchandise export value comes from commodities." This definition highlights the structural reliance of many developing economies on primary commodity exports.

From an economic history perspective, commodity dependence is not merely an economic phenomenon but also the product of historical processes shaped by colonialism, global trade patterns, and post-colonial development strategies. During the colonial era, African economies were integrated into the international capitalist system as suppliers of raw materials for industrialized countries. In Nigeria, agricultural commodities such as palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts, and cotton formed the backbone of export earnings before the discovery of crude oil. According to Rodney (1972), "the question as to who and what developed Europe is inseparable from the question as to who and what underdeveloped Africa", emphasizing how colonial economic structures encouraged specialization in primary commodity production at the expense of industrial development.

In Nigeria, commodity dependence evolved from an agricultural export economy to overwhelming reliance on petroleum following the commercial discovery of crude oil in 1956 and the oil boom of the 1970s. Petroleum gradually displaced palm oil and other agricultural exports as the country's dominant source of foreign exchange and public revenue. This transition generated substantial financial resources but also contributed to the neglect of agriculture, manufacturing, and other productive sectors. Auty (1993) argues that countries rich in natural resources often experience slower long-term economic growth because excessive reliance on a single commodity discourages diversification and institutional development. As Auty (1993) notes, "resource-rich countries have generally underperformed compared with resource-poor countries", a situation widely associated with the resource curse.

Commodity dependence has significant implications for Nigeria's economic development. Heavy reliance on petroleum exports has exposed the country to volatile oil prices, exchange rate instability, fiscal deficits, unemployment, and recurrent economic recessions. These challenges underscore the importance of diversifying the economy by revitalizing agriculture, promoting industrialization, and expanding non-oil exports. As Sachs and Warner (2001) conclude, "economies with abundant natural resources have tended to grow more slowly than economies without substantial natural resources". Therefore, understanding commodity dependence is essential for explaining the historical transition from palm oil to petroleum and for assessing the long-term consequences of Nigeria's export structure.

Economic Diversification

Economic diversification refers to the process through which an economy expands its productive base by developing multiple sectors rather than relying predominantly on a single commodity or industry for growth, employment, and foreign exchange earnings. It involves broadening the sources of national income through investments in agriculture, manufacturing, services, technology, and other productive activities. The objective is to reduce vulnerability to external shocks, improve economic resilience, and promote sustainable development. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2020), economic diversification is "the process by which economies develop a wider range of productive and economic activities". This process is particularly important for commodity-dependent economies

such as Nigeria, where fluctuations in global oil prices have significant implications for economic stability.

From a historical perspective, Nigeria's economy was relatively diversified during the pre-petroleum era, with agricultural commodities such as palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts, cotton, and rubber contributing substantially to exports and government revenue. However, the discovery of crude oil and the subsequent oil boom of the 1970s shifted economic attention away from agriculture and manufacturing towards the petroleum sector. This transition resulted in the neglect of other productive sectors and increased the country's dependence on oil revenues. The World Bank (2022) observes that "economic diversification remains central to achieving sustainable and inclusive growth in resource-dependent economies". Consequently, diversification has become a major policy objective for addressing the structural weaknesses associated with Nigeria's petroleum-dependent economy.

In the context of Nigerian economic history, economic diversification entails revitalizing agriculture, promoting value-added manufacturing, encouraging technological innovation, and expanding non-oil exports to reduce dependence on petroleum. Diversification not only enhances employment opportunities and increases foreign exchange earnings but also strengthens the economy against commodity price volatility. As the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2023) argues, "diversification is essential for reducing commodity dependence and fostering long-term economic resilience". Therefore, economic diversification represents a strategic pathway for transforming Nigeria's economy from one characterized by commodity dependence to one driven by broad-based and sustainable development.

Theoretical Framework: Staple Theory

The Staple Theory, also known as the Staples Thesis, provides an appropriate theoretical framework for analysing the historical transition from palm oil to petroleum and the evolution of commodity dependence in Nigerian economic history. The theory was developed by the Canadian economic historian Harold Adams Innis in the 1930s to explain how the production and export of primary commodities, or "staples," shape the economic, political, and institutional development of nations. According to Innis (1933), the pattern of economic development in resource-rich countries is largely determined by the nature of the staple commodity they produce for external markets. He argued that "the economic history of Canada has been dominated by the exploitation of staple products" (Innis, 1933). Although the theory originated from the Canadian experience, it has since been widely applied to developing economies whose growth has been driven by exports of agricultural and mineral commodities.

The central proposition of Staple Theory is that dependence on a dominant export commodity significantly influences a country's production structure, trade relations, labour organization, state revenue, and development trajectory. Staple exports stimulate infrastructure development, attract foreign investment, and generate government income, but excessive dependence on a single commodity may also expose an economy to external market fluctuations and discourage economic

diversification. Watkins (1963) expanded Innis's ideas by emphasizing that staple production creates both backward linkages, such as demand for agricultural inputs and transportation, and forward linkages, including processing and manufacturing industries. However, where these linkages remain weak, staple dependence can limit industrialization and reinforce structural dependence on external markets.

The Staple Theory is particularly relevant to Nigeria's economic history because it explains the country's shift from an agricultural staple economy based on palm oil to a mineral staple economy dominated by crude petroleum. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, palm oil was Nigeria's principal export commodity, generating foreign exchange and integrating the country into the global economy. Following the commercial production of crude oil in the late 1950s and the oil boom of the 1970s, petroleum replaced palm oil as Nigeria's dominant staple export. This transition transformed government revenue, export earnings, and development priorities but also contributed to the decline of agriculture, weak industrial linkages, and increasing dependence on oil. As Innis (1956) maintained, "the character of the staple determines the direction of economic development", a proposition that closely reflects Nigeria's historical experience.

The application of Staple Theory to this study provides a valuable framework for understanding how successive export commodities have shaped Nigeria's economic structure over time. It explains why the economy became heavily dependent first on palm oil and later on petroleum, while also highlighting the long-term consequences of relying on a narrow export base. The theory further underscores the importance of strengthening productive linkages, promoting value addition, and diversifying the economy beyond primary commodities. Consequently, Staple Theory offers a historical and analytical lens through which the evolution of commodity dependence and the quest for sustainable economic diversification in Nigeria can be critically examined.

Palm Oil Economy in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Nigeria

Before the advent of colonial rule, agriculture constituted the backbone of the Nigerian economy and served as the primary occupation of most communities. Farmers cultivated a wide range of food and cash crops for subsistence, local exchange, and external trade. Among these commodities, palm oil emerged as the most significant export from the forest regions of southern Nigeria. The expansion of the palm oil trade in the nineteenth century transformed local economies, as communities increasingly specialized in the production and marketing of palm produce. According to Hopkins (1973), the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade encouraged the development of "legitimate commerce," with palm oil becoming the leading commodity exported from the Niger Delta and the southeastern hinterland. This transition marked the beginning of Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist economy (Hopkins, 1973).

The rapid growth of European industrialization significantly increased the demand for palm oil, which was used in the manufacture of soap, candles, lubricants, and other industrial products. Consequently, British merchants intensified their commercial activities along the Niger River

during the 1840s and 1850s, bypassing many coastal middlemen in an effort to establish direct trade with inland producers. As European demand continued to rise, competition for control of trade routes and markets became increasingly fierce, contributing to a series of conflicts among Niger Delta states. As Shillington (2018) observed, "the demand for palm oil transformed the political and commercial landscape of the Niger Delta," as communities struggled to dominate access to European markets (Shillington, 2018).

The establishment of legitimate commerce following the abolition of the slave trade did not necessarily promote autonomous African economic development. Rather, European commercial interests increasingly shaped the direction of production and exchange in West Africa. Palm oil replaced enslaved persons as the principal export commodity, yet the structure of trade remained largely dependent on European industrial needs. Hopkins (1982) argued that "the transition from slave exports to legitimate commerce did not fundamentally alter Africa's subordinate position in the international economy." During the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the palm oil industry generated considerable prosperity for many producers, merchants, and middlemen, particularly in the Niger Delta and eastern Nigeria, where commercial networks expanded rapidly (Hopkins, 1982).

The expansion of the palm oil economy stimulated employment opportunities in harvesting, processing, transportation, canoe services, and marketing. Indigenous entrepreneurs, traders, and labourers benefited from the growing export market, while local political authorities derived revenue from customs duties and trade regulation. According to Falola and Heaton (2008), the commercialization of palm produce "linked rural producers to international markets and altered patterns of production and social organization." By the late nineteenth century, millions of palm trees were under cultivation or exploitation in southern Nigeria, making the region one of the world's leading suppliers of palm oil and palm kernels. Nevertheless, the increasing concentration on palm produce encouraged dependence on a narrow range of export commodities, reducing attention to other sectors of the economy (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

The colonial administration further institutionalized this dependence by promoting the export of raw agricultural commodities to supply British industries while discouraging local industrial processing. Although the palm oil economy generated substantial export earnings and integrated Nigeria into international commerce, it also laid the foundation for commodity dependence that persisted into the twentieth century. As Rodney (1972) famously asserted, "Africa's participation in international trade increasingly served the needs of European capitalist development rather than African economic transformation." The historical experience of the palm oil economy therefore illustrates both the opportunities and limitations of export-led growth, providing important context for understanding Nigeria's later transition from palm oil dependence to petroleum dependence.

The Emergence of the Petroleum Economy in Nigeria

The emergence of the petroleum economy marked a fundamental turning point in Nigeria's economic history, gradually replacing the palm oil economy as the country's principal source of export earnings and government revenue. Although petroleum deposits were first discovered in

commercial quantities at Oloibiri in present-day Bayelsa State by Shell D'Arcy in 1956, large-scale production did not commence until 1958. Following Nigeria's independence in 1960, crude oil production expanded rapidly as multinational oil companies intensified exploration and exploitation activities across the Niger Delta. According to Falola and Heaton (2008), "the discovery of oil transformed Nigeria from an agricultural export economy into one heavily dependent on petroleum revenues," fundamentally reshaping the country's economic structure.

The Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970) and the global oil boom of the early 1970s accelerated the country's transition into a petroleum-based economy. The sharp increase in world oil prices following the 1973 Arab–Israeli War generated unprecedented revenue for the Nigerian government. These earnings financed ambitious development projects, infrastructure, public sector expansion, and increased imports. As Watts (2008) observed, "oil rapidly became the commanding height of the Nigerian economy," accounting for the overwhelming share of export earnings and government income. By the mid-1970s, petroleum had overtaken agriculture as Nigeria's dominant export commodity.

The rapid growth of the petroleum sector, however, contributed to the neglect of agriculture and other productive sectors. Government policies increasingly favoured oil production while investment in cash crop agriculture, manufacturing, and rural development declined. Consequently, exports of traditional commodities such as palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts, cotton, and rubber experienced significant reductions. According to Lewis (2007), "Nigeria's dependence on oil revenues weakened incentives for economic diversification and increased vulnerability to fluctuations in global oil prices." This overreliance on petroleum created structural imbalances that became evident during periods of declining oil prices.

Furthermore, the petroleum economy generated significant socio-economic and environmental challenges, particularly in the Niger Delta. Oil exploration and production resulted in environmental degradation, oil spills, gas flaring, and the destruction of farmlands and fishing communities, thereby undermining traditional livelihoods. While petroleum generated substantial national income, its benefits were unevenly distributed, contributing to regional inequality, unemployment, and resource-based conflicts. As Rodney (1972) argued, "the extraction of African resources primarily served external capitalist interests rather than promoting balanced domestic development." The emergence of the petroleum economy therefore brought both economic opportunities and profound developmental challenges.

The historical transition from the palm oil economy to the petroleum economy illustrates Nigeria's enduring dependence on a single export commodity. While petroleum generated unprecedented wealth and elevated Nigeria's position in the global energy market, it also entrenched economic vulnerabilities associated with commodity dependence, including exposure to external price shocks, fiscal instability, and underdevelopment of non-oil sectors. Understanding this transition is essential for evaluating Nigeria's contemporary quest for economic diversification and sustainable development.

Comparative Analysis of the Palm Oil and Petroleum Eras in Nigeria

The palm oil and petroleum eras represent two distinct phases of Nigeria's economic history, each characterized by dependence on a dominant export commodity. The palm oil economy flourished during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in southern Nigeria, where palm oil and palm kernels became the country's leading exports following the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In contrast, the petroleum economy emerged after the commercial discovery of crude oil at Oloibiri in 1956 and became firmly established following the oil boom of the 1970s. Although both periods generated substantial export earnings, they differed significantly in their production systems, ownership structures, and developmental outcomes. As Hopkins (1973) observed, "the export economy of West Africa was shaped by the changing demands of the industrial economies of Europe," illustrating the external forces that influenced both commodity eras.

One major difference between the two eras lies in the organization of production and ownership. The palm oil economy was predominantly indigenous, with production undertaken by peasant farmers, family labour, and local merchants using traditional methods of harvesting and processing. Wealth was more broadly distributed among rural communities engaged in cultivation, transportation, and trade. Conversely, the petroleum industry has been dominated by multinational corporations operating in partnership with the Nigerian government. Oil extraction requires advanced technology, substantial capital investment, and specialized expertise that were largely unavailable locally during the industry's formative years. According to Falola and Heaton (2008), "the oil industry fundamentally altered the relationship between the Nigerian state, foreign capital, and local communities," concentrating economic power within the state and international oil companies.

Another important distinction concerns the impact of both commodities on economic diversification. During the palm oil era, agriculture remained diversified, as farmers simultaneously cultivated food crops and other export commodities such as cocoa, cotton, rubber, and groundnuts. Palm oil complemented rather than displaced other sectors of the economy. In contrast, the petroleum era witnessed the progressive neglect of agriculture and manufacturing as oil revenues became the dominant source of national income. This phenomenon, commonly associated with the "Dutch Disease," weakened Nigeria's productive capacity outside the oil sector. Lewis (2007) argued that "oil wealth reduced incentives for productive investment in agriculture and manufacturing," thereby increasing the country's dependence on crude oil exports.

The social and environmental consequences of the two eras also differed considerably. While palm oil production altered patterns of land use and expanded commercial agriculture, its environmental effects were relatively localized and less destructive. The petroleum economy, however, has been associated with severe environmental degradation, including oil spills, gas flaring, water pollution, and the destruction of farmlands and fishing grounds in the Niger Delta. These developments have generated widespread social unrest, youth militancy, and conflicts over resource control. Watts (2008) maintained that "oil has produced both immense national wealth and profound local

poverty," highlighting the paradox of resource abundance amid persistent underdevelopment in oil-producing communities.

Despite these differences, the palm oil and petroleum eras share several important similarities. Both economies were heavily export-oriented and developed primarily to satisfy the demands of foreign industrial markets rather than domestic industrialization. In each period, Nigeria became dependent on a single dominant commodity, exposing the economy to fluctuations in global market prices and external economic shocks. Furthermore, both eras reinforced Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist economy as a supplier of raw materials rather than manufactured goods. Rodney (1972) asserted that "Africa's economic role within the international system was structured to serve the interests of external capitalist development," a perspective that aptly explains the continuity between the palm oil and petroleum economies.

The transition from the palm oil economy to the petroleum economy reflects both continuity and change in Nigeria's economic history. While palm oil promoted widespread rural participation and supported a relatively diversified agricultural economy, petroleum generated greater government revenue but also fostered excessive commodity dependence, environmental degradation, and economic vulnerability. The comparative analysis demonstrates that although the dominant export commodity changed, the underlying pattern of dependence on primary commodity exports persisted. Consequently, Nigeria's contemporary pursuit of economic diversification seeks to overcome the structural weaknesses inherited from both the palm oil and petroleum eras by promoting industrialization, value addition, and sustainable economic development.

Lessons for Economic Diversification in Nigeria

Nigeria's prolonged dependence on petroleum exports has exposed the economy to recurring external shocks arising from fluctuations in global oil prices. This overreliance has constrained the development of other productive sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, solid minerals, and technology, thereby limiting sustainable economic growth. Economic historians and development economists argue that countries dependent on a single commodity are more susceptible to fiscal instability and slow structural transformation. As Sachs and Warner (2001) observed, "resource-rich economies often grow more slowly than resource-poor economies" (p. 837). This experience underscores the urgent need for Nigeria to diversify its economy by broadening its productive base and reducing dependence on crude oil revenues.

A major lesson for Nigeria is the importance of strengthening non-oil sectors capable of generating employment, increasing exports, and promoting inclusive growth. Agriculture, which served as the backbone of the Nigerian economy before the oil boom, possesses enormous potential for food security, industrial raw materials, and foreign exchange earnings. Similarly, investment in manufacturing and agro-processing would increase value addition and reduce the country's dependence on imported goods. According to the World Bank (2023), "economic diversification is essential for creating jobs, improving resilience, and sustaining long-term economic growth."

Diversification therefore requires deliberate government policies that encourage investment, technological innovation, and industrial development.

Nigeria can also benefit from changing global economic dynamics. While developed economies have experienced relatively slow growth, many emerging economies such as China, India, Brazil, Indonesia, and Vietnam continue to record significant expansion, creating new markets for agricultural and manufactured exports. Okonjo-Iweala (2012) argued that "Nigeria must seize the opportunities presented by emerging markets and diversify its productive capacity to remain globally competitive". Rising demand in these economies presents Nigeria with opportunities to export processed agricultural products, solid minerals, and manufactured goods rather than relying almost exclusively on crude oil exports.

Furthermore, attracting domestic and foreign investment into productive sectors is essential for successful economic diversification. Stable macroeconomic policies, reliable infrastructure, transparent institutions, and improved ease of doing business will encourage investors to commit long-term capital to the Nigerian economy. Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) maintained that "inclusive economic institutions foster innovation, investment, and sustained economic prosperity" (p. 74). Therefore, institutional reforms that strengthen governance, reduce corruption, and enforce the rule of law remain indispensable for creating an environment that supports private-sector-led growth and economic transformation.

Another important lesson is the need to invest substantially in human capital development and technological innovation. Countries that have successfully diversified their economies have done so by developing skilled labour, promoting entrepreneurship, supporting research and development, and adopting modern technologies. Nigeria's youthful and entrepreneurial population represents a significant comparative advantage that can drive industrialization if supported with quality education, vocational training, digital infrastructure, and access to finance. As the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2021) noted, "human capital is one of the principal drivers of productivity, innovation and long-term economic growth." Harnessing this demographic advantage would stimulate productivity across both traditional and emerging sectors of the economy.

Finally, Nigeria's economic transformation requires sustained commitment to structural reforms beyond short-term fiscal adjustments. Diversification should focus on expanding productive sectors that generate employment, increase exports, and enhance national competitiveness. Lessons from both the palm oil era and the petroleum era demonstrate that dependence on a single commodity exposes the economy to severe vulnerabilities. Consequently, Nigeria must adopt a long-term development strategy that emphasizes industrialization, export diversification, technological advancement, and sound economic governance. As Okonjo-Iweala (2012) aptly stated, "Nigeria's future prosperity depends on building a diversified economy that is resilient to external shocks". Such a strategy would lay the foundation for sustainable economic development and improved living standards.

CONCLUSION

Nigeria possesses abundant natural and human resources across several productive sectors that can serve as sustainable engines of economic growth and reduce the country's long-standing dependence on crude petroleum. The country's experience demonstrates that excessive reliance on a single export commodity exposes the economy to external shocks, volatile international prices, and fiscal instability. Consequently, economic diversification remains an essential strategy for achieving inclusive growth, employment generation, and long-term development. As the World Bank (2023) observes, "economic diversification is critical for building resilience, creating jobs, and sustaining economic growth in resource-dependent economies." Therefore, strengthening non-oil sectors should remain a central objective of Nigeria's economic policy.

Agriculture remains one of the most viable alternatives for economic diversification. Before the discovery of petroleum, agricultural exports such as palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts, rubber, and cotton formed the backbone of Nigeria's economy. Although agriculture continues to employ a significant proportion of the labour force and contributes substantially to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), its full potential has not been realized because of inadequate mechanization, poor rural infrastructure, limited access to finance, insecurity, and weak value-addition industries. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO, 2022), "agriculture remains central to poverty reduction, food security, and sustainable economic development." Revitalizing agriculture through technological innovation, agro-processing, and improved government support would significantly enhance export earnings and stimulate industrial growth. Similarly, the manufacturing, construction, housing, creative, and service sectors possess enormous capacity to transform the Nigerian economy. The manufacturing sector has experienced persistent decline due largely to unreliable electricity supply, inadequate transport infrastructure, high production costs, and inconsistent industrial policies. Nevertheless, investments in infrastructure, renewable energy, industrial parks, digital technology, and human capital development would improve productivity and competitiveness. The construction and housing industries can generate millions of direct and indirect employment opportunities while addressing Nigeria's infrastructure deficit. Likewise, the entertainment, tourism, financial services, and information technology sectors have emerged as important contributors to national income. As the African Development Bank (2024) notes, "structural transformation requires expanding productive sectors beyond natural resources into manufacturing and modern services."

Nigeria's journey from a palm oil-based economy to petroleum dependence underscores the urgent necessity of building a diversified and resilient economy. Sustainable economic development will depend on coherent government policies, institutional reforms, investment in education and skills development, technological innovation, and effective utilization of the country's abundant natural and human resources. Diversification should not merely involve expanding the number of productive sectors but also strengthening the linkages among agriculture, manufacturing, services, and technology to promote value addition and industrialization. If these measures are consistently

implemented, Nigeria will be better positioned to achieve sustainable economic growth, reduce unemployment and poverty, increase foreign exchange earnings, and enhance its competitiveness within the global economy.

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