THE IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BEEF MARKET IN LAGOS, 1912-1960

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ABSTRACT

The world beef market is a multibillion-dollar industry that involves production, processing, distribution, and consumption of beef products. Beef is one of the most widely consumed meats globally. The key factors driving the global beef market are demand and supply occasioned by infrastructural development, population growth, improved income, affordability and availability of beef products. However, African beef market is driven by increasing demand for protein-rich foods, particularly in urban areas. Nigeria has undergone significant transformations over the past century in the beef industry. The British colonial policies played important roles in shaping the beef market development in Lagos. This study explores how colonial economic policies influenced the development of the Lagos beef industry. The objectives of this study were to: (i) assess the origin and evolution of beef market in Lagos; (ii) investigate the nature of beef market in Lagos prior to colonial rule; and (iii) examine the impact of British colonial policies on the development of beef market in Lagos. The study adopts historical research methodology, leveraging on primary and secondary sources of data collection. The primary sources included archival materials, oral interviews and government records while secondary sources included published books and journals papers. The study highlights the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial economic interactions between the Hausa/Fulani cattle traders and the people of Lagos and the impact of British colonial policies in shaping the Lagos beef industry. The findings reveal adaptions and innovations in beef production, processes, marketing and distribution, as well as challenges relating to hygiene and sanitation, and regulatory frameworks.

Keywords: Impact, Policies, Development, Beef Market, Innovation, Modernization.

Introduction

Beef is a commonly used word to describe meat derived from cattle. Beef is the third most consumed meat globally, representing 24% of global meat consumption after pork (36%), chicken (33%) and goats/sheep (5%), and other meat sources 2%. Beef is the second most consumed meat after poultry in sub-Saharan Africa, contributed 3.2 average per capita consumption in Africa between 2020 and 2022 (FAO, 2022). It is the most consumed meat in West Africa and Nigeria consumed 50 percent of the total cattle meat’s consumption in West

Africa (FAO, 2022). Beef is delicious and also offers numerous health benefits. It is an excellent source of animal protein, essential for muscle growth and repair. Additionally, beef is rich in vitamins and minerals, such as iron, zinc, and B vitamins (SavorEat, 2023). Beef also contributes to improved energy levels, brain development and vital for maintaining overall health.

The world beef market is a multibillion-dollar industry that involves the production, processing, distribution, and consumption of beef products. Beef is one of the most widely consumed meats globally. The key factors driving the global beef market are demand and supply occasioned by population growth, trade and exports, with Brazil, Australia, and the United States being the major exporters global (Lusk & Baily, 2013) However, African beef market is driven by increasing demand for protein-rich foods, particularly in urban areas (Abdul-Jabbar et al., 2015). However, with the advent of colonial rule in Nigeria, traditional markets underwent tremendous transformation. The British colonial government in Nigeria took over power to establish and manage markets through Market Ordinance and byelaws which made all markets in Lagos came under the control of the Lagos Town Council (Handwerker, 1969). Therefore, the management of markets during colonial rule in Yoruba land was under the City Council appointed by the British colonial government in Nigeria (Handwerker, 1969).

The impact of British colonial economic policies was felt in the areas of infrastructural development, such as improved transportation networks, market and abattoir development and management, improved cattle production, processes and distribution.

Conceptual Clarification

Beef refers to meat derived from cattle and it is a source of animal protein. Etymologically, the word beef originates from the old French word "*boef*", meaning "cow" or "ox" which can be traced back to the latin "*bovem*", the accusative form of "*bos*" (Laura, 2015). In Nigeria, "beef" can also refer to a dispute or argument between persons or groups. It is an informal usage of slang to show that two individuals are not in good terms. In this context however, beef is the meat derived from cattle and commonly consumed in Nigeria as a source of animal protein. It contributes to healthy diet, providing essential nutrition and aiding weight management (Adeyemi, 2024).

Culturally, beef has cultural significance in several traditions. In India for instance, beef is not considered edible due to religious reasons. Among the Hinduists, cows are revered as sacred animals, symbolizing Mother Earth and prosperity. This made some Hinduist dominated states banning cow slaughtering. In another development, Hindu scriptures like "*Manusmriti*" and "*Mahabharata*" offered different perspectives on beef consumption. Some interpretations suggested that eating beef is not a sin, while others emphasize the importance of compassion and non-violence (Alimentarium, 2024). In Nigeria, there was no cultural and religious restriction to beef consumption. In the United States of America, beef is central to barbecue culture often used as source in burgers, steaks and stews (Subhrendu, 2014).

In Nigeria, apart from its use for stew also known as beef stew, beef dishes also served as "*Suya*". It a spicy kebab made from marinated beef, skewered and grilled over an open flame. Beef product such as cow legs also come in form of "Pepper Soup". It is a spicy dish made with cow legs by adding pepper soup spice, garlic, ginger, black pepper also known as Cameroon pepper, scent leave, onion, salt and maggi. In the northern part of Nigeria, specifically among the Hausa, beef is also used to prepare "*Dambu Nama*" also known as Beef Floss. In the eastern Nigeria, particularly among the Igbo, a spicy cow foot delicacy known as "*Nkwobi*" is made by adding pepper, *utazi* leaves, *ugba* and palm oil (Google Arts

& Culture, n.d). It is a savory shredded beef delicacy. Other beef products include cattle stomach known as "*Shaki",* cow legs known as "*Bokoto"*, processed cattle skin also known as "*ponmo"*, cow offal also known as "*inueran*" (Deborah, n.d).

British Colonial Economic Policy of Infrastructural Development

The British colonial economic policy in Nigeria between 1912 and 1960 focused on exploiting Nigeria's natural and human resources for the benefit of the British government and at the peril of Nigeria (Hopkins, 1973) The central policy of British economic policy in Nigeria was the extraction of raw materials such as rubber, cotton, coal, and the imposition of cash crops such as palm oil and palm kernel, cocoa and groundnuts. There was also monopolization of trade through British companies and forced labour and the construction of railways and roads networks (Annene, 1970).

Railway transportation began during the colonial rule with the construction rail lines which linked south with the north. The first person to transport cattle from the north to the south in commercial quantity via rail line was the then Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai with the aid of the then British Resident, Captain Philip Weatley (Dunbar, 1970, p. 102). The Shehu was said to have made significant profit from the trade. Since then, cattle trade between the north and south grew significantly. The Fulani cattle dealers began to use railway as an alternative means of transportation but poor rail connection coupled with shortage of wagon spaces were major challenges faced by herders in using rail transportation. Also, the rail line did not reach the remote cattle producing areas, and inadequate facilities for water sources, stock feeds, veterinary services, resting places and housing for cattle freighters at the rail line terminal (Dunbar, 1970, p. 102). These challenges brought about exploitation of cattle freighters by charging excessive fees and a times demanding for bribes to provide cattle freighters with adequate wagon spaces (Ismail, 1994).

It was estimated that in 1912 when the railway corporation was established and rail line connecting the northern and southern regions was completed, the Nigerian railway corporation transported approximately ten thousand (10,000) heads of cattle from the northern regions to the southern regions of Nigeria (NRC, 1912). The quantity of cattle transported from northern regions to Lagos continued to increase as a result of increase in the demand for beef in the major markets in Lagos. Between 1920 and 1930 about 15,000 to 20,000 heads of cattle was transported to Lagos annually, 1930-1940 about 20,000 to 25,000 heads of cattle imported annually, 1940-1950, about 25,000 to 30,000 heads of cattle imported to Lagos annually and between 1950-1960, about 30,000 to 40000 heads of cattle imported to Lagos annually respectively (Ademola, 1975). The estimates above did not include the un-quantified number of cattle transported to Lagos within the same period by other means of transportation such as hooves and trucks.

Establishment of Abattoirs and Modernization of Markets

The British colonial governor set up a special market committee to look at the possibility of establishing a new slaughter slab in Lagos. The committee gave it report at the council meeting held on the 25th April 1933 where the council considered the erection of a new slaughter slab in Apapa (NNAI, n.d. p. 25). The proposed lay-out and estimate submitted by the Acting Town Engineer was approved. The estimated cost of five thousand, seven hundred and fifty pounce (5,750 pounce), which included the provision of the necessary railway siding for the detraining of cattle (NNAI, n.d., p. 25). The new slaughter slab which incidentally a new cattle market was to replace the existing one in Ebute-Metta considered not suitable for the needs of the township, which was undoubtedly desirable to prevent the driving of cattle through the streets of Ebute-Metta to and from the cattle market in Evans

Square (NNAI, n.d., p. 25). Due to the unavailability of fund, a loan of 5,750 pounce was proposed by the committee to the colonial government to finance the construction of new abattoir and cattle market in Apapa. The loan was however, granted by the Town Council in a unanimous decision for the construction of slaughter house, cattle pens, and cattle market in Apapa and such loan to be repaid on yearly installments of principal and interest (NNAI, n.d., p. 26).

In addition, the Governor approved the loan to the Town Council of the sum of 5,750 pounce at 4% percent per annum for a term of fifteen years, to be repaid by the annual installments, an account of principal and interest of 517.3.3 (NNAI, n.d., p. 29). The Secretary, Lagos Town Council in a letter written to the Governor accepted the loan's terms and conditions (NNAI, n.d., p. 31). The cost of maintenance for the Apapa Abattoir was also prepared and submitted by the Town Council Engineer in its meeting held on the 28th November, 1933, and was subsequently approved by Commissioner of the Colony (NNAI, n.d., p. 35).

Introduction of Taxes, Stalls Dues and Butchers' Licensing

The British colonial government in Nigeria introduced taxes on cattle trade and beef markets with the aim of controlling and monetizing the beef industry (Oyedele, 1987). With the development of transportation network which eased and increased the movement of cattle from the northern regions of Nigeria to Lagos, cattle trade and beef markets received a major boost. The British colonial government through the Lagos Town Council (LTC) introduced Native Revenue Ordinance (NRO) in 1914. The Native Revenue Ordinance (NRO) imposed taxes on cattle trade including cattle tax between 1-5 pounce per head, sales tax between 5%-10% of sale value (Ogunjimi, 1985). There was also the introduction of Animal Contagious Diseases Ordinance (ACDO) introduced in 1927. The Ordinance introduced taxes on cattle movement. The movement permit fees ranged between 1-2 pounce and quarantine fees between 1-5 pounce (NNAI, p. 2).

In addition, the British colonial government through the Lagos Town Council (LTC) also introduced Butchers' License Ordinance (BLO) and Meat Inspection Ordinance (MIO) introduced in 1923 and 1935 respectively. The Butchers' License Ordinance required the butchers to obtain licenses between 5-10 pounce while the Meat Inspection Ordinance introduced taxes on beef sales (NNAI, p. 2). More so, the Lagos Town Council Bye Laws of 1947 imposed taxes on beef market stalls at the stall rent fees and market dues per day (NNAI, p. 2). The stall rents were paid quarterly between 2-5 pounds depending on the size of the stall and the market. The fees were later made uniform irrespective of size of the stall or its location. All beef stalls across Lagos were compelled to pay a uniform fee of 5 pounce as stall dues quarterly and approximately 0.2 pounce as market due per day.[i]Between 1914 and 1934, meat stalls annual revenue was between 5,000-10,000 pounce annually and between 1935 and 1960, meat stalls annual revenue was between 15,000 pounce in 1920 to 35,000 pounce in 1960 contributed 60 percent of the total market revenue annually (LTC, 1960).

The British colonial government in Nigeria tax system impacted on development of beef markets in Lagos. It increased revenue for colonial administration in Nigeria. It regulated cattle trade and beef markets and also encouraged European companies to invest in beef industry. It limited indigenous participation due to tax burden. It contributed to higher beef prices for consumers (Ogunjimi, 1985, p. 97

Establishment of Livestock Marketing Boards

The British colonial government through the Lagos Town Council (LTC) established Livestock Marketing Boards (LSMB) in 1935. The rationale behind such establishment was to control prices and cattle trade, cattle auctioning, markets infrastructural development and imposing levy on cattle sales and grating license to cattle traders. As part of its revenue drive, the British colonial government-imposed levy of 1%-2% of sale value and a license fee of 5-20 pounce based on the scale of cattle trading (Osoba, 1978). In addition, prices of cattle were determined by the Livestock Marketing Boards in colonial Nigeria through three major systems. The first was by auction system. Cattle were sold through public auctions and prices were determined by competitive bidding.

The second system of price determination was by fixed price system based on market research and cost of production. The third system of price determination was the grading and pricing system. In this system, cattle were graded according to quality and weight and prices were determined based on grade and market demand (Lagos State Archives, n.d). The important factors that influenced price determination were market demand, cost of production, supply and availability, transportation costs, government policies and regulation and global market trends (Falola, 1987). There were also three pricing mechanisms. The first was the floor prices which pegged the minimum price below which cattle cannot be sold. The second was the ceiling prices, which set the maximum price above which cattle cannot be sold. The third price mechanism was the price stabilization funds used to stabilize prices during market fluctuations (Ogunjimi, 1985, p. 145). Between 1914 and 1925, prices of cattle ranged between 5-20 pounce, 1935 and 1945 prices of cattle ranged between 15-40 pounce and between 1955 and 1960, it was between 30-80 pounce based on quality and weight (Ogunjimi, 1985, p. 153).

Regulation of Abattoirs and Beef Markets

In term of regulations, the British colonial government through the administrator of the colony regulated the approved abattoirs and beef markets through ordinances and bye laws. The 1912 ordinance for instance established the regulatory framework for beef markets and abattoirs in Lagos, licensed beef markets and abattoirs and specified sanitary and hygiene standards (Government Notice, 1912). There were several amendments to the 1912 ordinance. Amendments were made every five years until 1955. The 1915 amendments introduced regulations for cattle slaughter and meat handling and also mandated inspection and monitoring of beef markets and abattoirs (Government Notice, 1915). The 1920 amendments regulated meat price and weights and also established a meat inspection (Government Notice, 1920). The 1925 amendments improved abattoir facilities and equipment, enhanced sanitary and hygiene measures (Government Notice, 1925). In addition, the 1930 amendments regulated beef market operations, including hours and days of operation (Government Notice, 1930). The 1935 amendments introduced training and certificate for meat handlers and inspectors (Government Notice, 1935). The 1940 amendments improved meat quality and handling practices (Government Notice, 1940) while the 1945 enhanced sanitary and hygiene measures (Government Notice, 1945). The 1950 amendment regulated the use of additives and preservatives in meat (Government Notice, 1950) while the 1955 amendments and the last amendments in the regulation of beef markets in Lagos introduced stricter regulations for meat handling and storage (Government Notice, 1955). These amendments were facilitated to regulate beef trade, enhance meat quality, improve hygiene and handling practices.

Furthermore, there was Public Health Ordinance (PHO) promulgated by the British colonial authority in Nigeria in 1943. In the exercise of the powers conferred upon local authority by section 44 of the Public Health Ordinance, bye laws were made by the Lagos Town Council as follows:

i. that the bye laws may cited as the Lagos Town Council Abattoir Bye laws, 1943, and shall apply to the Township of Lagos and shall come into force on the 1st day of October, 1943;
ii. the role of abattoir and medical officer and the operational procedures of abattoirs;
iii. abattoir shall be opened from 4;30 a.m. until 6:45 p.m. daily or during such other hours as the Medical Officer of Health may from time to time prescribe;
iv. no animal shall be slaughtered in the abattoir between the hours of 5:00 p.m. and 5:00 a.m. without the special permission of the Medical Officer of Health;
v. no animal shall be slaughtered without the permission of the Medical Officer of Health unless it shall have been not less than six hours in that part of the abattoir reserved for similar awaiting slaughter;
vi. no person other than a servant of the Lagos Town Council shall take any part in the slaughtering, flaying, dressing, or handling of animals or carcasses in the abattoir unless to be licensed by the Medical Officer of Health;
vii. that a licensed issued under byelaw shall be substantially in the form shown in the schedule hereto and shall expire on the 31st of December and may be issued subject to such special condition the Medical Officer of Health shall endorse thereon;
viii. that a license may prescribe the hours during which the holder may be within the abattoir and it shall be an offence for the holder to be within the abattoir at any other time;
ix. the holder of a license shall, when within the abattoir, produce his license if so-requested by a servant of the Town Council or a Police Officer;
x. no person, other than servants of Town Council, health officers, veterinary officers and police, officers in uniform and on duty, shall enter the abattoir without a permit granted by or on the authority of the Medical Officer of Health;
xi. Prohibited the sale of beef within abattoir premises except in the major beef markets in Lagos;
xii. no person shall bring or permit to enter into abattoir any animal other than animals intended for slaughtering for food;
xiii. no animal shall be within the abattoir for more than fifteen hours before slaughter as ordered by the Veterinary Officer (NNAI, LBU, 1947, p. 56)).

Veterinary Services and the Development of Beef Markets in Lagos 1912-1960

The Lagos Town Council (LTC) made byelaws known as abattoir byelaws in 1943 as earlier discussed, which came into force on the 1st day of October, 1943. The byelaw explained the meaning of abattoir as a public slaughter house and comprises all that land and buildings situated at Malu road, Apapa, and enclosed by iron fencing, whether directly used for the slaughtering of animals or not (NNAI, ASHA, n.d., p. 56). The byelaw also defined Medical Officer of Health (MOH) to the Lagos Town Council and includes the Assistant Medical Officer of Health and any other person authorized by the Medical Officer of Heath to perform any specific duty when performing that duty (NNAI, ASHA, n.d., p. 56).

Veterinary services played a central role in ensuring beef safety and quality during colonial rule in Lagos, Lagos in particular. In 1901, the British colonial government established the veterinary department in Lagos and by 1903, the department had begun operating a veterinary laboratory (Akinwunmi, 1988). The British colonial government appointed veterinary mallams charged with the following responsibilities:

i. Inspect all cattle as they are offloaded from the train at Apapa.

ii. Check all permits for alteration or forgeries e.t.c and returned original copies to veterinary officer with remarks as to condition on the back. He will then retain triplicates copies after the Health Officer Staff had taken what particulars they required.
iii. Decide whether or not any beast, not within the boundary of the abattoir is sick.
iv. The quarantine and inspection or slaughtering of all sick beasts taking any action as he considers necessary to check the spread of disease and to decrease suffering.
v. To give permission for any sick cattle to be slaughtered.
vi. To decide whether or not it is necessary to take a specimen from a sick or slaughtered cattle for examination for anthrax and to arrange for any such specimen to be taken to Medical Research Institute Yaba, in the ease of civilian cattle or to the 68th General hospital in the case of military cattle.
vii. Reduce cruelty to animals and keep all animals in the Lagos/Apapa and under his observation as much as is possible.
viii. In addition to the above defined duties, the veterinary Mallam will act in an advisory capacity, for instance, if you have any doubts affecting the health condition of any cattle his advice must be sought and acted upon (NNAI, ANSHA, n.d., p. 52).

The Director of Veterinary Service Lagos, Captain W.W. Henderson believed that if gross contamination were prevented during butchering, carcasses could be hung overnight even in the climate of Lagos. This would allow the beef to set by next morning, have much better appearance and be more wholesome and palatable and have a higher nutritive value (NNAI, ANSHA, n.d., p. 52).

Conclusion

The British colonial economic policies significantly shaped Lagos beef market development. The British colonial economic policies had a mixed impact. The construction of rail lines that linked Lagos to Kano enhanced access to the cattle producing region of northern Nigeria, boosting beef supply to the Lagos markets. It also enhanced movement of people and other goods from northern parts of Nigeria to the south, particularly, Lagos. It integrated local markets into the global economy. Also, the introduction of veterinary services and modern breeding system further encouraged commercialization of livestock, increased cattle production but immensely benefitted the British colonial authority. The European companies, such as the United African Company, dominated the beef trade, aimed at maximizing profit for the British colonial government. Excessive taxation such as the ‘Jangali” tax, high stall dues and lairage fee, imposed burden on cattle breeders, cattle dealers and butchers respectively. Generally, the British colonial infrastructural development laid the foundation of Lagos beef market development.

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Appendices

Appendix A: KII Interview Guide

1. What factors influence FDI location decisions in your state?
2. How does federal-state relations affect investment?

Appendix B: State FDI Data 2000-2024

(Full data table for 37 states)

State	FDI 2000 - 2012	FDI 2013 - 2024
Abia	120	340
Adamawa	45	60
Akwa Ibom	800	1200
Anambra	350	780
Bauchi	30	50
Bayelsa	600	900
Benue	70	110
Borno	25	20
Cross River	180	320
Delta	900	1300
Ebonyi	40	80
Edo	450	820
Ekiti	60	120
Enugu	280	540
Gombe	35	55
Imo	320	610
Jigawa	20	30
Kaduna	500	850
Kano	600	950
Katsina	40	70
Kebbi	15	25
Kogi	90	160

Kwara	110	200
Lagos	18400	32100
Nasarawa	80	150
Niger	100	180
Ogun	1200	2400
Ondo	250	480
Osun	200	380
Oyo	700	1200
Plateau	150	260
Rivers	3800	5900
Sokoto	25	40
Taraba	30	45
Yobe	15	20
Zamfara	10	15
FCT	4200	8600

Appendices

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Enugu	280	540
Gombe	35	55
Imo	320	610
Jigawa	20	30
Kaduna	500	850
Kano	600	950
Katsina	40	70
Kebbi	15	25
Kogi	90	160
Kwara	110	200
Lagos	18400	32100
Nasarawa	80	150
Niger	100	180
Ogun	1200	2400
Ondo	250	480
Osun	200	380
Oyo	700	1200
Plateau	150	260
Rivers	3800	5900
Sokoto	25	40
Taraba	30	45
Yobe	15	20
Zamfara	10	15
FCT	4200	8600