# wzChapter One

# Introduction

## 1.1 Background to the Study

Energy and society are inseparable with the former constituting an important ingredient in every stage of development of the latter. This is because we live in an interdependent world where access to adequate and reliable energy resources is crucial for economic growth and maintenance of standard of living. In other words, energy resources are generally beneficial to any human society in the world because they are indispensable inputs for economic growth and social development. Two-thirds of global energy requirements are met with oil and gas supplies which underpins the focus of this study. It holds that energy consumption per capita is strongly correlated with the level of economic and social progress. The three non-renewable fossil fuels, oil, natural gas, and coal, constitute almost 85 percent of commercial energy consumed globally[1].

Africa is one of the regions in the world with abundance of resources, producing an estimated 10 million barrels of oil per day, and its total share of world crude oil production is about 10 per cent. Nigeria, a leading oil producer, accounts for more than a quarter of Africa's oil production with oil production amounting to roughly 69 million metric tons in the country[2]. Nigeria is richly endowed with oil and gas resources; the petroleum industry is indeed Nigeria's major source of income. Meanwhile prior to 1970, the sources of generating revenue mainly in Nigeria covered mineral resources such as coal, iron ore, and tin, among others including agriculture and other non-oil and gas aspect of the economy. At that time, Nigeria acquired its foreign earnings through the sale of a variety of cash crops, including cocoa, coffee, palm oil, rubber,

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and groundnuts[3]. This means in effect that greater proportion of the nation's overall revenue earnings are constantly derived from sources other than oil and gas.

However, petroleum industry is currently the cornerstone and the mainstay of Nigeria's economy. It operates in the upstream, midstream and downstream sectors with diverse players and regulators functioning in various areas across the value chain with the International Oil Companies (IOC) dominating the upstream oil and gas sector. The upstream sector, which deals with exploration and production, the downstream and midstream sectors, which deals with refining, distribution, and marketing of petroleum products, are segments of the Nigerian petroleum industry.

Nevertheless, the fundamental fact is that Nigerian petroleum industry is unarguably regarded as the economic nucleus from which other sectors of the country's economy draw their strengths. This implies that the significance of the oil and gas industry in Nigeria's economy cannot be over-emphasized based on the fact that it accrued revenues account for over 60% of total revenue as well as about 90% of the country's foreign exchange earnings[4].

In addition to numerous concerns and responsibilities in the area of appropriate revenue accounting, the extraordinary rise in petroleum riches also resulted in social, ecological, environmental pollution, leadership, and managerial issues. The petroleum industry is without a doubt the Nigerian economy's most dynamic, vibrant, and strategic sector.

However, the country's continued reliance on loans from global financial institutions raises questions about the transparency and accountability of its utilisation of the huge revenues resulting from these resources because attracting international capital to bolster its revenues from sales of oil and gas is usually fraught with unmitigated corruption. As a result, the

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Corruption Perceptions Index published by Transparency International consistently awarded Nigeria a score of less than 28 out of 100 from 2012 to 2021 with the rank of 154th out of 180 countries, making it one of the most corrupt countries in the world[5]. This is the status the country has claimed for several years with no corresponding strategies for development and improvement.

This explains her over reliance on loans from international financial donors. Yet, the World Bank has continued to encourage the Nigerian government to subscribe to neoliberal economic policies by enlisting accounting firms and privatising state-owned enterprises in some cases.[6] These neoliberal forces also depict deregulation, increased Foreign Direct Investments, de-subsidization, state minimal role, trade liberalization and reduction of state expenditure as clearly implemented by the successive regimes in the country in all the sectors of the economy particularly the energy sector of oil and gas.

The implication is that neoliberalism often presents policy measures that promote economic growth instead of development with scant regard to the socio-economic realities of the state manifested in the perpetual debt crisis and political instability  In pungent term, 'a state implementing neoliberal economic policies often shifts from prioritizing national economic interests via a national regulatory framework that promotes the welfare of its population, using, for example, subsidies, to prioritizing 'private capital' and regulatory frameworks that benefit Multinational Corporations (MNCs), becoming, arguably, agents of these corporations[7].

The point in emphasis is that it does not serve the interests of Africa but rather the economic concern of the advanced capitalist countries and up to the present times, it has continued to hinder the socio-political and economic progress of the state. The Nigerian experience with

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neoliberal economic policy is an important example of a state that steadily transitioned from a relative welfare state to a full-fledged free market economy. The implementation of which on the country's between 1986 and early 1990s, and its continuation under democratic rule from 1999 until the present, have had adverse impacts on the social needs of the people while stressing market efficiency.

In effect, the neoliberal policy of subsidy withdrawal occasioned fuel scarcity which eventually imposes opportunity costs on individuals, businesses, and governments with higher prices for goods and services, slower economic growth, transportation disruptions, decreased business investment, reduced consumer spending, increased production costs, transportation costs increase and extreme effects on supply chains and productivity. In 2012 when subsidies were removed, it triggered the "Occupy Nigeria" protests especially in Lagos[8].

As a consequence, the announcement and implementation of neoliberal measure on May 29, 2023 has resulted in untold hardship to millions of Nigerians who were already suffering under previous regime. The entire reforms rest on market fundamentals coated with neo-liberalism and the Washington consensus. The import of this is that neoliberal policies usually fail to solve the economic problems of Nigeria. It should be stated that countries such as those in Asia rejected neo-liberalism garnished with pieces of advice from the World Bank and the IMF in order to leap-frog into sustained growth and development. The newly industrialized countries of Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and China rejected the World Bank/IMF prescriptions. These countries conceptualized, formulated and implemented home grown solutions in the critical sector of their economies to escape from backwardness and underdevelopment[9].

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To this end, it is apparent that the experience of neoliberal economic policies in the post-transition era, is heavily challenging the state's efficiency in managing oil and gas production, distribution and consumption. Indeed, whatever happens in the oil and gas sector affects the direction and fortune of the entire economy, positively or adversely. This is because of the direct relationship that exists between the petrol price and the cost of other goods and services. That is, increase in fuel price increases the cost of education, health, food, transportation, building materials, and the loss of purchasing power of the minimum wage, and so on.

Thus, the fortunes and misfortunes of the oil and gas sector usually provide heavy implications for the wellbeing of ordinary people. This is why the sector is consequentially considered the indicator with which to measure and anticipate the momentum of state-civil society relationships, agitations and struggles by the disadvantaged classes in the society[10].

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### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Post-transition Nigeria has been taken through series of neoliberal policy measures to ensure efficiency in the oil and gas sector to revamp the ailing Nigerian economy and its structural imbalances. Despite the market-force driven, that is, private sector-led economic development strategy, the petroleum sector is still characterised by high level of economic disarticulation and gross inefficiency. It is the case that the petroleum products remain more expensive and scarcely available in some cases.

In spite of the accruing huge revenues from oil, Nigeria is ranked 140 out of 180 countries on corruption, according to the 2024 Corruption Perception Index as provided by Transparency International. This is as a result of the crisis in oil sector which has contributed more significantly to the corruption cases in the country.

The lack of equitable distribution of the oil wealth and environmental degradation resulting from exploration activities have been identified as key factors aggravating actions from environmental rights groups, inter-ethnic conflicts, and civil disturbances from ethnic militias. Nigeria's case is similar to that of a number of oil-rich countries whose governments have failed to translate their oil wealth into economic sustainability and higher standards of living, despite the increasingly entrenched neoliberal economic framework.

While studies have referenced the 'resource curse' and 'Dutch disease', it is however apt to aver that the Nigerian economy, which is integrated into the global capitalist architecture, has been fraught with corrupt socio-political system, ineffective institutions of governance and a weak regulatory framework, leading to a lack of accountability and corruption in the management of its critical economic sector such as oil and gas. In this light, the problems with Nigeria's oil and gas sector are further deepened within the current phase of capitalism - a neoliberal globalized era, which is largely expressed by government withdrawal and abdication of its fundamental role to foreign control of strategic oil interest to the detriment of Nigeria's economic prosperity, adequate security and general human development.

While there is a great deal of literature on neoliberalism in Nigeria, there have been fewer systematic studies in the energy sector, particularly the oil and gas sector of the industry in the fourth republic. It is against this backdrop that the study interrogated neoliberalism in Nigerian petroleum industry, with specific focus on the structural disarticulation in the oil and gas sector in the current democratic era.

### 1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The study aims to examine politics of neoliberalism in the sector of Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

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Specific objectives for the study were to:

i. interrogate the nature of neoliberal framework in oil and gas sector of the Fourth Republic
ii. ascertain the efficacy of the role of state in the current process of oil sector
iii. understand whether neoliberal reforms have contributed to the wellbeing of the people in the current Republic
iv. assess possible alternatives to neoliberal measures in the oil sector of the current administration

## 1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the nature of neoliberal framework in the oil and gas sector of the Fourth Republic?
2. What is the extent of the efficacy of the role of state in the current process of oil sector?
3. How have the neoliberal reforms in the sector contributed to the wellbeing of the people during the Fourth Republic?
4. What are the possible alternatives to neoliberal measures in the oil sector of the current administration?

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is beneficial because it addresses the current reality in the process and administration of oil and gas sector which has become a knotty issue for Nigeria's development crisis. Perhaps, the outcome of this study is expected to assist the policy makers in the Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and other relevant agencies in the formulation and implementation of certain welfare policies in the oil and gas sector which will largely ameliorate the enduring social needs of the people. Also, outcome of

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the project should reinforce the role of the state in the economy along development while mediating between the market and state in the interest of the society.

There is a dearth of systematic study on the politics of neoliberalism in the oil sector in Nigeria under the current democratic dispensation. The critical aspect of neoliberalism with specific reference to the role of state in the oil and gas sector has not been adequately captured or at best, narrowly featured in most of the existing literature on neoliberal framework in the petroleum industry in Nigeria's fourth republic. Hence, the study will contribute to the repository of literature in this scope of research thereby advancing frontier of scholarship. By this, it will largely add to the body of literature and fill the identified gaps in the existing literature in the areas of study both empirically and theoretically. This will be useful for providing adequate insights into policy and practice in the production, distribution and consumption of the value of oil and gas in the Nigerian petroleum industry.

## 1.6 Scope of the Study

The study is based on politics of neoliberalism in the energy industry of Nigeria's Fourth Republic with a focus on the oil and gas sector. The scope is basically restricted to the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. That is, 1999 to 2024. The basis of this periodization is hinged on uninterrupted experience of the nascent rebirth of democratic rule and the eventual continuation of neoliberal reforms earlier introduced since 1980s, which are becoming increasingly dominant at every stage of socio-economic decisions in the country. In fact, it has continued to give direction in every sector of the economy by every successive administration since 1999 till the present administration. In this post-transition period, the attendant effects of which have been

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affecting the wellbeing of the people and the entire aspects of the society at any given administration.

## 1.7 Limitation of the Study

Most of the participants were not available for the interview session at the initial stage. As a result, the researcher wrote several letters to the Executive of PENGASSAN and NUPENG. It is either the secretary replied or refused to respond. This was the situation that also repeated itself with the stakeholders of Nigerian Labour Congress at Lagos State Chapter and National body. In fact, the chairman of NLC Lagos branch eventually referred the researcher to another member who failed to attend to the researcher till date. For the National Chairman, after messaging him, he sharply told the researcher he was going to be very busy throughout the period. However, the researcher got over the challenges through a referral (snowball) from some colleagues and was able to interview some of the vibrant stakeholders of NLC, PENGASSAN, TUC and NUPENG.

It was also difficult to get the attention of staff of the Ministry of Petroleum Resources and Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. When the researcher later got some, they were reluctant to give some information. At the end, some of them were motivated to respond adequately to the interview questions.

At the level of interaction around the issues, some of the respondents claimed the language and focus of the study is technical, but the researcher was able to break it down which encouraged more participation.

Lastly, it was noticed that while some participants were so rigid and critical about their ideological demonstration on the issue, some were merely too simplistic and apologetic of the

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statusquo. This limitation was addressed in the data analysis and discussion of findings by engaging and balancing their nuances.

## 1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

**Energy sector:** The term energy sector in this context depicts only energy resources of oil and gas which are usually used for various purposes of human needs. These energy resources are essential in the contemporary development of human history especially in an industrialized environment. They could be useful for electricity, transportation, communication, and so on.

**Fourth Republic**: In this study, it is referred to as post-transition because since 1999, the political system has not experienced any military incursion into Nigerian politics. In Nigerian political development, the first republic came up in 1963, the second in 1979, and the third in 1992 (but was not really successful). Since the inception of this fourth republic, the people had elected the president seven times, that is, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2019 and 2023.

**Neoliberalism:** This is contextualised as the market forces of demand and supply. It is often seen as the new liberalism which is focused on the role of market forces with little or zero intervention of government in the theatre of production. It encapsulates free trade, globalisation, deregulation and reduction in government spending.

**Petroleum Industry**: An industry here is best defined to mean a branch of an economy that is responsible for the production of closely related goods and services or products. Thus, refers to the petroleum industry or energy industry to include basically the oil and gas sector which are producing related material values in the industry.

**Upstream**: It covers the stage of exploration which involves the search for underwater and underground oil and gas to prepare into established wells.

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**Midstream**: It is the stage that is concerned with transportation and storage of oil.

**Downstream:** It describes the process of refining crude oil, purifying natural gas and marketing of diesel oil, petrol and other forms of petrochemicals to the final consumers.

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## Endnotes


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## Chapter Two

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## 2.1 Conceptual Review

### 2.1.1 Liberalism

This is the concept that predates neoliberalism and as a dynamic and constantly changing set of principles, it can be understood from a variety of perspectives, including historical, philosophical, and ideological viewpoints. Liberalism is an ideology that contains seven political concepts that interact at its core: liberty, rationality, individuality, progress, sociability, the general interest, and limited and accountable power[1]. In fact, liberalism is the product of the breakdown of feudalism and the rise of a market or capitalist society to replace it. Liberalism from it early stage certainly reflected the aspirations of a rising industrial middle class, whereby liberalism and capitalism have been closely linked, as some have argued intrinsically linked ever since. In it original form, liberalism as a political doctrine obviously attacked absolutism and feudal privilege while advocating constitutional and, later, representative government. By the early nineteenth century, a distinctively liberal economic creed had developed that extolled the virtues of laissez faire capitalism and condemned all forms of government intervention[2].

In another related sense, liberalism began broadly as a movement to release people from the social and political shackles that constrained and frequently exploited them. Tyrannical monarchs, feudal hierarchies and privileges, and heavy-handed religious practices combined to create a sense of oppressiveness that became increasingly difficult to bear, and that steadily fell

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out of step with the advent of the modern world. The rise of liberal ideas is therefore linked to great social changes that were occurring across Europe. One of them was the challenge to religious monopolies, as secular powers sought to escape the control of the Church. It was followed by objections to the uniformity of religious belief and practice from within the domain of religion itself, typically during the Protestant Reformation. More generally, the right to resist tyranny was becoming an increasingly vocal demand, and it culminated in the celebrated insistence of John Locke on the right of the people to dismiss those rulers who heaped on their subjects 'a train of abuses'. But the implied consent was still embryonic[3].

Liberals in the eighteenth century argued for the inherent importance of the person, claiming that individuals should be free to participate in industrial activities without government restriction. It is believed that this will result in self-interest harmony. This is in contrast to mercantilism, with its significant role for the government, and the core of liberalism is the belief that the state can frequently be overly intrusive in the industrial process[4]. Therefore, the simple language of classical liberalism is a little or no role for the state.

### 2.1.2 Neoliberalism

The concept of neoliberalism perhaps appears relatively unknown to some political scientists who often equate it with liberalism. Meanwhile the delineation of neoliberalism has been simplified to mean a new version of liberalism in the contemporary global political economic discourse, and that is the reason it becomes necessary to first understand liberalism. Neoliberalism has been appraised as the reinvention of liberalism which describes a situation where market and individual operate with the goal of pushing back the state so that there will be unregulated market capitalism for efficient growth and widespread prosperity[5].

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The argument is hinged on the fact that state involvement kills initiatives, discouraging enterprises and damaging human affairs. In this case, neoliberalism which is usually referred to as contemporary liberalism now dreams of restoring all the nature of classic liberal ideas[6]. Nevertheless, neoliberalism usually emphasizes free market competition and is often associated with laissez-faire economics, however its exact definition is debatable

Neoliberalism, in particular, is frequently defined by its belief in economic growth and sustainability as the means to achieve human progress, its faith in free markets as the most efficient allocation of resources, its emphasis on minimal state intervention in economic and social affairs, and its commitment to the freedom of trade and capital[7].

Again, two conceptual perspectives have been identified to elucidate the concept of neoliberalism as it concerns developed and developing world. To start with advanced economies, it refers to Thatcherism, or a term that encompasses more than a decade's worth of political and economic tactics used by former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher from 1979 to 1990 and seen as a challenge to Keynesianism, or the economic theory attributed to British economist John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946)[8]. Deregulation and privatization were implemented utilizing an authoritarian social policy as its main components. Thatcherism was primarily a result of its leader's steadiness and thoroughness, who never entertained any hesitation or wavering influences. Thus, it asserts that there is no alternative to neoliberalism. In agreement to this, a theoretical clarification of neoliberalism embraces political economic practices that propose that human well-being can be advanced by liberating individuals, entrepreneurial freedom and skills within an institutional framework, characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade[9].

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What is more is that it indicates a set of market-liberal economic policies. In developing economies, Neoliberalism evolved as a reaction to problems with the import substitution industrialization that dominated national development policies between 1945 and the 1980s. It relates to the Washington consensus, a policy that emphasizes a development strategy encompassing a variety of different aspects, such as privatization, deregulation, liberalization of trade and financial processes and structures, a decrease in the size of government, promotion of foreign direct investment (FDI), and implementation of structural adjustment program (SAP) as mandated by the international organizations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank.

Closely related meaning of neoliberalism was championed by anti-globalization movement, among others, to describe the globalizing capitalist economic ideology and the adverse impacts it brings to poorer developing countries. Irrespective of the relationship among the foregoing definitions, the meanings and usages of the concept in economic parlance is perceived to have remained rather imprecise and general[10].

Neoliberalism posits that free-market economies often lead to increased prosperity and efficiency and therefore any issues arising are invariably attributed to 'unnatural monopolies'. It is the postulation of neoliberals that state economic intervention causes economic distortions and is hence an aberration. The state's function should be limited to protecting private property, maintaining contracts, providing national defence, and overseeing the money supply.

Fundamentally, neoliberals opine that the presence of public firms and government involvement in the economy might hinder economic development. As a result, commercialization and privatization are promoted and supported. Existing PEs and promoting the private sector as a

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driver of economic growth. They oppose state intervention in the market, including subsidies for basic commodities like petrol[11].

In effect, neoliberalism as conceived and adopted in both world of developing and developed has demonstrated a shift for market forces in the theatre of production, distribution and consumption of material values in which the state is not given full intervention in the process and it is assumed that such a situation is favourable for economic development. For more conceptual clarity, the concept implies that individual freedom and skills can be best utilized by promoting private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The state's role is to create and maintain an institutional framework that supports these practices. This includes ensuring the integrity of money and establishing military, defence, police, and legal structures to protect private property rights and facilitate market functioning. If markets do not exist in certain areas, such as education or healthcare, the state may need to create them. However, the theory suggests that state interventions in markets should be minimal, as the state lacks enough information to accurately respond to market signals, and powerful interest groups may manipulate state interventions for their own benefit[12].

As a model, it usually shifts control of the productive forces from public to private sector. It dictates that governments should limit subsidies, reform tax laws, reduce deficit spending, open up markets to trade, deregulate, privatize state-run businesses, and decrease government spending. The core idea is that states should avoid intervening in the economy and instead let individuals participate in free and self-regulating markets.

Historically, neoliberal idea dates back to the old-style radicalism upheld by Adam Smith, and to the particular origination of man and society on which he builds his financial speculations[13].

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This paradigm emerged fully during the reign of Reagan in United States and Thatcher in United Kingdom. They both proposed free markets locally and globally within the context of minimal state intervention in all spheres of activity. The emphasis of this model is deregulation of the market and privatization of state-run enterprise[14]. The basis for this policy reinvention depicts that neoliberalism as a liberalizing market regime policy is articulated as a project to repudiate the post-war Keynesian agreement on the goals of macro-economic policy (mainly full employment), and to reduce the welfarism of the state[15].

Again, in view of development, not just a change in policy regime is usually indicated from state to market, but a far more fundamental break in theory and practice. Essentially, between the 1950s-70s, mainstream development policy was geared towards the faster, state-led, structural economic reformation of agricultural economies to wealthy, poor, industrialised ones. Consequently, neoliberalism symbolizes a counter-revolution that resulted in the dismantling of this broader project in aggregate, mainly through the abandonment of import-substitution industrialisation and the liberalization of foreign trade, but also through a broader undoing and reorganizing of the regulatory framework of the state, and the imposition of stronger fiscal discipline. Neoliberalism is, under this view, thought of as a totally new model for financial hypothesis and strategy making – the belief system behind the latest stage in the advancement of entrepreneur society – and at the same time a restoration of the monetary speculations of Smith and his scholarly beneficiaries in the nineteenth century. In emphasis, neoliberalism is a reversal to classical liberalism where the market plays a dominant role in economic determinism; it has assumed different titles such as market fundamentalism, neo-conservatism, e.t.c.

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For more historical understanding, neoliberal revolution was championed by Reagan and Thatcher against Keynesian principle, consciously linking the ideas of globalization to the liberation of economies around the world. This new neoliberal economic order received further legitimation following the failure of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-91. Furthermore, neoliberal concrete measures incorporate: liberalization of trade and industry, monetarist measures to keep inflation in check, privatization of public enterprises; deregulation of the economy, massive tax cuts, even at the risk of increasing unemployment; strict control on organized labour; the down-sizing of government, the reduction of public expenditures, the removal of controls on global financial flows especially social spending; expansion of international markets[16]. This neoliberal policy is the vehicle of global political economy and the wheel behind increasing globalization of trade and capital and at the same time enhanced the role of World Bank and International Monetary Fund. It has also been responsible for the increasing impact of transnational and multinational companies.

In recapitulation, neoliberalism has, a theoretical and intellectual history reaching back to classical political economists such as Adam Smith. Neoliberalism proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework. The role of the state is reduced to protect private property rights through police, military, and legal structures and to guarantee the quality and integrity of money and proper functioning of markets. Socio-economic rights such as education and healthcare are best ensured through the free market, where services are delivered by private providers. If markets do not exist, they must be created by state intervention if necessary. In this instance neoliberalism is in theory, policy and practice, the framework for policy makers in the

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international agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF, WTO, US Treasury and the European Central Bank[17].

The fundamental question is how was neoliberalisation accomplished, and by whom? The straight response in countries such as Chile and Argentina in the 1970s was as simple as it was swift, brutal, and certain: a military coup supported by the traditional upper classes (as well as by the US government), followed by the fierce repression of all solidarities created within the labour and urban social movements which had so threatened their power. the key protagonists of this version are the 'Chicago Boys', a group of neoliberal economists trained and developed by the world's leading neoliberal economics department, and appointed to key policy positions under the Pinochet regime[18].

Thus, Chile is widely described as the laboratory of neoliberal experimentation, a test case for policies that were transferred later around the developing countries. But the neoliberal revolution usually attributed to Thatcher and Reagan after 1979 had to be accomplished by democratic means. For a shift of this magnitude to occur required the prior construction of political consent across a sufficiently large spectrum of the population to win elections[19]. Indeed, advocates of the neoliberal thought now occupy positions of considerable influence in education (the universities and many 'think tanks'), in the media, in corporate boardrooms and financial institutions, in key state institutions (treasury departments, the central banks), and also in those international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) that regulate global finance and trade. Therefore, the difference between neoliberalism and those older economic ideas is that the former is only a hyper-liberalism, a heightened form of the view that state should not regulate private enterprise and market forces of demand and supply.

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### 2.1.3 Neoliberalism and Globalization

Conceptually, the concept of neoliberalism differs from globalization but neoliberalism is usually linked to globalization because of the former calls for the liberalisation and deregulation of economic transactions, not only within national borders but also across these borders[20]. Therefore, major driving force behind the progress of neoliberal ideas and structures has been identified as economic globalization. Globalization has witnessed the incorporation of national economies into the structure of global capitalist economy in which production is internationalized with free and instant flow of capital between countries[21]. However, globalization has so many meanings. In essence, globalization is contestably an over-flogged discourse, it has been taken from various dimensions, politically, economically and even socially.

Hence it is not intended to articulate a new definition, but to somewhat discuss globalization in a much more critical way, do a review of some of the various postulations put forward by globalists. Globalization is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away[22]. This implies in other words that in such a way, event in one country is an end product of what is happening elsewhere or a continuous product.

In the same veins, globalization as the multiplicity of linkages and inter connection between the state and society. It describes the implications of specific decisions in a part of the world for institutions elsewhere. The influence of the policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on the economies in the periphery depicts the dependence of the economies in the South on the economies in the North and the accompanying financial architectures[23]. Essential

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point is that a neoliberal record of globalization went to the fore. The beginning stage of the neoliberal record of globalization is the perception that states have deserted or lost much of the interdependence sovereignty they possessed for most of the twentieth century[24]. It is then contended that this loss of interdependence sovereignty entails a loss of domestic economic sovereignty, with the goal that states are compelled by the weights of global capital markets to pursue the neoliberal strategy motivation of deregulation, privatization and minimum government, regardless of the desires of their domestic electorates. In more concrete term, neoliberal focus of globalization has been aptly summarized as metaphor of the Golden restraints[25].

The metaphor represents the claim that while globalization compels the options available to governments, it offers unparalleled prosperity to those countries that conform to its requirements. To fit into the Golden boundary, a state must apply the following golden rules:

1. making the private sector the primary engine of its economic growth;
2. maintaining a low rate of inflation and price stability;
3. shrinking the size of its state bureaucracy;
4. maintaining as close to a balanced budget as possible, if not a surplus;
5. eliminating and lowering tariffs;
6. getting rid of quotas and domestic monopolies; increasing exports;
7. privatizing state-owned industries and utilities;
8. deregulating capital markets and the domestic economy;
9. allowing citizens to choose from an array of competing options.
10. opening banking and telecommunications to private ownership and competition.

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Obviously today, globalization is characterized by new ideas, speed, new strategies, technology and new mechanisms for penetrating foreign markets, higher volumes of movement of goods and skills and the shrinking of distances[26]. It is clearly indicated that nothing is new about globalization today other than speed which has become its cardinal feature. The central notion here is speed and delivery of goods and services in all spheres. This is usually stressed without recourse to humanity. In fact, while considering that the process of globalization has been posed as unprecedented prosperity to the billions that are enmeshed in poverty for centuries, However, it has been asserted that globalization engender resistance especially in the developing countries. Globalization is oversold to depict the ‘’Washington Consensus,’’ which has been imposed on adjusting states by international lenders. The focal point is that the Washington Consensus substitute government provision with deregulated market, open borders and flexible exchange rate. By this fact, the rules of globalization are determined by the core capitalist states to the detriment of peripheral states. To this end, the implications of globalization include relinquishing sovereignty, weakening of the state, lack of democracy at the global level[27], weakening social cohesion and local culture. More significantly, individual and corporation usually amass resources to the detriment of the mass of the society with the role of forces of demand and supply in dictating the socio-political process and structure of the system. This is as a result of the concentration of rewards in the hands of few groups of people who are the beneficiaries of the gains of globalization[28].

No doubt, globalization is the logical consequence of capitalism, as there was nothing to be done about that, it was even predicted by Marx in communist manifesto of 1848. But the core thesis holds that the world was not ready for globalization, it was sped up, it was not meant to be this early and that is why we are being confronted with a serious backlash. Every part of the

world is affected by it but not every part of the world is reaping favourably from it, a large part of the world is paying direly for globalization and this would continue into the future because globalization was not allowed to evolve which would definitely happen if it had not been triggered by the forces of capitalism driven by neoliberal ideology.

That is why there is wholesome disparity in development and negative human condition in large part of the world. Terrorism, African problem, Arab spring and the host of others, are the manifestations of the phenomenon. In this light, the implicit argument is that "globalism is a compelling story that sells an overarching neoliberal worldview, thereby creating collective meanings and shaping personal and collective identities"[29]. Thus, as more neoliberal policies are enacted, the claims of globalism become even more firmly planted in the public mind. Neoliberal policies are made to appear as the most rational response to inevitable, but efficient forces. Growing global disparities in wealth and well-being are shrugged off as mere temporary dislocations on the sure path to a brighter future.

The implicit argument is that globalism is usually a driving force of a larger perspective of neoliberal ideas, which gives collective meanings, shaping general identities. Consequently, as increasingly neoliberal approaches are introduced, the positions of globalism become significantly and steadily planted in the mind of generality. Neoliberal agenda are made to show up as the most cogent reaction to productive forces which are unavoidable. However, the rising worldwide differences in riches and prosperity are disregarded as negligible transitory separations on the definite way to a more promising time to come.

It is logical to say that neo-liberalism is the working ideology of globalization which explains the pervasiveness of market forces and also the role of its agents at the level of international institution. As a result, the market is going everywhere even in places it is not invited, it forces

its entries and leaves such society with no choice, thus when we talk of globalization of capital, then we also implicitly mean that there is an initial globalization of the market which is fundamental because capital would not go where there is no market and not ordinary market, but that which is a periphery of the neoliberal grid. This is the belief system and the ideology of globalization and such ideas are broadly perceived to be advanced through the process of globalization, viewed by some as neoliberal globalization[30].

It is noteworthy that globalization is greatly benefitting the rich states while putting developing nations at receiving end. This is particularly important for Africa, where the unequal distribution of benefits of globalization are noticeable, without fair trade policies, effective regulation, and participatory governance, and it could exacerbate inequality and undermines social welfare. This is exactly the root of all issues identified with neoliberal globalization, in such that the basis that formed how neoliberal globalization came into being has been manipulated and transformed to become a capitalist strategic move for dominating the host countries especially the underdeveloped countries. Due to this, neoliberal globalization has generated several issues among states. These issues include, inter alia:

*Declination of Domestic Industries*: When developing nations adopt neoliberal globalization, sometimes under pressure due to unequal distribution of national wealth, they may experience the decline of certain domestic industries that can no longer be supported by the neoliberal state. This can lead to a rise in unemployment and layoffs, prompting people to seek employment in the informal sector. In other words, the transition away from government-backed formal industries may have a big influence on the economy and the labour market[31].

The initial idea of globalization was meant to create a healthy competition between multinational corporations and the domestic corporation which ought to promote innovation as

well as gearing up the domestic corporation in learning new skills so as to continue to be relevant in the economic system. But practically, the multinational corporations monopolize and centralize the market spaces at the expense of domestic corporations thereby stiffening chances for competition to an extent where domestic industries begin to shut down which mostly amass into mass unemployment and jeopardize the host's economy and job market.

*Growing Gap between the Rich and Poor:* There has been no clear explanation for why poor countries remain continually poor and prosperous countries are continuously wealthy[32].

Globalization has made the world wealthier, by widening the gap between the rich and the poor. This is becoming a problem for the global economy. The constant accumulation of capital in the hands of few minority people is reaching a point where things need to change. However, it's unclear if those who have the resources will see this as necessary. Having too much power in the hands of a small group is just as bad as having too many regulations[33]. It means that only those who can afford to pay for a good are considered consumers. The value of consumption is determined by the amount of money consumers are willing to spend, not necessarily their actual needs for the goods. The rich minorities are the sole determinants of demand and supply, which is why the rich are getting richer and poor are getting poorer on daily basis. The capitalist agenda behind neoliberal globalization is to amass wealth in the hands of few 'haves' while the 'have not' continue to be at their mercy.

More so, neoliberal globalization has led to alarming levels of social inequality worldwide in the sense that wealth inequality has been steadily increasing since the 1970s. In that period, the richest 1% held half of the world's wealth, while the poorest 50% held only 5%. The number of billionaires also significantly rose during this time. By 2010, the wealth of the top billionaires equalled that of the poorest half of humanity. Five years later, it had more than tripled[34]. For

instance, China, India and some Asian countries have experienced faster economic growth compared to already wealthy nations. But what about countries in Africa which still continues to face high poverty rates. Interestingly, even some rural areas in China, also struggle with significant poverty.

*Labour Exploitation*: Developed countries establish their companies and industries in developing nations to benefit from lower wages. Unfortunately, this practice has continued to render the developing nations impoverished, which was not the initial agreement that brought about neoliberalism and globalization. By these, they take advantage of weak labour regulations and low wages in these countries, leading to the exploitation of workers and taking advantage of their labour power to expropriate surplus value. The lack of strong labour protections and enforcement mechanisms allows for the mistreatment of workers, including long working hours, low wages, and poor working conditions.

*Privatization of Public Services*: The privatization of public services, like water and electricity and many more has been contentious issues in many countries. For example, the case of water privatization in Bolivia led to protests and social unrest due to increase in prices and limited access for marginalized communities.

*Land Grabbing and Food Security*: The acquisition of large tracts of land in developing countries by foreign investors for agricultural purposes, often at the expense of local communities, has raised concerns about food security and the displacement of small-scale farmers.

*Environmental Impacts*: The extraction of natural resources and the expansion of foreign industries can have detrimental environmental consequences. The case of oil drilling in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria highlights the environmental degradation and social unrest caused

by multinational corporations[35].To this extent, the rise of neoliberal globalization is frequently being influenced by advancements in technology and communication, which made it easier for countries to connect and engage in international trade. Also, the end of Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union created a favourable environment for the spread of neoliberal ideas in form of global free markets. These are politically constructed institutions that are shaped by non-market actors including multinational corporations and industry trade lobbies, by means of international trade agreements. These trade agreements institutionalize treaty-based legal regimes that not only liberalize trade and investment, but also impose constraints on local autonomy, and hence on the capacity of democratic societies to govern their economies and regulate markets[36].

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## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework consists of the selected theory (or theories) that undergird a critical thinking with regards to how one understands and plans to research. For the purpose of this research, four major theories have been proposed to guide the analysis. These are dependency theory, the theory of state interventionism, institutional theory and resource curse theory. It is presumed that this approach will provide strengths that offset the weaknesses of individual theories in a way that offers better and comprehensive understanding of the research problem from various theoretical lenses.

### 2.2.1 Dependency Theory

It developed as a neo-Marxist theory of development in the late 1950s, and was proposed by a number of Third World and other scholars, including Andre Gunder Frank, Walter Rodney,

Claude Ake and among other notable proponents. In Latin America, the theory emerged under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch. Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries[37].

As a result, the global capitalist system perpetuates a state of dependency for developing countries, keeping them in a subordinate position to more powerful and industrialized nations. As such, the development of wealthy nations is closely linked to the underdevelopment of poorer nations. Thus, this theory becomes significant to the study particularly in terms of its understanding of the historical trajectory of states in Africa as occasioned by its incorporation into international capitalist system, penetration of foreign capital through trade, aid, FDI, and attendant effect of core-periphery relations, unequal exchange, false paradigms and policy measures, domestic and elite consumption patterns[38].

In other words, the integration of precolonial Nigeria into the global capitalist economic system, as a peripheral state by the colonialists has brought about the destruction of the rich and varied political systems, and social structure of the society and the creation of new productive economic activities based on the need of foreign capitalist states. It diverted attention away from local creative potential and resources by focusing on the production of primary resources needed by Europeans[39].

It is important to note that dependency theory has various dimensions of arguments or traditions which make it eclectic in nature to be adaptable to this study.

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To be specific "an economy is dependent to the extent that its position and relations to other economies in the international system and articulation of its internal structure make it incapable of auto-centric development"[40]. It is argued that relation of dependency is demonstrated in terms of external influences on political, economic and cultural values that define national development policies[41].

This explains the basis for introducing the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAPs) by the Brettton woods institutions of International Monetary Fund and World Bank into the economic system of the country with its neoliberal measures as the conditions.

The neoliberal policies allow for the activities of private ownership with profit motives and foreign direct investment (e.g Shell, Chevron etc) in the oil and gas sector which adversely affect the host country through disarticulated development, exploitation of the domestic economy by these transnational corporations and consequently, the socio-political structure and cultural pattern of hosting country are also perverted through their operations[42].

The roles of World Bank and IMF in pursuing neoliberal economic policies in the domestic economy through dependent relations have made the economic policies of the developing countries to be externally initiated, formulated and closely monitored. This dependency continues to be reflected in virtually everything in the Third World, such as education, consumption, investments particularly in the oil and gas sector.

To put differently, the central submission here is that their organic link of the Third World to the capitalist system is its nemesis that will always abort its destiny and future development. For virtually everything, the Third World depends on the West-automobiles, electronics, medical services, ICT, infrastructure, education, textiles and even toothpicks. This has been the perilous situation in the World for more than half of a century. The situation is even more dire

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in the Francophone countries where the commanding heights of their economy are controlled from Paris. Now, for fifty years, the Third World has been in the doldrums of backwardness believed to be orchestrated by the global capitalist system. A situation which is largely responsible for the unfettered export of crude oil to be refined in the west and return to Nigeria as finished products. Domestic economy is now caught in the trap of over dependency on the west for whatever ideas and measures to address the socio-economic problems.

In concrete term, it is obvious with the extent of poverty, unemployment, social inequality and subsidy removal plaguing the country, that the main goal guiding neoliberal policy in terms of economic reform and efficiency in Nigeria is not tailored toward human development as a result of its failure towards addressing the incessant challenges. It is instead, focusing primarily on boosting economic growth such as per capita income, GDP, budget surplus, and a favorable balance of payments of trade, giving much consideration to investment and not concentrating on welfarism to improve the standard of living of the people. The open prejudice was expressed by such anti-poverty measures as subsidy elimination in the petroleum industry, government cutbacks on social sectors, currency devaluation[43].

This has continued to prevent the state from pursuing any endogenous economic policies in the critical sector of oil and gas. To be frank, Shell as a Transnational Corporation from the core has been in the production of oil in Nigeria since 1958 and it has extracted $30 billion dollars' worth of oil from the country[44]. In this perspective, it is the belief of the exponents that the connection between the West and Africa is rather too lopsided, benefiting the developed world at the expense of undeveloped societies. This indicates that the closer African countries' ties to the Western world, the more underdeveloped they become.

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The situation which is clearly suggestive of the fact that Nigeria, an African country, is not left out of this viciousness of neoliberal measure and imperialism; in reality, imperial rule has contributed considerably to the disarticulation of Nigeria's economy, which has in turn encouraged underdevelopment[45]. Given the above, peripheral and dependent economy is usually confronted with structural constraints and vulnerabilities which include but not limited to:

*Export of Primary Commodities*: Dependent economies tend to heavily rely on the export of primary commodities such as raw materials and agricultural products. These exports often face fluctuating prices and are subject to the control of more powerful nations.

*Limited Industrialization*: Dependent economies typically have limited industrialization and are heavily reliant on imports of manufactured goods. This reliance on foreign products can hinder domestic industrial development.

*Foreign Investment Dominance*: Dependent economies often experience a high level of foreign investment, with multinational corporations exerting significant control over key sectors of the economy. This can lead to a limited ability for domestic firms to compete and develop.

*Unequal Terms of Trade*: Dependent economies face unequal terms of trade, where the prices of their exports are lower than the prices of their imports. This can result in a persistent trade deficit and contribute to economic vulnerability.

*Technological Dependence*: Dependent economies often lack the technological capabilities necessary for innovation and development. They rely on technology transfers from more advanced nations, which can perpetuate underdevelopment.

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*Attainment of Flag Independence*: Dependent countries often faced challenges in fully achieving true independence due to various factors. Some of these factors include the imposition of governing elites that may have aligned with or recreated imperialistic agendas. This resulted in a continuation of economic and political dependence on former colonial powers.

*Being Satellite States*: Periphery countries often found themselves in a position of being politically subordinate to a more powerful core state. This relationship often involved the satellite state aligning its policies and actions with those of the core state, further perpetuating the hegemony of the core.

*Dependent on Aid, Assistance, and Loans*: Periphery countries have often relied on these forms of external support to address their development needs. However, the usage of aid and loans mostly result in a perpetuation of dependency, as conditions attached to these resources may favour the interests of the lending countries or institutions[46]. The absence of economic autonomy explains the vulnerability of Nigerian state and economy to the politics of global capitalist institutions and core capitalist states in terms of monitoring, dictating, shaping and directing neoliberal measures and politics in the oil and gas sector of Nigeria.

What is more is that in an effort to transform the socioeconomic and political structures of African societies to suit the socio-economic interest of advanced capitalist countries, the period 1950s has marked the beginning of drive for economic development pursuit in Africa as an instrument of domination employed. This eventually ushered in neo-liberal policy which is seen as a second scramble after the first one that came with the infamous Berlin Conference (1884-85) for control of Africa's labour, resources and land through the aegis of capitalist globalization that rely on measures of free market mechanism rather than direct political control. It is pertinent to pinpoint that in all of the theoretical evaluation that centres on the neoliberal discourse, a

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consistent asymmetry with their prescriptions is noticeable[47]. There is always a powerful predisposition when African government interventions in the economy are working badly to reject such activism rather than reform it, and substitute it with the market. On the other hand, when the latter produces poor results, there is equally strong tendency to urge that marketization should be reformed (i.e. carried out better) rather than rejecting it for some form of government involvement.

This position amounts to clear bias, inconsistency and lack of transparency on the part of the institutions of Bretton Woods, underscoring covert interests that the economic reform programme is serving, including the real beneficiaries and ultimate losers[48]. This invariably suggests that a neoliberal state usually downplay national economic concerns; a kind of national regulatory measures in form of subsidies to promote well-being of the people, to a focus more on 'private capital'[48] to satisfy the interest of multinational corporations (MNCs) as the major agents. The situation in Nigeria's economy petroleum energy is adversely affecting the standard of living and cost of living with little or no attention for human capital development, the latter which constitutes the fulcrum of every economic growth and development.

However, dependency theory has been attacked for not providing a pragmatic approach to solve the economic problems, whereas delinking was the only solution suggested. It has also been criticized on the basis that several other countries with the experience of external penetration are rapidly developing. Countries such as India and South Korea now have the 6th and 10th largest economies in the world[49].

In short, the criticism has been captured as the oversimplification of the complexities of global economic relations which does not adequately account for internal factors within developing countries that contribute to their underdevelopment. Hence, the second theory is deployed in

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response to the criticisms levelled against dependency theory. This will be discussed in the next section.

### 2.2.2 Theory of State Interventionism

This theory has been articulated and proposed to offset the inherent issues in the dependency theory and serve as an alternative framework to capture the areas of interventions of the state within the theatre of economic activities as it relates to the study. This theory is equally referred to as developmental state theory which seeks to identify a specific form of state that is said to enjoy high levels of autonomy from different segments of the capitalist class as well as labour unions, and have strong institutional capacity, both of which allow this specific form of state to implement a set of successful state-interventionist policies in pursuit of developmental goals. The concept was first formulated by Chalmers Johnson in1982 with reference to the Japanese state[50].

Based on its assumption, it seeks to answer the question of why the state failed in its pivotal role in the development process in some cases, while proving to be successful. It argues that states exercise their control over non-state actors while keeping to be independent of, responding to, and steering the non-state agents. They also use their authority to enact interventionist policies that are consistent with the economics school[51].

The relevance of the theory to this research is located in its analytical value and logic of drawing the attention of the state to its fundamental role in the economy with reference to the attendant effect of neoliberal globalization which is fast reducing the role of state in all critical aspect of the economy. For instance, dependency theorists have criticized the advanced capitalist countries as the bane of Third World economic crisis such as the problematic state of Nigerian energy sector.

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Nevertheless, a pertinent question here is why is the Third World, Africa and Nigeria in particular, has not been able to free itself from its current deepening predicaments? A plethora of reasons are adduced. That is, a decadent, predatory and backward leadership; Religion and its dogma and anti-revolutionary import; A sedate, timid and reactionary followership that is incapable of engineering internal people power to eliminate and neutralize its current criminal leaders. As a result of their self-inflicted timidity, external forces become handy scapegoats in rationalizing their poverty, ignorance and barbarism[52].

As a matter of fact, Nigerian petroleum industry requires greater, effective and genuine intervention of the state to address and alleviate the plethora of challenges posed by neoliberal measures in the production, management and the entire processes of oil and gas in the country. The significance of the theory pinpoints the state ownership and effective control of the Nigerian energy sector which is intended to foster social services and higher social living conditions.

The structural distortions in Nigeria's economy, external debts, huge import bills, decline crude oil earnings, massive political and bureaucratic corruption had led to relatively weak state structures and amenable state actors who opted constantly for foreign prescribed economic policy regimes leading to the manifestations of neoliberal measures in, for instance, the oil and gas sector of the Nigerian petroleum industry. The Nigerian state and economy are challenged to adopt endogenous development paradigms that underscores the historical realities of the country, pursue popular participation in the development process and human centred development, democratization of economic resources, pursuit of political and economic pluralism, evolving a nationalist governing class, recreating the state to assume a beneficial state type as opposed to a malevolent, annexationist and predatory state structure. For instance, the Nigerian society would have seen better off with the refineries functioning, finding better ways

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of intervention as well as punishing those who benefitted from the oil subsidy scam. It is important to state that those who are against subsidy do benefit from subsides of all kinds, for example, the IMF, World Bank and the United States economy have different kinds of subsidies. The elites in Nigeria benefit from all kinds of subsidies too, numerous to mention[53].

Given the fact that capability of the Nigerian state to play a viable role in the critical sector of the economy is being threatened by the crisis of national question, forces of globalization, electoral crisis among others, the thrust of state capability will be determined at every stage of the development, the degree of state and market relationship suitable in any particular situation. In other words, the state and market could co-exist under the supervisory role of the state to mediate poverty, scarcity, pricing system in the energy sector of oil and gas including the entire policies of Nigerian petroleum. This becomes significant owing to the fact that weak responses of the country's ruling elite have hindered Nigeria's petroleum policy thereby subjecting it to the influence and dictates of multinational oil companies and their parent government. Interventionism of the state requires a nationalist governing class as against predatory political elite to pursue autonomous economic development and appropriate the gains of neoliberal globalization[54].

State interventionism in the context of crises has represented and assumed a pillar of society and the protection of citizens and the national real economy[55]. It brings to fore the critical role that states play in national economic development contrary to the prescriptions by the Bretton Woods Institutions and its proponents. This was clearly shown by reference to the pivotal role that states in the Western world and South East Asia have played in the development outcomes of countries in those parts of the world. That is, the development of Nigeria cannot be different if her desire to be a major world economic giant is to be realized. In emphasis, development of

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the Nigerian state must begin with the transformation of the state, as it is the character of the state that ultimately influence the course of economic and social change even as it is shaped by it.

On this basis, neoliberal policy measure is rejected for state to play it dominant and superintending role in the critical sector of the Nigeria's economy for the development of economic development of the society[56]. Indeed, the interventionist and developmentalist state approach, based on partial nationalization, increased state participation, higher equity interest and control of the oil companies characterized the 1970s. This contrasts with the neoliberalism of recent decades, involving a program of sale of state-owned refineries and equity interests in oil companies thereby withdrawing the surviving mechanism of masses known as subsidy, high cost and scarcity of petroleum products in one of the largest oil producing countries in Africa.

To this view, it would mean, as some African scholars have argued, the construction of a *democratic developmental state* in each of our African countries to replace the fake democracies that we now have, based on corruption, electoral fraud and authoritarian rule by leaders who pretend to be democrats. Such a state will have as its top priorities the eradication of poverty, and not simply its 'alleviation' or 'reduction;' the establishment of genuine democracy at the central (or federal), provincial (or state) and local levels, with leaders accountable to civil society and the people at large; and the use of African wealth in natural resources to build prosperous economies to raise the standard of living of the population as a whole[57].

In effect, the pragmatic intervention of the state to strike a balance between the complementary roles of the government and those to be played by the forces of market is an important part of sound economic decision management which speak to the theoretical relevance of interventionism to the crisis that permeates the energy sector in the Nigeria's current republic.

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This is so because the neoliberal paradigmatic shift now tends to heighten conflicts between the major social forces especially in the Niger Delta[58].

### 2.2.3 Resource Curse Theory

The resource curse, also referred to as the "Resource Curse Hypothesis," the "Paradox of Plenty," and the "scourge of plenty", was developed in 1993 by a British economist[59]. As a widely-studied theory in the fields of development economics, political science, and environmental studies, it posits that an abundance of natural resources, particularly extractive resources such as oil, gas, and minerals, can actually impede a country's economic and social development, rather than propelling it forward as one might expect. "Resource curse is generally caused by too much of the country's capital and labour force concentrated in just a few resource-dependent industries. By failing to make adequate investments in other sectors, countries can become vulnerable to declines in commodity prices, leading to long-run economic underperformance"[60].

**Perspectives on Resource Curse Theory**

Resource curse can be examined from several interrelated factors using the following conceptual models in relation to Nigeria.

*Dutch Disease Model*: This model was developed in 1982 after it was coined in 1977. It explains that though the inflow of resource-based revenue can lead to the appreciation of a country's currency, however, it could render other export sectors, such as manufacturing and agriculture, less competitive on the global market, leading to a decline in output and unemployment[61].

The phenomenon of Dutch Disease is evident in Nigeria, where the oil sector's dominance has led to the decline of other vital sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing. This over-

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dependence on oil has resulted in an economy that is highly susceptible to fluctuations in global oil prices. When oil prices fall, Nigeria faces significant revenue shortfalls, leading to economic instability and budget deficits[62]. Nigeria's over-reliance on oil revenues has made its economy vulnerable to external shocks.

The focus on oil revenue has led to the neglect of other economic sectors. Agriculture, which was once the backbone of Nigeria's economy, has suffered due to inadequate investment and attention. The manufacturing sector also remains underdeveloped, limiting the country's ability to diversify its economy and create sustainable jobs. This lack of diversification has made Nigeria's economy highly volatile and prone to economic crises[63].

*Corruption/Rent Seeking Model*: The rent seeking model developed primarily by Gordon Tullock 1967, and further expanded by Anne Krueger 1974 and others, explores how individuals or groups expend resources to obtain government transfers of wealth. This concept is crucial in the context of the resource curse theory, which posits that countries rich in natural resources often experience lower economic growth and development than countries without such resources. Rent-seeking behaviours, such as lobbying for favourable regulations or capturing government contracts, can exacerbate corruption and inefficiencies, contributing to the resource curse by diverting resources away from productive activities. Thus, the Rent-Seeking Model provides insights into how resource wealth can be mismanaged or exploited to the detriment of broader economic development. This dynamic can undermine the social contract between the government and the citizenry, eroding trust and exacerbating socioeconomic disparities. The volatility of global commodity prices can also contribute to the resource curse, as it introduces uncertainty and makes long-term planning and investment more challenging.

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One of the most significant political impacts of Nigeria's oil wealth is the pervasive corruption and rent-seeking behaviour it has engendered. The enormous revenues generated from oil have often been siphoned off by political elites and government officials, leading to widespread corruption. Transparency International consistently ranks Nigeria among the most corrupt countries in the world. This corruption undermines good governance, weakens institutions, and hampers economic development[64].

*Institutional Model*: This model within the context of the resource curse theory, explores how institutional quality and governance structures influence the management of natural resources and economic outcomes in resource-rich countries. Recent scholarly discussions have highlighted those strong institutions, characterized by transparency, accountability, and effective governance frameworks, are crucial in mitigating the negative effects of the resource curse.

It is argued that institutions play a critical role in determining whether resource wealth translates into sustainable economic development or exacerbates corruption and economic distortions[65]. The emphasis is that institutional quality affects the ability of governments to manage revenues, foster diversified economies, and ensure equitable distribution of benefits from natural resources.

Moreover, recent studies underscore the importance of institutional capacity in shaping policy responses and economic management strategies in resource-dependent economies. They suggest that weak institutions contribute to governance failures and hinder effective resource management practices, thereby perpetuating the resource curse[66].

The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few has led to weak institutions and poor governance in Nigeria. The oil sector's dominance has resulted in a governance structure

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where decisions are often made to benefit a small elite rather than the broader population. This has led to a lack of accountability, inefficiency in public service delivery, and a failure to implement policies that could promote sustainable development[67].

Nigeria's oil wealth has also been a source of political instability and conflicts. The Niger Delta region, where most of Nigeria's oil is produced, has been a hotspot for violent conflicts and militancy. Local communities in the region have long complained about environmental degradation, lack of development, and inadequate compensation for the oil extracted from their land. These grievances have fuelled insurgencies and criminal activities, further destabilizing the region and the country[68].

Nevertheless, it is of note that since Nigeria had become a major oil producer, exporter and a key player in the global oil market following it oil discovery in the 1950s and the massive commercial production in the 1970s, the reality has been markedly different. The initial euphoria over oil wealth quickly gave way to a series of economic mismanagement, political instability, and social conflicts. The oil boom of the 1970s led to an influx of revenue, but this was not matched by prudent economic policies or sustainable development initiatives. Instead, the focus on oil revenue led to the neglect of other critical sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing, creating a mono-economy heavily dependent on oil exports[69]. These have pulled the economic prosperity of the country to it kneel till date.

In fact, the Niger Delta region serves as a stark example of the Resource Curse in Nigeria. Despite being the heart of Nigeria's oil production, the region remains underdeveloped and plagued by poverty, environmental degradation, and social unrest. The local communities have not seen significant benefits from the oil wealth, leading to widespread discontent and militancy. The region's experience highlights the failures of governance and the adverse impacts of oil

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extraction on local communities[70]. States without significant oil reserves, such as Lagos and Kano, have managed to diversify their economies and develop other sectors like trade, manufacturing, and services. These states often perform better in terms of economic growth and development indicators compared to oil-producing states, underscoring the detrimental effects of over-reliance on oil revenue[71].

This negative correlation was robust across various specifications and data samples. However, this theory does not apply generally to all resource abundant countries especially in the global south because countries differ in terms of their developmental level. For instance, while countries like Venezuela, despite its vast oil reserves, has experienced severe economic crises and political instability. Similarly, the Democratic Republic of Congo, rich in minerals, continues to struggle with conflict and poverty. On the other hand, some countries like Norway and Botswana have managed their resources well, demonstrating that good governance and effective policies can mitigate the adverse effects of resource wealth[72].

Although this level of development is incomparable to the developed core countries of the world.

In more concrete term, Norway and Botswana have been underscored with their respective success story. In the case of Norway, it is often cited as a model for how to manage resource wealth effectively. The country established the Government Pension Fund Global (GPFG), which invests oil revenues in international markets to avoid domestic inflation and ensure long-term economic stability. By investing abroad, the GPFG helps to stabilize the Norwegian economy, avoiding the pitfalls of Dutch Disease. As of 2023, the GPFG is one of the largest sovereign wealth funds in the world, with assets exceeding $1.4 trillion. The fund was invested in a diversified portfolio, including equities, bonds, real estate, and renewable energy projects[73].

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This strategy has contributed to Norway's low inflation rates and robust economic growth. Norway's success is attributed to strong institutions, transparency, and prudent economic management[74]. Norway adheres to a fiscal rule that limits the annual use of oil revenues to 3% of the GPFG's value, which corresponds to the expected real return of the fund. This rule ensures that oil revenues are used sustainably and that the economy is not overly dependent on oil income[75].

The management of the GPFG is characterised by high levels of transparency and accountability. Detailed information about the fund's investments and performance is publicly available, contributing to good governance and public trust[76]. Norway consistently ranks high on various economic indicators. For example, its GDP per capita was approximately $75,000 in 2022[77], one of the highest in the world. Norway also boasts low unemployment rates, high levels of human development, and strong social welfare systems.

With respect to Botswana, the country is rich in diamonds, and has managed to avoid the Resource Curse through effective governance and economic diversification. Botswana is known for its strong institutions and good governance. The country has consistently ranked high on the Corruption Perceptions Index, reflecting low levels of corruption and high levels of transparency[78]. The government has invested resource revenues in infrastructure, education, and healthcare, fostering broad-based economic growth. Botswana's experience highlights the importance of good governance and strategic investment in human capital[79].

Botswana's GDP per capita has steadily increased, reaching approximately $8,000 in 2022[80]. The country has maintained a stable macroeconomic environment with moderate inflation and robust fiscal policies. Similarly, Pula Fund was established in 1994, which is Botswana's sovereign wealth fund, designed to manage excess diamond revenues. The fund aims to provide

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a buffer against economic shocks and to invest in the long-term prosperity of the country. As of 2023, the Pula Fund has grown substantially, with investments in a diversified portfolio including global equities and fixed-income assets. The fund has helped stabilize Botswana's economy and support public investment projects[81].

In the main, the Resource Curse Theory provides a useful framework for understanding Nigeria's economic, political, and social challenges despite its abundant natural resources. It explores its manifestations in the Nigerian context of the crisis in oil and gas sector, as an example of a country suffering from the 'delusions of wealth' despite her resource wealth endowment and oil wealth. With the abundance of economic data regarding Nigeria (an economy with a much longer history of oil production and export), her experience provides especially fertile ground for empirical investigation, making it possible for critical analysis. Despite substantial economic adjustment programs and changes to the oil institutions with the collapse of oil prices in the early 1980s, both Nigeria's non-oil and oil sectors have performed poorly. This has led to new efforts to reinvigorate its oil production and exports as well as revamping its economical industries.

Nigeria's experience underscores the importance of good governance, economic diversification, and effective management of resource wealth. While there have been efforts to address these issues, significant challenges remain. By learning from other resource-rich countries like Norway and Botswana, Nigeria can develop strategies to mitigate the adverse effects of the Resource Curse and promote sustainable development.

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### 2.2.4 Institutional Theory

The institutional theory offers a valuable lens through which the analysis of the persistent challenges facing the critical sectors of the economy particularly from the institutional perspective, as it underscores the role of both formal and informal institutions in shaping economic and social outcomes.

These institutions include laws, regulations, norms, conventions, and cultural practices which reduce uncertainty by providing a stable structure for social and economic activities, but they can also perpetuate inefficiencies and power imbalances. It holds that institutional quality plays a crucial role in determining how both oil and non-oil revenue affects economic growth. Countries with robust institutions such as effective governance, rule of law, and high regulatory standards are more successful in leveraging resource wealth and avoiding the negative impacts of the resource curse[82]. Also in an empirical study, it is asserted that institutional quality usually provides the potential to influence the relationship between revenue sources and economic growth[83]. Nations with institutional stability tends to enjoy more favourable growth outcomes from both oil and non-oil revenues, underscoring the significance of institutional reforms for achieving sustainable development[84]. However, institutions can be categorised into two main types resonates:

1. Formal Institutions: These include written laws, regulations, policies, and organizational structures. In Nigeria's oil sector, formal institutions encompass legal frameworks, regulatory bodies, and government agencies responsible for overseeing the industry.
2. Informal Institutions: These include unwritten rules, social norms, cultural practices, and behaviours that influence behaviours. In Nigeria, informal institutions such as patronage

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networks, corruption practices, and local customs play a significant role in shaping the oil sector's dynamics[85].

The theory emphasizes that institutions are the rules of the game in a society, encompassing laws, regulations, norms, and conventions that structure human interactions. These institutions can be formal, such as legal frameworks and regulatory bodies, or informal, such as social norms and cultural practices. In the context of Nigeria's oil sector, both types of institutions play a crucial role in determining the sector's performance and its impact on the broader society[86].

It indicates that the management of oil revenue is crucial in determining fiscal policy and ensuring economic stability in oil producing states. However, Governments in oil-dependent economies frequently struggle with effective handling windfall revenues due to their failure to adopt prudent fiscal policies, thereby leading to pro cyclical spending and worsening economic stability during periods of oil price volatility. Additionally, high institutional quality, encompassing strong legal frameworks, effective government regulations, individual rights and the absence of violence, is often seen as essential for achieving sustainable development[87].

In essence, the theory explores the institutional failures in Nigeria's oil sector from the lens of institutional theory, focusing on the historical context, regulatory frameworks, and the socio-political dynamics that have shaped the sector. The history of Nigeria's oil sector is deeply intertwined with the country's colonial past and the subsequent evolution of state control over oil resources. Understanding this historical context is crucial for analysing the institutional challenges facing the sector today.

To start with pre-independence phase, Nigeria's oil industry began during the colonial era when the British administration granted exploration rights to various companies. The discovery of oil

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in Oloibiri in 1956 marked the beginning of commercial oil production in Nigeria. The colonial government prioritized resource extraction to benefit the British economy, with little regard for the welfare of the local population. This period set the stage for the exploitation and marginalization of the Niger Delta, the region where most of Nigeria's oil reserves are located[88]. The colonial administration established the legal and regulatory frameworks that would later govern the oil sector, including the Mineral Oils Ordinance of 1914 and the Petroleum Ordinance of 1959. These laws vested ownership and control of mineral resources in the colonial government, a principle that was carried over into post-independence Nigeria. The legacy of colonialism left Nigeria with a centralized system of resource control, which has contributed to ongoing tensions between the federal government and oil-producing communities.

Nonetheless, following Nigeria's independence in 1960, the newly formed government sought to assert greater control over its natural resources. The Nigerian government established the Nigerian National Oil Corporation (NNOC) in 1971, which later became the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) in 1977. The NNPC was tasked with regulating and participating in the oil industry on behalf of the state, marking a shift towards state control and participation in oil production[89].

The 1970s were a period of rapid growth for Nigeria's oil sector, driven by the global oil boom and increased state involvement. However, this period also saw the entrenchment of corruption, inefficiency, and mismanagement within the sector. The oil boom led to a phenomenon known as the "resource curse," where dependence on oil revenues resulted in neglect of other sectors, economic volatility, and weak institutions.

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This historical context of Nigeria's oil sector reveals a complex interplay of colonial legacies, state control, regulatory frameworks, and the roles of key institutions and actors. The sector's development has been shaped by the legacy of colonial exploitation, the evolution of state participation, and the challenges of corruption, mismanagement, and environmental degradation.

In effect, therefore, institutional theory examines the interplay between formal and informal institutions and how they influence the Nigeria's oil in terms of governance and outcomes. In this case, several key aspects of which are considered in the subsequent analysis:

- *Colonial Legacies:* The colonial legacy of centralized resource control and exploitation established formal institutions that continue to shape Nigeria's oil sector. The principle of state ownership of mineral resources, enshrined in the Petroleum Act of 1969, shaped the sector's governance framework but has also contributed to institutional weaknesses. The centralization of control and the lack of effective local representation have led to tensions between the federal government and oil-producing communities, exacerbating the challenges of corruption and mismanagement.
- *Formal Institutions and Governance*: The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR) are key formal institutions in Nigeria's oil sector. The NNPC's dual role as both a regulatory authority and a commercial player has created conflicts of interest, undermining its effectiveness in regulatory oversight. The DPR, while tasked with enforcing industry regulations and ensuring compliance with environmental standards, has struggled with capacity constraints and political interference. This dual role often leads to compromised regulatory functions and inefficiencies in the sector.

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- *Informal Institutions and Corruption:* Informal institutions, including patronage networks and entrenched corruption practices, significantly impact Nigeria's oil sector. Corruption is deeply embedded in the sector, influenced by informal practices such as bribery, nepotism, and clientelism. These informal institutions often circumvent formal regulations and contribute to the mismanagement of oil revenues. For instance, the diversion of funds meant for development projects in oil-producing regions is a common issue, driven by patronage networks and corrupt practices.
- *Institutional Coordination:* Effective coordination between formal and informal institutions is crucial for successful governance in the oil sector. In Nigeria, the lack of coordination among various regulatory bodies, such as the NNPC, DPR, and the Ministry of Petroleum Resources, has led to overlapping functions, inefficiencies, and gaps in regulatory oversight. The fragmented nature of institutional arrangements hampers the sector's ability to address challenges effectively and achieve sustainable development.
- *Role of Multinational Oil Companies*: Multinational oil companies operating in Nigeria also influence the institutional landscape. Their interactions with formal institutions, such as the NNPC and regulatory agencies, and their reliance on informal practices, such as negotiating with local power brokers, shape the sector's governance. While these companies bring technical expertise and investment, their operations often perpetuate inequalities and environmental degradation, particularly in the Niger Delta region.
- *Local Communities and Civil Society:* Local communities and civil society organizations play a crucial role in shaping informal institutions and advocating for change. In the Niger Delta, community groups and activists have mobilized to demand greater control over local resources and better environmental management. Their efforts highlight the need for more

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inclusive and responsive institutions that address the needs and grievances of affected communities[90].

However, in Nigeria's oil sector, the formal institutions are regulatory frameworks governing and shaping the policy direction of the sector, which are designed to oversee the exploration, production, and management of oil resources. These frameworks include legal statutes, regulatory agencies, and industry policies that shape the sector's operations. Despite their importance, Nigeria's regulatory frameworks have faced significant challenges in ensuring effective governance and addressing the sector's issues.

- *The Petroleum Act of 1969***:** The Petroleum Act of 1969 is the cornerstone of Nigeria's oil legislation. It vests ownership and control of petroleum resources in the federal government, establishing the legal basis for oil exploration and production. The Act grants exclusive rights to the federal government to manage and allocate oil licenses, while the NNPC serves as the state's representative in the industry. While the Petroleum Act provided a clear framework for the oil sector, it has also contributed to some of the sector's challenges. The centralized control of oil resources has led to tensions between the federal government and oil-producing states, particularly in the Niger Delta. Additionally, the Act's provisions have been criticized for not adequately addressing issues of transparency, environmental protection, and community development.
- *The Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR):* The DPR, established in 1971, is responsible for enforcing regulations and ensuring compliance with industry standards. Its functions include issuing licenses, monitoring oil production, and overseeing environmental compliance. Despite its critical role, the DPR has faced challenges in effectively carrying out

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its mandate. Issues such as inadequate resources, political interference, and limited capacity have hindered the DPR's ability to enforce regulations and address sectoral issues[91].

- *The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC):* The NNPC was established in 1977 to manage Nigeria's oil resources and oversee the industry. As a state-owned corporation, the NNPC is responsible for regulating oil activities, participating in joint ventures with multinational oil companies, and managing oil revenues. However, the NNPC's dual role as both a regulator and a commercial entity has created conflicts of interest and challenges in ensuring effective oversight. The NNPC has faced numerous criticisms for its lack of transparency, mismanagement of funds, and involvement in corrupt practices. Efforts to reform the NNPC, such as the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) of 2021, aim to address these issues by restructuring the corporation and improving governance. The PIA seeks to enhance transparency, establish a more independent regulatory framework, and promote better management of oil revenues[92].
- *The Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) of 2021***:** The Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) of 2021 represents a significant reform in Nigeria's oil sector. The Act seeks to address long-standing issues in the sector by restructuring the regulatory framework and promoting transparency and accountability. Essential provisions of the PIA include:
    i. Establishment of the Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission (NUPRC): The PIA creates the NUPRC to oversee upstream oil activities, replacing the DPR. The NUPRC is designed to operate with greater independence and autonomy, aiming to improve regulatory oversight and reduce conflicts of interest.
    ii. Creation of the Nigerian Midstream and Downstream Petroleum Regulatory Authority (NMDPRA): The NMDPRA is responsible for regulating midstream and downstream

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oil activities, including transportation, refining, and marketing. The establishment of the NMDPRA aims to enhance regulatory efficiency and address issues in these sectors.

iii. Transparency and Accountability Measures: The PIA introduces measures to improve transparency in the oil sector, including requirements for regular reporting of financial and operational data. The Act also establishes the Petroleum Industry Development Fund (PIDF) to support community development and environmental protection initiatives.

It is important to underscore that while the Petroleum Act, the DPR, NNPC, and PIA have provided the foundation for the sector's regulation, several challenges have persisted which includes:

- *Corruption and Mismanagement*: Corruption is a pervasive issue within Nigeria's oil sector, contributing significantly to institutional failures and undermining the sector's governance. The oil industry's substantial revenues create opportunities for corrupt practices, including bribery, embezzlement, and nepotism. High-profile cases of corruption, such as the misappropriation of funds from oil sales and fraudulent contracts, highlight the systemic nature of these problems. The NNPC, as both a regulator and a commercial entity, has been particularly susceptible to corruption. For instance, reports of missing billions of dollars from oil sales and questionable dealings with multinational oil companies have raised concerns about the transparency and accountability of the corporation. Similarly, corruption within the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR) has hampered regulatory effectiveness, with instances of bribery and collusion impacting the enforcement of environmental and operational standards. Mismanagement of oil revenues is another significant issue. The lack of effective financial oversight and accountability mechanisms

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has led to the diversion of funds intended for development projects and community benefits. This mismanagement exacerbates socio-economic inequalities and undermines trust in the government and regulatory institutions.

- *Political Interference*: Political interference in the oil sector undermines institutional effectiveness and complicates governance. The oil sector's central role in Nigeria's economy makes it a target for political manipulation, with politicians and government officials often exerting undue influence over regulatory decisions and resource allocation. Political interference can manifest in various ways, including the appointment of individuals with political connections to key positions within regulatory bodies, manipulation of oil contracts, and interference in the allocation of oil revenues. This interference erodes the credibility of institutions and undermines efforts to promote transparency and accountability. The politicization of the oil sector also contributes to policy inconsistency and instability. Changes in government can lead to shifts in oil policies and regulatory approaches, creating uncertainty for investors and stakeholders. This lack of continuity hampers long-term planning and development in the sector.
- *Capacity Constraints*: Institutional capacity constraints are a significant challenge in Nigeria's oil sector. Regulatory bodies like the DPR and the NNPC often struggle with inadequate resources, limited technical expertise, and insufficient infrastructure. These constraints impede their ability to effectively perform their regulatory functions and address sectorial issues. For instance, the DPR's capacity to monitor and enforce environmental regulations is limited by outdated technology and insufficient personnel. This affects the agency's ability to address issues such as oil spills and environmental degradation, contributing to the negative impact of oil activities on local communities.

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Capacity constraints also affect the implementation of development programs and community initiatives. The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), established to address the developmental needs of oil-producing regions, has faced challenges related to funding, project management, and political interference. These issues have limited the effectiveness of the NDDC in improving infrastructure, healthcare, and education in the Niger Delta.

- *Regulatory Fragmentation:* Regulatory fragmentation is another significant challenge in Nigeria's oil sector. The overlap and lack of coordination among various regulatory bodies, such as the NNPC, DPR, and Ministry of Petroleum Resources, create inefficiencies and gaps in oversight. The fragmented regulatory landscape complicates efforts to enforce regulations, monitor compliance, and address sectoral issues. The lack of a unified regulatory framework contributes to inconsistencies in policy implementation and enforcement. For example, different agencies may have conflicting priorities or approaches to managing environmental impacts, leading to inadequate responses to oil spills and other environmental issues[93].
- *Socio-Political Conflicts:* The socio-political dynamics in oil-producing regions, particularly the Niger Delta, add another layer of complexity to the institutional challenges in Nigeria's oil sector. The Niger Delta has been the site of ongoing conflicts between local communities, militant groups, and government authorities. These conflicts are often driven by grievances related to environmental degradation, economic marginalization, and demands for greater control over oil resources. Militant activities and social unrest in the Niger Delta have disrupted oil production and distribution, leading to economic losses and heightened security concerns. The government's

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response to these conflicts, including the use of military force and the implementation of development programs, has often been criticized for its effectiveness and approach.

The foregoing institutional challenges have continued to hamper the efficiency of the Nigeria's oil sector. Thus, situating the institutional challenges within the case of the Niger Delta, Nigeria's primary oil-producing region is significant here. The region has experienced significant socio-economic and political challenges related to oil exploration and production. The region is characterized by a complex Interplay of historical grievances, socio-economic disparities, and political dynamics that have shaped its relationship with the oil industry and the government.

Historically, the Niger Delta has been marginalised and neglected by successive governments, despite its crucial role in Nigeria's economy. The discovery of oil in the region in the 1950s brought economic opportunities but also exacerbated existing inequalities and environmental degradation. The concentration of oil wealth in the hands of a few, coupled with the lack of development in local communities, has fuelled resentment and demands for greater control over resources.

While the region generates substantial revenues for the federal government, it has also faced severe environmental pollution, including oil spills, gas flaring, and soil contamination. These environmental issues have negatively affected agriculture, fisheries, and overall quality of life for local communities. The degradation of natural resources has led to loss of livelihoods, health problems, and increased poverty in the region.

Apart from the above, **t**he Niger Delta has been the epicenter of militancy and social unrest, driven by grievances related to environmental degradation, economic marginalization, and

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demands for greater resource control. Militant groups, such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), have engaged in various forms of activism, including protests, sabotage, and attacks on oil infrastructure. Militancy in the Niger Delta has led to significant disruptions in oil production and distribution, with attacks on pipelines, oil facilities, and personnel. These activities have resulted in economic losses, security concerns, and strained relations between the government, oil companies, and local communities. The government's response to militancy has included military interventions and negotiations, but these approaches have often been criticized for their effectiveness and impact.

Local communities and civil society organizations in the Niger Delta have played a crucial role in advocating for their rights and demanding accountability from the government and oil companies. Groups such as the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) and the Environmental Rights Action (ERA) have been at the forefront of efforts to address environmental and socio-economic issues in the region. Community mobilization and advocacy have led to increased awareness of the challenges faced by the Niger Delta and have pressured the government and oil companies to address these issues. However, the effectiveness of these efforts is often limited by factors such as limited resources, political repression, and challenges in engaging with powerful stakeholders[94.]

In response to these challenges, **t**he Nigerian government and oil companies have implemented various measures in the Niger Delta. Government initiatives included the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the implementation of amnesty programs for militants. The NDDC was created to promote development in the region, with a focus on

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infrastructure, healthcare, and education. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of the NDDC has been limited by issues such as corruption, mismanagement, and political interference.

The amnesty program, introduced in 2009, aimed to provide financial and vocational support to militants who renounced violence. While the program led to a reduction in militancy, it has faced criticisms related to its implementation and the distribution of benefits. Critics argue that the program has not sufficiently addressed the root causes of conflict and has failed to achieve lasting peace and development in the region.

Oil companies operating in the Niger Delta have also implemented social responsibility programs and environmental management initiatives. These programs include community development projects, environmental remediation, and stakeholder engagement efforts. However, the effectiveness of these initiatives has been questioned, with concerns about the adequacy of compensation, transparency, and the involvement of local communities in decision-making as a critical institution.

However, it is pertinent to examine the cases of Norway and Botswana in terms of their strong institutional framework in governing the oil sectors.

Norway is a model credited for effective oil sector governance due to its robust regulatory framework, transparency, and commitment to sustainable development. The Norwegian Petroleum Directorate (NPD) and the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy (MPE) play central roles in overseeing the sector, with a focus on balancing economic interests with environmental and social considerations.

**Fundamental Features of Norway's Approach**

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- *Transparent Management*: Norway's oil sector is characterized by high levels of transparency, with regular reporting on oil revenues, expenditures, and investments. The Norwegian government publishes detailed accounts of its oil revenues and expenditures, providing a high level of public scrutiny and accountability.
- *Sovereign Wealth Fund*: Norway has established the Government Pension Fund Global (GPFG), also known as the Oil Fund, to manage oil revenues and invest them for future generations. The fund is one of the largest sovereign wealth funds in the world and serves as a model for prudent resource management and intergenerational equity.
- *Environmental and Social Standards*: Norway has stringent environmental and social standards for oil exploration and production. The NPD and MPE ensure that oil activities adhere to high environmental protection standards, including requirements for minimizing emissions, managing waste, and protecting biodiversity.
- *Inclusive Decision-Making*: Norway's approach to oil sector governance includes broad stakeholder engagement and consultation. The government actively involves local communities, environmental organizations, and industry stakeholders in decision-making processes, ensuring that diverse perspectives are considered[95].

In the case Botswana, it gained independence in 1966 as one of the world's poorest nations and has swiftly transformed into a notable development success story among Southern African countries with a population of 2.30 million. The country's economy heavily relies on diamond resources. According to the World Bank, diamonds contribute 25 percent to Botswana's GDP, approximately 85 percent to export earning, and about one-third to Government revenue.

To circumvent the typical challenges of natural resource wealth, known as the 'resource disease,' Botswana implemented deliberate strategies. These included avoiding external debt,

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stabilizing growth, and promoting economic diversification. To achieve these goals, Botswana crafted economic policies that avoided excessive spending during boom times, built up international reserves, and maintained budget surpluses for stability spending during lean periods. Botswana's management of its diamond resources offers valuable lessons for Nigeria's oil sector, particularly in terms of governance, transparency, and community development. Botswana's approach emphasizes effective institutional frameworks and the equitable distribution of resource benefits.

**Essential Attributes of Botswana's Approach**

- *Strong Institutions:* Botswana has established strong institutions for managing its diamond resources, including the Botswana Chamber of Mines and the Ministry of Minerals and Energy. These institutions are responsible for regulating the sector, ensuring compliance with standards, and promoting transparency.
- *Transparent Revenue Management:* Botswana is known for its transparent management of diamond revenues. The government publishes detailed reports on diamond revenues and expenditures, contributing to public accountability and trust in resource management.
- *Community Benefits:* Botswana has implemented policies to ensure that the benefits of diamond mining are shared with local communities. This includes investments in education, healthcare, and infrastructure, as well as initiatives to promote local economic development.
- *Sustainable Development*: Botswana's approach to resource management emphasizes sustainable development, with a focus on minimizing environmental impact and promoting long-term economic growth. The country has implemented measures to manage environmental risks and support conservation efforts.

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Drawing from the foregoing, the crucial lessons for Nigeria in Norway and Botswana institutional effectiveness would probably cover but not limited to:

- *Transparency and Accountability:* Implementing transparent reporting mechanisms and independent oversight can enhance accountability and reduce corruption. Learning from Norway's experience with the Oil Fund and Botswana's revenue management practices can help Nigeria improve its own transparency efforts.
- *Institutional Strengthening*: Building strong, independent institutions with clear mandates and sufficient resources is crucial for effective sector governance. Nigeria can benefit from strengthening its regulatory bodies and ensuring that they operate free from political interference.
- *Inclusive Development*: Ensuring that local communities benefit from resource wealth and are involved in decision-making processes is essential for achieving sustainable development. Nigeria should focus on implementing inclusive policies that address the needs and grievances of affected communities.
- *Environmental Management*: Adopting stringent environmental standards and implementing effective environmental management practices can help mitigate the negative impacts of oil activities. Learning from Norway's environmental regulations and Botswana's conservation efforts can guide Nigeria in improving its own environmental policies[96].

In effect, this theoretical approach exposes that Nigeria can work towards improving its oil sector governance, addressing institutional challenges, and achieving more sustainable and equitable resource management by useful lesson from the two countries with strong institutional development in their oil sectors.

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## 2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

There is no doubt that substantial empirical studies have been carried out in the areas of neoliberalism, including some specifically relevant works on energy resources of oil and gas. These works are significant to the subject of inquiry in this context. However, for the benefit of this section, the subsequent analysis will delve into some of the earlier and current contributions of researchers with their findings as they relate to the subject of this investigation. For instance, a remarkable study was carried out on *Nigerian Petroleum Policy and External Relations*. The study, while utilizing Michael Brecher's theoretical framework to analyse the various inter-play of forces in the internal and external environment of the Nigerian petroleum industry, the actors, organs and influences in Nigeria's petroleum industry were initially examined. It was revealed that owing to the psychological and sociological dispositions of Nigeria's decision makers, a substantial measure of incoherence exists in the formulation and implementation of petroleum policy in Nigeria.

The study goes on to examine the novel postures adopted by the Nigerian state towards the multinational oil companies. These include production sharing agreements, risk-service contracts and joint participation programmes. The potency of these measures was however questioned, since the oil companies continue to control the nucleus of operations in this industry. The study equally explores the general issue of the linkage between petroleum and foreign policy. Specifically, there was a focus on Nigeria's use of the oil weapon in international relations. It was shown that this attempt by Nigeria is beset with certain fundamental limitations. It was against the foregoing findings that the study comes up with policy prescriptions which were designed to accord coherence and direction to Nigerian petroleum policy and external

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relations. The policy measures are captured as follows; firstly, overhauling of the current petroleum policy of absolute reliance on the oil companies by embarking on alternative strategies which include overtures to oil-service companies, who offer their services to anybody at the market price. Invariably this means an elimination of the oil companies who had always served as meddlesome intermediaries between the states and the oil-service companies.

Secondly, approaching Third World countries which are fairly versed in the sophisticated technology of the oil industry for technological expertise. Thirdly, widening the country's energy base with the aim of ensuring a wider life-span for Nigeria's oil resources. In this respect, the country is particularly blessed since there are potential sources of energy. It stresses that the case of natural gas demands urgent attention, since it is currently being flared away. Owing to the crowded nature of market in Europe and America, the country should take an introspective look on the project. For instance, the gas should be committed to domestic consumption, and an ECOWAS energy project. In this case, all Governments of the ECOWAS sub-region, could jointly implement the project with external financing. Fourthly, directing the revenues which accrued to the state from petroleum in a patriotic spirit towards the development of the country's agriculture.

It goes without saying that the oil boom era has progressively depressed the sector of agricultural production in the Nigerian economy. Indeed, the dismal consequence of this is that Nigeria is currently beholden to external sources for her food supplied. It is a situation that should not be allowed to endure for long since it has been amply demonstrated that food could also be used as an instrument of coercion in international relations. Fifthly, countries which have one-sided trade relationship with Nigeria should be compelled to buy the nation's crude oil to make up for any trade imbalance. This is in a bid to de-emphasize the sickness which

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currently attends Nigeria's oil in the world market. However, the study concludes by stressing that the practical fulfilments those policies depend crucially on a committed leadership. And indeed, without this vital ingredient, Nigerian petroleum policy and external relations will continue to be plagued by their present short-comings[97].

Also, study on *Oil and Sustainable Development in Nigeria: A Case of Study the Niger Delta* examined the centrality of oil in the Nigerian political economy to consider the implications of oil 'exploitation' for the possibility of sustainable development in Nigeria. The paper explicates the contradictory tendencies of wealth and poverty in Nigeria despite her massive oil resources. It further conceptualizes the class contradictions of the Nigerian state, with particular emphasis on the commonalities of interest between the domestic ruling class and foreign capital. It posits that the political economy engender by oil is such that renders the nation's rural majority population irrelevant to the task of capitalist accumulation by the ruling class, hence their continuous neglect and suppression. The lack of concern for the development of the instruments of labour by the ruling class is equally problematized against the non-entrepreneurial basis of capital accumulation in the country[98].

The paper argues that sustainable development is essentially the issue of power. Given a social relation of production at the apex of which the international imperialist capital and their local collaborators preside, the disempowerment, alienation, impoverishment of the ordinary people across spatial boundaries is an expected outcome. In other words, the study insists that the linkage between oil and the Nigerian state has often led to the characterization of Nigeria as a rentier state. This is so because with the discovery of oil, the traditional agricultural and mineral exports like cocoa, palm oil, groundnut, cotton, tin, coal, etc that hitherto supplied the nation's foreign exchange and contributed the larger percentage of her Gross National Products (GNP)

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were relegated. The consequence of this being the streamlining the percentages of people that are involved in the production of the national wealth. With oil, only a very small proportion of the nation's population are directly involved in the production of the nation's wealth. And with the technology for oil exploration and exploitation totally in the hands of foreigners, the Nigerian states and its citizens are primarily reduced to commissioned agents[98].

To this end, the paper calls for a multinational class action amongst all the oppressed people of Nigeria irrespective of ethic affinities. The paper did not have any illusion that this would be an easy task. The first assignment is to provoke the consciousness of uniform social action amongst the people of Nigeria in general and Niger Delta in particular[98]. The import of this is noted in the Marxian notion that workers of the world should unite in that they have nothing to lose than their chains. This is a simple interpretation of proletariat internationalism in the face of imperial dominations in the new form of globalised neoliberalism that is playing out in the production and ownership of oil resources in the region of Niger Delta.

A further agitation similar to the forgoing was advocated in the study titled *Petro-capitalism, Neoliberalism, Labour and Community Mobilization in Nigeria*, where the oil is regarded as political liquid indicating class struggle in Nigeria, a country known for its oil production. It was however observed that most articles on the oil industry-induced crises fail to reflect that working class plays a vital role in production and distribution. It maintains that understanding social transformation in a capitalist oil-based economy requires recognising the importance of organized labour. The paper analyses the actions of the oil producing, including the trends, constraints and oil workers in Nigeria in the context of the neoliberal period of petro-capitalism. In this view, the study specifically highlights the lack of formal coalitions between these groups

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and emphasizes the need for purposeful efforts to promote solidarity between waged and unwaged groups of the working class[99].

This thesis suggests that resolving basic conflicts in oil capitalism requires socialized coordination of society and the economy by productive forces. This requires, eventually calls for a collective ownership of the oil resources between the working class and the oil producing community. In effect, resistance by the exploited classes can influence the state to use oil money for social needs instead of building as against to being used to build the arsenal of terror and a militarized state, is contingent upon the extent to which it can channel the energies of workers and communities and develop strongly positive alliances between them. While locating the study within a Marxian theoretical exposition in order to clarify the link between the capitalist structure of work relations and petro-capitalism, the paper therefore emphasized the absence of these alliances and calls for the conscious building of unity between the waged and unwaged wings of the working class[99].

To this extent, it argues that building alliances between labour and oil producing communities requires the joint coordination of struggles, and ultimately joint control of oil production, between the working class (the waged) and the local communities (the unwaged) so that the priorities of economic life can be jointly determined for the satisfaction of social needs, rather than being subordinated to the profit interests of a few. The demand for resource control by the communities, in the context of the existing capitalist social structure, is clearly incompatible with the dictates of the system. To attain resource control in an enduring manner that would impact on the total quality of life, there is a need for collaboration between the fighting communities and those who are at the point of production, the working class. Thus, it is in the mutual interest of both labour and communities to consciously build an alliance. For example,

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it has been suggested that a reduction in working hours per day, without a wage cut, could provide job opportunities for the communities. Both labour and community therefore stand to benefit from united actions[99].

In this instance from the angle of the working class in the oil industry, two forms of worker resistance and agitation have been highlighted and identified as overt and covert actions against such externally imposed policies. Overt actions describe the normal trade union disputes, while typically at an individual level covert forms of actions are usually employed by workers, and in small groups, to agitate against exploitation and 'get even' with the employer. They include theft, absenteeism, acts of sabotage, 'accidents' and 'sickness' and involve direct and indirect efforts to withhold labour power while collecting benefits and salaries.

Given the vicious nature of state labour policies and the power of corporations, the workers tend to rely more on covert than overt forms of protest. This is because covert, hidden and individualistic forms of action are significant among Nigerian oil workers, and they form the bedrock of the open or overt forms of protest[100]. Apart from participation in general strikes in which all unions are involved, there is also a pattern of mobilization in which the national or zonal branches of the oil workers unions mobilize on the basis of particular neoliberal attacks on the rights of individual sectional units such as tanker drivers, or on the basis of addressing specific labour issues. The case of labour struggles in Chevron Nigeria Limited (CNL) provides an example. A meeting of all CNL contract workers with the Warri Zonal Council of NUPENG resulted in the issuance of a 14-day ultimatum, taking effect from September 21, 2008. It required CNL to address issues of unfair labour practices or face a strike action.

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Hence, the unfair labour practices in CNL included subjecting the majority of workers to the status of contract labour which meant they now lacked the right to negotiate and had to agree to conditions of service and could be subjected to arbitrary dismissal. The union argued in favour of unity among workers, declaring it wanted harmonized conditions of service that would further empower the youths of the Niger Delta and other Nigerians working in oil and gas[101].

Direct picketing of oil companies' operational offices and facilities is another mode of struggle that has been effectively adopted by Nigerian oil workers. In the first week of February 2010, members of the Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN) picketed Mobil offices in Lagos, Eket and Onne for two days, chanting solidarity songs. At Onne, the workers effectively prevented the barges and ships from loading crude oil as well as refined products. It is pertinent to note that, the workers were physically attacked by members of the communities at Eket. However, when workers convinced the host community that the struggle was to save the jobs of the indigenes as well as other Nigerians, the leaders and youths in the community showed solidarity[102].

The obvious point here is the call for joint action of the working class and the local dwellers who are also victims of the roles of the oil companies in the environment for the purpose of ensuring community liberation and development.

However, contributions made in the study *neo-liberal socio-economic policy and human development in the informal sector of Lagos state*, appear somewhat coterminous to the above research. This study therefore investigates the socioeconomic implications of the neo-liberal reforms of government on the human development of operators in the informal sector. The study evaluates the degree to which neo-liberal paradigm has brought about improvement in the

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welfare of operators in the sector. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection were employed in the conduct of research in six Local Government Areas of Lagos State. The quantitative data was collected through the administration of questionnaire which was complemented with Focus Group Discussions to collect the qualitative data. Using the systematic sampling technique, chi-square test was utilised to analyse the quantitative data. The study identified institutional theory to explain the nature of the Nigerian state and its implications for addressing the basic social needs of the people which indeed remain the core of development.

The study underlines that over the last twenty years, problems such as increase in social costs burden, low access to resources, markets, land and basic infrastructure have hindered active engagement of informal sector in national development. This is not unconnected to the view that the sector operating in a hostile political, social, economic and institutional environment. It confirms that these challenges have hindered the socio-economic and working conditions of operators, resulting in the overall decline in their standards of living. The findings of the study established that the neo-liberal policy on social service expenditures, subsidy removal, interest/exchange rates, trade liberalization and oil sector deregulation had an adverse influence on the demand and supply sides in the activities of informal sector. These measures did not only aggravate the poverty state of operators but also invariably undermined human development in the sector.

A significant association between neo-liberal policy measures and the decline in the socioeconomic conditions of operators (281.41 at $p < 0.05$), performance (171.47 at $p < 0.05$), and social welfare (39.50 at $p < 0.05$) was shown by the chi-square test. Not only that, it highlights that that neo-liberal policy as enveloped in economic reform programme was not

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designed for the development of African economies, but a stop-gap strategy to ensure that the debtor nations pay the debt owed to the Bretton Woods institutions and other Bi-lateral bodies. Yet, almost all of the economic development strategies for Africa's development have always been dictated by the industrialized nations using their perspective, thus making Western development strategies the foundations of politico-economic decisions in post-colonial Africa.

Stressing further, the Bretton Woods institutions on many instances have consistently been antagonistic to any policy attempts by African governments to develop their independent self-reliance economic restructuring model that would alter Africa's position in the existing international division of labour and change their pattern of production from primary commodities to manufacturing goods i.e. The Lagos Plan of Action. It argues that neo-liberal policy is primarily used by the Western World as a smokescreen to shift emphasis from the discussion of broader development issues such as world trade imbalances, trade protectionism, the promotion of equity and social well-being to economic growth. Meanwhile, the protagonists failed to take into account the certain socio realities in a country before prescribing it's the policy for the country. This asserts that the kind of development model prescribed for Africa by the west has offered no solution to Africa poverty, its poor majority or its underdevelopment.

The conclusion of the study emphasized the need for a developmental state for human development to occur in the informal operators, where the investment in human resources become the core focus of leadership and policy makers in the entire development process. The study recommends the development of a bottom-up policy approach that will incorporate the informal sector into the mainstream economy by harnessing its comparative advantage; besides removing the discriminatory legislations and regulations that hamper the growth of the sector. Stimulating economic growth, productivity of labour and incomes in the informal sector for the

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national economic development, the study further recommends investment directed towards provision of inputs raw materials, amenities and social services as the essential elements[103].

Above all, the study outrightly rejects neoliberal policy and argues for policies and programmes that must engage and incorporate the genuine participation of the end beneficiaries, recognizing and respecting their needs and priorities. This in a way would help in the realization of human development for equitable and sustainable economic growth.

In contrast, significant support was advanced for neoliberalism in a research work that explores *neoliberalism and its influence on the undergraduate Economics curricula at selected South African Higher Education Institutions (HEIs).* The study notes that little is known about the influence of neoliberalism on undergraduate Economics programmes. It underscores the acceptability of neoliberalism as the only possible economic and social order that is enduring till now. As a result, neoliberalists argue to substantiate that global capitalism is promoted, because welfare states are costly, overburdened, inefficient, and incapable of eliminating poverty and are of high manifestation of entitlement mentality in monetary term instead of focusing on citizenship empowerment. Meanwhile, researcher either criticise neoliberalism or reserve some components of neoliberalism and concentrate on those per se. The study is motivated by the importance of curriculum research and the development of the neoliberal theory.

A qualitative multiple case study design was adopted and its relevance is justified on the basis that when not much is known about the phenomenon and when in-depth study is needed. For validity and reliability of data, triangulation data collection tools were employed in this study. In addition, the researcher made use of document analysis and structured interviews. Consequently, the research indicates that, students exposed to neoliberalism have a desire for

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life-long learning and therefore soft skills such as analytical, social, entrepreneurial, accountability and employability skills are required and specified for them. The study insists that survival of graduates in this forever-changing environment requires adequate acquisition of flexible skills so that they will be employable and remain employed. Furthermore, the data collected reveal that neoliberalism is attached to politics and that it is a higher stage of capitalism. However, there is a strong sentiment that neoliberalism has good development policies, but these policies should not be implemented as if they are one-size-fits-all.

Yet, the study appreciates that neoliberalism principles are good and appropriate for the undergraduate economics. Firstly, its principles encourage competition which is healthy for growth. The world is seen as intensely competitive economically and students, as the future workforce, must be given the necessary skills and dispositions to compete efficiently and effectively. Secondly neoliberalism celebrates those who strive for excellence which is good for the world of work. The third reason is that neoliberalism promotes employability skills or transferability skills, which are skills which employers currently value. Neoliberalism encourages students to be autonomous, accountable, self-disciplined and self-reliant. The idea of accountability has a close relationship with the ideologies of economic efficiency and the market mechanisms. Hence, the findings conclude that inequality should not be blamed on neoliberalism, as the shift now should be towards how to deal with inequality and also the effects of technology, as technology is replacing human labour at an alarming rate.

The study recommends that pertinent aspects like cultural, environmental and religious issues should be included in the tertiary curricula[104]. This is indicative of the fact that neoliberalism has been found useful in the development of curriculum for the graduates of economics as a

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discipline and the only problem is for the state to embrace its principles and address the inherent problems in isolation without connecting it to neoliberalism.

Although from another perspective, neoliberalism through the instrumentality of deregulation has also been argued for, in the study conducted on the *assessment of the implication of full-scale deregulation of the downstream oil sector on the Nigerian economy: the neoliberalism approach*, wherein the research contends that neoliberalism as a pervasive guiding principles in the entire Nigerian economy and the privatization of the government's erstwhile owned enterprises has caught up with the Nigerian oil sector, leading to the clamour for full scale deregulation; a fall out of the partial deregulation embarked upon since 1st January, 2011, which arose out of the sorry state of the Nigerian petroleum industry. While examining the implication of deregulation of the downstream oil sector of Nigerian on her economy, a likert-type scale was used in designing the questionnaire for data collection administered to the three core Niger-Delta states (Delta, Rivers and Bayelsa) where 1177 respondents were randomly selected with the aid of descriptive and chi-square analyses.

The findings revealed that deregulation of the downstream oil sector is a good policy that was wrongly implemented hence the existing four refineries are left in their comatose state with promises of a total turn around maintenance. It explicitly recommends that Nigeria should embark on deregulation of the sector but only after the existing refineries have been resuscitated through commercialization to ensure a fair and stable price of the product as well as its availability and stop importation of refined oil into the country[105].

To be more empirical, a thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham in 2017 clearly investigates the *impacts of neoliberal and environmental regulation policies* as recently implemented with the aim of improving sustainable development challenges in the growing

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Nigerian cement industry. It contends that, since the extractive industries have become a new frontier for international and private investment in developing nations, the devolution of economic duties and rising poverty despite their resource endowment provides a gap for this study. To understand and explain the process at play, the argument of the gap identified and focuses on a multilevel environmental governance perspective. In this respect, the strength of the multilevel governance framework lies in its novel emphasis on variety of mechanisms of coordination and negotiation among formal and informal institutions.

In the application of the theoretical framework, the study attempts to identify and analyse the roles and relations of state and non-state actors in the newly established Nigerian cement industry. It articulates the roles of new governance actors and relations in the decentralized sector as well as the interactions between these groups of actors due to these changes. Using In-depth qualitative research, Semi-structured interviews were conducted among government, business and society stakeholders grouped into state and non-state actors to examine the ways privatisation of the Nigerian cement industry and environmental policy reforms affect the roles of central and subnational governments in the governance of the sector. As a result, the findings indicate that the institutional and political relationships governing the interactions between state and non-state actors in the extractive sector historically indicate a multiscalar governance approach with persistent dysfunctional institutional arrangement.

It is abundantly clear from the identified case study that changes in economic development and environmental policies over time reflect attempts to include subnational government and civil society organisations, aside from non-state actors from private sector in the management of the sector. The study posits that the changes fail to improve structures for actors' participation in the governance of the sector to avoid fragmentation of actions. Also, it reveals that central

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government still reserves legitimate power in the development of mineral resources in Nigeria. The study therefore notes that while the subnational governments have actively been involved in environmental regulation, the relationships of the state actors lack coordination and coherence because of the absence of a legitimate structure to integrate their actions. Despite the fact that actors in the industry transcend national governments, the political lessons of neoliberal governance as experienced in this study have shown that many issues are still left unresolved with the government continuing to act as the arbiter of legitimate power.

The political will to decentralize political roles to component unit actors in particular and civil society organisations, has hindered governance for sustainable development in the new Nigerian cement industry. Evidence also revealed the growing relationship between community-based organisations and corporate actors without non-governmental organisations. Although the role of federal government is pertinent as the 'gate keeper' in any development process, the Nigerian government has failed to learn from its past development planning and environmental history to adequately address sustainable resource governance policies. In the case of emerging economies such as Nigeria, the application of multilevel governance framework in this study has illuminated the complex interrelation of actors in neoliberal resource governance and the need for inclusive resource development strategies. To this effect, the study contributes to the body of knowledge and social learning in the resource governance discourse in the neoliberal age particularly in developing countries.

It employed multilevel governance to identify and analyse state and non-state actors' relations and the barriers hindering effective neoliberal governance for sustainable development. Hence, the study based on its empirical findings in essence mean multilevel governance can actually address collective action problem, reduce cost governance, employed in a path dependent

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approach that can promote regional development and aid multifunctional development if well-structured by the government. It submits that multilevel governance without embedded state is unsustainable as the policy, politic and polity are significantly influenced by the government[106].

Also, a seminal works on the resource curse is the study which empirically demonstrated the inverse relationship between natural resource abundance and economic growth, analysing data from a broad range of countries over several decades. Sachs and Warner discovered that there is a negative correlation between resource abundance and growth. This means that countries with abundant natural resources tended to grow more slowly than countries with fewer natural resources. There is never an equal distribution of wealth or bounties of nature among countries of the world due to the vastness of earth. This becomes a key focus of interest when it is observed that most countries endowed with an abundance of natural resources, most notably crude oil, has long been entangled in the complex and perplexing phenomenon known as "resource curse" – a troubling dynamic wherein resource-rich nations, instead of experiencing robust economic growth and development, often find themselves mired in stagnation, corruption, and sociopolitical upheaval[107].

In another study where data from 144 household surveys in 20 countries over the past 25 years were considered to see if economic growth from globalization actually helps the poor workers work. The findings showed that the incomes of the poor workers don't grow at the same rate as the overall increase in income. Which is why many socialists aligned stated agitates for government intervention in labour market. Because it is evident that neoliberal globalization has yield nothing but increase in exploitation most especially among the developing countries[108]. In the same vein, from a historical perspective, analysis of the neoliberal project was examined in order to understand the ideology and powers behind it. From this perspective

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it was argued that the international development agenda, which has dominated the Less Economic Developed Countries (LEDCs) in the past 25 years, has more to do with Western economic and political interests, than with a real intention to reduce poverty and ensure a sustainable development.

By drawing on examples from the conflict ridden West African region, the study argued that the long-standing resistance to neo-colonialism automatically becomes a resistance to the neoliberal project, which leads to the debate about redistribution of resources and State-led Development versus Free-market Development. This remains inextricable from the discussion of Liberal Democratic Peace Theory versus Realism. In a nut shell, it is argued that the notion of democratic peace is used as a popular seductive rhetoric, to legitimize western military interventions and the imposition of economic policies in the name of democracy, human rights and free market economy[109]. This suggests that liberal democratic principles are usually deployed as a disguise to further neoliberal policies in the economic fabric of developing countries.

The study essentially aligns with the assertion global free markets are politically constructed bodies that are shaped by non-market institutions including multinational corporations and industry, by means of international trade agreements. These trade agreements institutionalize treaty-based legal regimes that not only liberalize trade and investment, but also impose constraints on local autonomy, and hence on the capacity of democratic societies to govern their economies and regulate markets[110]. The basis probably speaks to the fact that liberal democracy is closely linked to neoliberal politics, as the former serves as the means towards achieving the latter.

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Speaking specifically from policy perspective, the research *assessing the impact of oil governance agenda on Africa's new oil producers* clearly emphasized and delineate the effort to ensure that Africa's new, 21st-century oil producers avoid the resource curse. That is, the recurring paradox that countries rich in natural resources perform worse across a number of development indicators, including economic growth, conflict proneness and political development. As a result, promoting a remarkably similar set of institutional reforms, often termed the Norwegian Model was involved and pursued. The model is concerned with separating out the policy, commercial and regulatory functions of oil governance. It is called the Norwegian Model because it is based on the successful experience of Norway.

This paper tracks the adoption and implementation of these oil governance reforms in five of Africa's new producers – Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda. It interrogates how this process has shaped the capabilities of each country to govern oil effectively with a particular focus on how relations between international actors and ideas and domestic political settlements shape how bureaucratic pockets of effectiveness (PoEs) emerge and/or are maintained as key nodes of oil governance capability. As such the analysis perhaps of interest to those within the international development community interested in natural resource governance, good governance, the political economy of aid, the role of institutions in delivering development, as well as observers of the five countries covered in the study. While all five countries have broadly adopted the Norway model, political settlement dynamics and the ideological preferences of political actors within each country have strongly influenced the pace of adoption and the ways in which different aspects of the package have been adapted. Thus, the measures are more likely to damage than to boost emerging producers' oil governance capacities.

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The paper argues that governments have failed to coordinate their increasingly fragmented sectors, and external actors have been reticent to assist governments in developing their commercial capacities through national oil firms, primarily for ideological reasons. Performance has only been maintained or improved in scenarios where oil governance PoEs previously existed[111].

In consideration of economic implications of the dynamics of oil industry, research conducted on *upstream oil and gas sector and economic growth in Nigeria* appreciates the impact of oil operations in Nigeria since 1960 as a result of concessions granted to International Oil Companies to operate the upstream sector of the Nigerian petroleum industry. Based on the analysis, the Rig activities (RA), Drilling and Wells Completions (DWC) World Crude Oil Production (COP) and World proven reserves (WOR) are positively related to Gross Domestic Products (GDP). The findings of the study noted that an upsurge in the value of oil export will eventually increase the exploration and production activities of the oil and gas in Nigeria. It was discovered that an improvement in the crude oil annual production will enhance the growth in the Real Gross Domestic Products.

The findings also indicate that exchange rate is bound to increase the activities of the oil and gas industry. Essentially, the findings insist that Government involvement in the cash call funding is not sufficient to motivate exploration and production activities. In the light of this, the study recommends a need for Government to increase the Cash Call funding of the upstream operations within the oil and gas industry, or excuse the Agreement monitoring and allow operators to source funds for the running of the industry. That is, alternative funding of the industry should be allowed to boost the upstream activities within the oil and gas industry. It equally suggests that Government should introduce policies that would inspire the private

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organizations to take active part in oil and gas production. Apart from that, it prescribes to Government to identify various challenges that can debar growth with the oil and gas industry, ranging from poor infrastructural development, and lack of Turn-Around-Maintenance (TAM) in the upstream oil and gas industry, high rates of insecurities and corruptions among, others[112].

The import of the findings appreciates the dynamics of the oil and gas industry in Nigeria at the level of upstream and it acknowledged the issues challenging the productivity of oil on the economic prosperity within the context of government policy.

However, while identifying corruption as one of the greatest threats to economic and political development of any nation, a study conducted on *corruption in the oil and gas industry: implication for economic growth* examines that oil and gas industry remains the major source of revenue for the Nigerian government and her citizens. It further notes the unfortunate pervasiveness of cases of corruption threatening the industry ranging from oil and gas exploration to refining and marketing of the petroleum products. Adopting library research method, the findings of the study reveal that because the country so much depend on the oil and gas industry for her sustainable development and national economic growth, the high rate of corruption in the industry invariably affects all other sectors of the nation's socio- political economy. That is, the degree of corruption in the oil industry has significant impact on the growth and development of Nigeria's economy, which implies that economy cannot grow fast without zero tolerance in corruption.

The study concluded that despite efforts of ICPC and EFCC corruption still remain problem to Nigerian economy. The study recommends that all the public loots should be thoroughly investigated and offenders once found guilt should be prosecuted and the loots taken back on

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the value of what has been stolen[113]. This is achievable through combined and coordinated efforts of the relevant stakeholders as espoused in the study.

Besides, a current and empirically articulated study on *Neoliberalism, 'honour'-based regulatory frameworks of accounting and accountability in a social context: An examination of the role of accounting in the management of subsidies on petroleum products in Nigeria* critically investigates how 'honour'-based Western regulatory frameworks of accounting, such as International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) and International Public Sector Accounting Standards (IPSAS), are implemented in countries with a history of corruption, in an attempt to improve transparency and accountability in management of oil and gas sector and government subsidy programme. It notes that Nigeria subsidises the cost of petroleum products for its citizens, but corruption means that the cost is rising and to maintain the subsidy, Nigeria has sought financial support from international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

However, this support is contingent on neoliberal economic policy reform, in which the World Bank calls for the removal of petroleum product subsidies and the implementation of Western 'honour'-based regulatory frameworks, that is, International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) and International Public Sector Accounting Standards (IPSAS), to improve transparency and accountability. Considering endemic corruption in the Nigerian cultural and socio-political context, where political elites can override any rule and politicians, public officials, and professionals can intentionally manipulate accounting records, it is difficult for governance/accounting frameworks and accountants' oversight function to improve transparency and accountability and fight corruption. This is particularly so for the 'honour'-based IFRS and IPSAS frameworks, which were not designed for the Nigerian socio-political

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context. It is therefore not surprising that the implementation of neoliberal economic policy (including IFRS and IPSAS) in the 'reform' of the Nigerian petroleum sector and the government subsidy programme has failed to prevent endemic corruption.

Nevertheless, with the conduct of broad and open-ended interview with various key actors and analysis of numerous documents and reports collected from different sources, the findings of the study reveal that at one level, the World Bank and IMF instrumentalized the imposition of neoliberal economic policy and 'honour'-based IFRS and IPSAS on Nigeria to subject the vulnerable and weak capital market Nigerian economy to neoliberal market discipline. At another level, the Nigerian Government exploited these frameworks to legitimize Nigeria as a neoliberal state, and so 'qualify' for loans from IFIs, notably the World Bank, while political elites, powerful public officials and professionals exploited them to accumulate private capital. The paradox in the actions of World Bank is that Nigerian state is being encouraged to implement neoliberal economic policy that enables private capital accumulation, whilst removing petroleum subsidies in a poor country that requires income and wealth redistribution.

The World Bank also demanded that Nigeria adopt IFRS and IPSAS, encouraging international mobility of capital, in a poor country that needs capital to provide infrastructure and alleviate poverty. Again, it seems paradoxical that these powerful countries are encouraging Nigeria, with vast natural resources such as petroleum and gas, to embrace demonstrably ineffective Western 'honour'-based IFRS and IPSAS and remove welfare that benefits more than 80% of Nigerians living in poverty, that is, subsidies on petroleum products. Unfortunately, the findings equally point out that IFRS and IPSAS did not prevent the 2008 global financial crisis, particularly in the well-developed capital market economies of their proponents. It therefore raises fundamental question of why then is it assumed that IFRS and IPSAS can improve

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transparency and accountability and reduce corruption in a context (Nigeria) for which they were not designed?

However, while suggesting a strong institutional environment, a robust regulatory framework, and an enforceable accountability system relevant to its socio-cultural and economic context, the study challenges the neoliberal assumption that Western 'honour'-based IFRS and IPSAS, widely adopted in developed countries where fraud is rare, can improve transparency and accountability in developing economies like Nigeria, where corruption is endemic[114]. The position of the investigation outrightly jettison the imposition of neoliberal economic measure as the alternative solution to the Nigeria's socio-economic and political problems.

### 2.3.1 Nature of Nigerian State and Economy

The nature of Nigerian state is largely linked to its skewed integration from pre-colonial primitive nature into the global economy which accounts for the extant situation. In other words, the contemporary state of development in Nigeria is not exclusive to the antecedents of the pre-colonial and colonial narratives as the causative factors towards Nigeria's current political and economic turbulence[115]. Nigeria, as country rich in natural resources and cultural diversity, has a political economy shaped by complex historical processes. Being Africa's most populous nation, Nigeria plays a pivotal role in the continent's economic and political landscape. Its journey from a collection of autonomous precolonial societies to a unified nation-state under colonial rule, and eventually to an independent country, striving for economic prosperity in the contemporary era has been marked by profound socio-political and economic transformation.

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These transformations were driven by both internal dynamics; such as the rise and fall of powerful kingdoms and empires and external influences, including the impact of trans-Saharan trade networks, European contact, and ultimately, colonization by the British government.

The analysis of the nature of Nigerian state offers a lens through which one can understand the interconnectedness of its political structures, economic systems, and social relations. It provides insights into how historical events have shaped contemporary Nigeria, from its economic policies and governance structures to the challenges it faces in the present days towards achieving sustainable development. Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist economy, for instance, did not begin with the arrival of European colonizers but has roots in the earlier interactions between Nigerian states and external traders and empires. The precolonial era was characterized by a variety of sophisticated political systems and thriving economies that were deeply intertwined with regional and global trade networks. However, the colonial period brought about a restructuring of these systems, redirecting Nigeria's economy towards the needs of the British Empire and laying the groundwork for the country's post-independence challenges.

Thus, the nature of Nigerian state is an understanding of Nigeria's historical phases which is crucial for several reasons. First, it allows us to appreciate the depth and complexity of the country's precolonial societies, which were far from the "primitive" entities often depicted in colonial narratives. These societies had their own forms of governance, economic practices, and social systems that were well-adapted to their environments and played crucial roles in regional and even global trade networks. The political structures and economic activities of precolonial Nigeria laid the foundation for the country's later development and were not merely precursors to colonial rule but sophisticated systems in their own right. Second, the colonial period

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represents a significant rupture in Nigeria's history, one that redefined its political economy in ways that have had lasting impacts. The imposition of British rule and the integration of Nigeria into the global capitalist system under colonial terms brought about fundamental changes in the country's political and economic landscapes[116].

Colonial policies focused on resource extraction and the restructuring of local economies to serve the interests of the British Empire, often at the expense of indigenous systems and practices. These changes created patterns of economic dependency, political centralization, and social stratification that continue to influence Nigeria today. Finally, understanding these historical phases is essential for addressing contemporary issues in Nigeria. The legacies of colonialism such as economic dependency, political instability, and social inequality are deeply rooted in the transformations that occurred during the precolonial and colonial periods. By tracing these legacies back to their origins, we can better understand the challenges facing Nigeria today and explore potential pathways for addressing them**.**

**Pre-colonial Phase:** The precolonial period of Nigeria was a dynamic era of political sophistication and economic vitality. From ancient times through the late 19th century, various states and societies in Nigeria developed intricate political systems, robust economic networks, and rich cultural traditions. These precolonial entities not only crafted their own internal structures but also engaged in significant external interactions that influenced their evolution. Nigeria's precolonial political landscape was marked by a rich variety of states and societies, each contributing to the region's complex governance and economic systems. These political entities include:

*The Oyo Empire*: The Oyo Empire, situated in southwestern Nigeria, is a prime example of advanced precolonial governance. The Oyo Empire's political organization was characterized

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by a central monarchy under the Alaafin, who held significant power. However, the Alaafin's authority was moderated by the Oyomesi, a council of influential chiefs responsible for advising the ruler and making key decisions. This system of checks and balances was essential for maintaining stability and managing a vast empire. The Oyo Empire's strategic location and control over trade routes contributed to its economic prosperity and political influence, allowing it to exert considerable power both internally and in regional politics[117].

*Sokoto Caliphate*: The Sokoto Caliphate, founded by Usman Dan Fodio in the early 19th century, presents a contrasting model of governance. The Caliphate's political system was deeply rooted in Islamic law. The Sultan, as both a spiritual and temporal leader, integrated religious principles with political authority, which helped to unify the diverse populations within the Caliphate. This theocratic system enabled the Sokoto Caliphate to manage a vast territory and wield substantial influence over northern Nigeria. The Caliphate's governance model illustrates the interplay between religion and politics in precolonial Nigeria.

*Kanem-Borno Empire*: The Kanem-Borno Empire, located in northeastern Nigeria and extending into Chad, also exemplifies sophisticated political organization. The Mai (king) exercised supreme authority through a structured administrative system. The empire's control over key trans-Saharan trade routes enhanced its economic and political power, allowing it to dominate trade and influence regional dynamics. The Kanem-Borno Empire's strategic location and robust governance structure were crucial for its long-term stability and prominence.

*Benin Kingdom:* The Benin Kingdom, located in what is now southern Nigeria, was known for its complex political and administrative systems. The Oba (king) wielded substantial power, supported by a network of chiefs who managed various administrative functions. The Oba's role encompassed both political and spiritual leadership, demonstrating the integration of

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governance with religious practices. The Benin Kingdom's impressive administrative capabilities, coupled with its artistic achievements such as the Benin Bronzes, underscore its significance in precolonial Nigerian history.

*The Igbo Administration:* In southeastern Nigeria, the Igbo people organized themselves into decentralized city-states. These city-states operated through councils of elders, providing a high degree of local autonomy and community-based governance. This decentralized model allowed for flexibility and adaptability, fostering a system that emphasized collective decision-making and community involvement. The Igbo city-states' approach to governance contrasts with the more centralized political structures found in other regions, highlighting the diversity of political systems in precolonial Nigeria.

Having understood the pre-colonial political administrative systems, the mode of production during this era marks a remarkable reminisce in Nigeria's economic history. The pre-colonial Nigeria economic system began with an agrarian foundation. In other words, agriculture formed the cornerstone of the precolonial Nigerian economy, with diverse regions developing unique agricultural practices suited to their environments. These agricultural practices involve the cultivation of staple crops such as yams, cassava, millet, and maize as central to the economy for its survival. Traditional farming techniques were adapted to the diverse ecological zones of Nigeria. Agricultural labour and land tenure systems were integral to social and economic organization, influencing power dynamics and societal structures. The ability to manage agricultural resources effectively was crucial for sustaining precolonial economies and supporting political structures.

During this era, the control over agricultural production was a key determinant of economic power. In the Oyo Empire, for instance, the management and exploration of agricultural

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resources played a significant role in maintaining political stability and fostering economic growth. The interconnectedness of agrarian and political systems in the Oyo Empire underscores the central role of agriculture in shaping precolonial Nigerian societies[118].

At a point in time, the precolonial Nigeria was actively engaged in regional and global trade networks, which facilitated economic exchanges and cultural interactions. The northern Nigeria's involvement in the trans-Saharan trade routes was crucial for its economic development. These trade routes connected Nigeria with North Africa, enabling the exchange of goods such as gold, salt, and textiles. The trans-Saharan trade network not only bolstered the economic power of states like Kanem-Borno but also facilitated cultural and technological exchanges that enriched the region. The trade routes played a key role in integrating precolonial Nigeria into broader economic systems. Meanwhile, within Nigeria, regional trade networks linked various ethnic groups and kingdoms, promoting economic and social integration. Thus, domestic markets and trade routes facilitated the exchange of agricultural products, crafts, and raw materials. These interactions contributed to economic growth and the development of a cohesive regional economy.

The regional trade networks were instrumental in fostering economic and cultural connections among diverse communities. Towards enabling harmonious economic relations, the pre-colonial Nigerian societies had different indigenous economic institutions. These institutions were developed to regulate trade and manage resources effectively. For instance, many precolonial societies had a well-organized market systems and guilds that regulated trade practices. Guilds managed quality control and resolved disputes, ensuring efficient trade and resource management. The development of organised market systems was crucial for supporting economic activities and facilitating regional trade. Also, the tributary systems were used by

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states like the Oyo Empire to manage resources and reinforce central authority. The collection of tribute from subject communities or conquered territories facilitated economic centralization and supported the functioning of the entity. Tributary systems played a significant role in maintaining political and economic control in precolonial Nigeria.

In the aspect of socio-cultural relations, there were social hierarchies which were closely tied to economic and political structures, shaping the organization of society. Here, the distinction between nobility and commoners was pronounced, with the former wielding substantial political and economic power. Thus, land ownership and control over agricultural production were key determinants of social status and power. Commoners, including farmers and artisans, played essential roles in economic production, highlighting the interconnectedness of social hierarchies and economic interrelations. In contrast, the decentralised societies, such as the Igbo, had a more egalitarian social structure, with less pronounced distinctions between social classes. Leadership roles were often based on age, wisdom, and experience rather than wealth or lineage, and decision-making was conducted through consensus in councils of elders. However, even in these societies, social status could be influenced by factors such as wealth, success in trade, or religious roles.

Cultural practices, including religious rituals and festivals, were also integral to governance and economic life. In many societies, the king or ruler was not just a political leader but also a religious figure, whose authority was seen as divinely ordained. This dual role helped to legitimize the ruler's power and maintain social order. Religious institutions, such as the priesthood in the Benin Kingdom or the Islamic scholars in the Sokoto Caliphate, played a significant role in shaping economic and political policies.

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While all these were in motion, it should however be noted that the precolonial Nigeria was far from an isolated region; it was an active participant in the broader currents of global trade and exchange long before European colonization. The region's integration into global trade networks began well before the arrival of European merchants, with the trans-Saharan trade routes serving as vital arteries that connected the Nigerian hinterlands to the broader Islamic world and beyond. These ancient trade routes facilitated the movement of goods, ideas, and cultures across vast distances, establishing Nigeria as a crucial hub in the early global economy.

In northern Nigeria, the influence of the trans-Saharan trade was particularly pronounced. The Kingdom of Kanem-Borno, strategically located near Lake Chad, became a powerful empire largely due to its control over key trade routes that stretched from the Maghreb in North Africa to the savannah of West Africa. Goods such as gold, salt, leather, and textiles flowed through the empire, enriching its rulers and fuelling its expansion. The influx of wealth from trade also had profound social and cultural impacts, as it facilitated the spread of Islam and the establishment of educational and religious institutions, further integrating the region into the Islamic world. Meanwhile, in the southwestern region, the Oyo Empire capitalized on its strategic location to dominate local and regional trade. Oyo's control over trade routes extending into the forest regions to the south and the savannah to the north allowed it to become a central player in the exchange of goods such as kola nuts, slaves, and horses.

The empire's extensive trade networks not only bolstered its economic power but also helped to maintain its political stability, as the flow of goods and wealth was closely tied to the empire's ability to project power and influence over its neighbours. The southern coastal regions of Nigeria were no less significant in the global trade landscape. The Kingdom of Benin, with its access to the Atlantic Ocean, became a key player in the burgeoning trade with European

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powers, particularly the Portuguese, who arrived on the West African coast in the late 15th century. Benin's rulers skilfully navigated this new global trade environment, establishing lucrative trading relationships with European merchants. The kingdom exported goods such as ivory, pepper, and palm oil in exchange for European firearms, textiles, and other luxury items. This exchange not only brought immense wealth to Benin but also enabled it to enhance its military capabilities, further solidifying its power in the region[119].

The arrival of European traders marked the beginning of a profound transformation in Nigeria's integration into the global capitalist system. The trade in goods quickly expanded to include human beings, as the transatlantic slave trade became one of the most devastating aspects of this period. Nigerian societies, particularly those in the coastal regions, became deeply enmeshed in the slave trade, with some kingdoms and chieftaincies participating in the capture and sale of slaves to European traders. This dark chapter in global trade had catastrophic consequences for Nigeria, leading to the depopulation of certain areas, the disruption of traditional societies, and the introduction of new forms of violence and exploitation that would have lasting impacts.

However, it is essential to understand that precolonial Nigeria's role in global trade was not merely one of exploitation by foreign powers. Nigerian states and societies were active agents in shaping the terms of their participation in global commerce. They negotiated, resisted, and adapted to external influences in ways that reflected their interests and priorities. The political and economic strategies employed by these precolonial entities demonstrate a remarkable degree of agency and resilience, even as they faced the pressures of an increasingly interconnected world[120]. Moreover, the cultural exchanges that accompanied trade were equally significant. The flow of goods was accompanied by the movement of ideas, technologies, and

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religious practices, leading to a rich tapestry of cultural interactions. The spread of Islam along the trans-Saharan trade routes, the introduction of European goods and technologies, and the blending of indigenous and foreign practices all contributed to the dynamic cultural landscape of precolonial Nigeria. These exchanges laid the groundwork for the complex and multifaceted society that Nigeria would become; a society deeply intertwined with global currents while retaining its distinct cultural identity.

In a nutshell, precolonial Nigeria's integration into global trade networks was a multifaceted process that involved economic exchange, cultural interaction, and political manoeuvring. The region was not a passive recipient of external influences but an active participant in shaping the contours of global trade. This period laid the foundations for Nigeria's later experiences under colonialism and its continued integration into the global economy, highlighting the deep historical roots of Nigeria's engagement with the wider world.

**The Colonial Era:** The dawn of the 20th century marked a profound transformation in Nigeria's political and economic landscape thereby becoming its nature in the contemporary era. The British Empire, as driven by its imperialist ambitions and the global scramble for Africa, gradually established control over the regions in the country later known as Nigeria, fundamentally altering the existing socio-political and economic order. The full annexation of Lagos in 1861 signalled the beginning of British territorial expansion, eventually leading to the establishment of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1900. This was followed by the creation of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate in the same year, setting the stage for the eventual amalgamation of the two protectorates in 1914. This amalgamation was not merely an administrative convenience; it was a deliberate effort by the British to create a more efficient economic unit that could serve the interests of the empire.

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The British colonial administration imposed a new political economy, which was characterized by the centralization of power and the restructuring of traditional governance systems. The British introduced a system of indirect rule, which co-opted traditional leaders into the colonial administrative framework, thereby undermining their authority while simultaneously legitimizing British control[118]. This system was particularly effective in the North, where the Sokoto Caliphate's existing hierarchical structure was easily adapted to the colonial administration's needs. However, in the more decentralized societies of the South, such as the Igbo, the imposition of indirect rule often led to significant resistance and social disruption. The British imposition of economic, political, and cultural structures set the stage for the class divisions that became prominent in Nigeria after gaining independence. As a result, the modern Nigerian state is marked by an intense focus on politics, where the value placed on political power is so significant that extreme actions are often taken to acquire and retain it.

This mindset has had a profound impact on various policies adopted after independence. For example, the creation of parastatals, which were responsible for services like electricity and agriculture, was heavily influenced by Nigeria's colonial legacy. These parastatals were designed to operate in ways that aligned with the interests of more developed countries. Instead of fostering local production, there was a strong emphasis on importing goods, as seen in the implementation of the import substitution policy[121].

Economically, the British colonial administration focused on the extraction of resources and the restructuring of the Nigerian economy to serve the needs of their European empires. The introduction of cash crops such as cocoa, groundnuts, and palm oil fundamentally altered the agrarian economy, shifting the focus from subsistence farming to the production of commodities for export. This shift had profound implications for local economies and social structures, as

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traditional farming practices were disrupted, and local communities became increasingly integrated into the global capitalist system. The British also invested in infrastructure development, particularly in the construction of railways and roads, to facilitate the extraction and transportation of resources. However, these developments were primarily designed to benefit the colonial economy, with little regard for the needs of the local population.

To start with the impact of colonization on local administration and societies, this was profound and multifaceted. Traditional leaders, who had previously wielded significant political and economic power, found their authority increasingly eroded under British rule. The system of indirect rule, while ostensibly designed to preserve traditional institutions, often led to the subversion of these institutions. Traditional rulers were co-opted into the colonial administration, becoming agents of British policy rather than autonomous leaders. This co-optation was often accompanied by the imposition of taxes and the expropriation of land, which led to widespread discontent and resistance among the local population.

In many cases, the colonial administration's disregard for local customs and governance structures led to significant social upheaval. In the Igbo areas of the South, for example, the imposition of indirect rule led to the Aba Women's Riot of 1929, a major anti-colonial uprising that was sparked by the introduction of direct taxation. This event highlighted the deep-seated resentment towards colonial policies and the growing tensions between traditional societies and the colonial state.

The erosion of traditional authority was accompanied by the rise of nationalist movements that sought to challenge colonial rule and assert the rights of Nigerians to self-determination. These movements were often led by educated elites who had been exposed to Western ideas of democracy and self-governance. The growth of nationalist sentiment culminated in the

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formation of political organisations such as the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923 and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in 1944, which played a crucial role in the struggle for independence[122].

Secondly, the economic exploitation of Nigeria under British colonial rule was extensive, with significant implications for the country's development trajectory. The introduction of cash crops, such as cocoa in the West, groundnuts in the North, and palm oil in the East, was driven by the British demand for raw materials to fuel their industrial economy. These crops were cultivated primarily for export, with little consideration for the nutritional needs of the local population. The focus on cash crop production also led to the neglect of food crops, contributing to food insecurity and rural poverty.

The exploitation of Nigeria's natural resources extended beyond agriculture. The discovery of tin in the Jos Plateau and coal in Enugu led to the development of mining industries, which were controlled by British companies and operated primarily for the benefit of the colonial economy. The extraction of these resources was often accompanied by the displacement of local communities and the degradation of the environment[123].

The British also implemented policies that facilitated the expropriation of land from indigenous communities. Land was often appropriated for the establishment of plantations, mining operations, and infrastructure projects, leading to the dispossession of local populations and the disruption of traditional land tenure systems. The introduction of a monetized economy further marginalised subsistence farmers, who were forced to sell their produce in markets dominated by colonial interests. Although, the colonial government's approach to monetary policy played a significant role in expanding economic activities and enhancing interactions among different

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groups in Nigeria. By 1902, colonial administrators recognized that the lack of a standardized currency was hindering trade, which was primarily conducted through barter at the time.

However, this view was somewhat misguided, as local traders had already established systems of exchange, including various forms of currency that were widely accepted both within Nigeria and in trade with European merchants. Long before colonial rule, Nigerian communities used a variety of traditional currencies for commercial purposes. These included cowries, metal rods, manilas, gold dust, and even strips of cloth. These forms of currency were integral to trade and were recognised as legal tender across different regions. European traders, upon establishing regular trade routes with West Africa, introduced foreign currencies such as gold coins, Spanish doubloons, the American dollar, and the British sovereign, which began to circulate alongside traditional currencies. Initially, barter continued alongside these monetary transactions, especially in coastal areas, but as trade expanded into the hinterland, the complexities of trade increased, making barter less practical.

As European traders pushed deeper into Nigeria's interior, they encountered challenges with the existing trade practices, particularly the use of barter, which became increasingly inadequate for the growing scale of commerce. This complexity in trade negotiations led to demands from European traders for the British colonial authorities to establish a uniform monetary system. They wanted to eliminate the traditional and varied foreign currencies.

The foregoing situations marked the incorporation pre-capitalist Nigerian economy into the international advanced economic system to be the primary producer of raw materials to service the interests of the core states. The British colonial administration's focus on the extraction of resources and the production of cash crops for export was driven by the imperatives of global

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capitalism, which demanded a constant supply of raw materials to feed the industrial economies of Europe.

This integration into the global capitalist system was facilitated by the development of infrastructure, particularly railways and ports, which enabled the efficient transportation of goods from the interior to the coast for export. The construction of the Lagos-Kano railway, for example, was a key project that linked the agricultural heartlands of the North with the commercial centre of Lagos, facilitating the flow of goods to international markets. However, this infrastructure was designed primarily to serve the interests of the colonial economy, with little consideration for the needs of local communities.

The global capitalist system also influenced the social structure of colonial Nigeria. The focus on cash crop production and resource extraction led to the emergence of a new class of Nigerian entrepreneurs and traders who were integrated into the global economy. However, these economic elites were often complicit in the exploitation of local labour and resources, perpetuating the inequalities created by the colonial system.

The integration of Nigeria into the global capitalist system also had long-term implications for the country's post-colonial development. The colonial economy was heavily dependent on the export of raw materials, making it vulnerable to fluctuations in global commodity prices. This dependence on a narrow range of exports persisted into the post-colonial period, contributing to the economic challenges that Nigeria faced in the decades following independence. This is based on the fact that the notion that post-colonial African states are sovereign only in name highlights the persistence of neocolonialism. While these nations may have achieved political independence, the structures and systems established during colonial rule often remain intact, allowing former colonial powers to maintain influence. This influence can manifest in various

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ways, such as through economic dependencies, where former colonial powers control vital industries or resources, or through political means, where they continue to shape policies and governance structures[125].

Economic independence remains elusive for many African countries because their economies were designed during colonial times to serve the interests of the colonizers. The reliance on exporting raw materials, the lack of diversified economies, and the dependency on foreign aid are remnants of this colonial legacy. These factors keep many African countries tied to their former colonizers economically, limiting their ability to make independent decisions and control their own development. Furthermore, international institutions and global economic systems often perpetuate this dependency, making it difficult for African nations to break free from the influence of their former rulers. As a result, while these countries may have achieved political sovereignty, they continue to grapple with the legacies of colonialism that hinder their full economic and political autonomy.

**The Post-Colonial Era:** Since independence, Nigeria has been categorized along other underdeveloped or developing countries. Although this classification exacerbated contentious views amongst scholars, Nigeria's economic outlook however as projected by the World Bank in 2024, reaches an approximated inflation rate of 31.7%[126], thereby making Nigeria the second poorest country in the world in terms of its per capita income. This explains the reason why the state should seek the ability to maximize the use of resources available at its disposal for a sustainable development. The country's failure is often attributed to its inability to be free from various political decadences such as corruption, poor leadership, mismanagement of resources among the host of others which are mostly accrued to all underdeveloped and third world

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countries. Hence, while these issues are global, third world countries such as Nigeria has however failed to devise a means like their global counterparts to be rid of this malady.

Although this does mean that the country lacks efforts, it is thus as a result of the failure to channel these efforts to the right places which has the potential of providing solution to the problem. Thereby, deteriorating its progress rather than to ameliorate it. On this backdrop, the nature of the Nigeria state since its independence is defined by the nature of the people that makes up the country, the nature of their relationship, the problems, promises and challenges that arises from this relationship as well as the efforts that has been adopted to improve this relationship. To understand this processes and how it has continued to evolve, we can adopt a taxonomy across the four republics since Nigeria's independence.

From its Independence in 1960, to the end of the first Republic, the nature of the Nigerian state was deeply defined by the lack of readiness of the disunited Nigerian people to manage their own affairs. The term 'disunited' in this context culminated from the overgrown resentment amongst the diverse region of the country towards one another since the inception of 1914's amalgamation which climaxed at the struggle for independence. Evidently, at its independence, Nigeria's affair was continuously overseen by the British queen until it became a Republic in 1963. On a similar faction, the republican country failed to find its own route, but depended on the pro-western philosophy that rampage the political and economic policies of the state. The devastating result of this lack of readiness manifested in the various election crisis, ethnic tensions, and the failure of government to deliver their promises.

Furthermore, the fact remains that the tensions between the three major ethnic groups which rerouted during Nigeria's independence was not resolved. It however grew wild during the first Republic in the absence of the British mediator hitherto. This tension became a spring point that

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led to various challenges during the first Republic. It culminated into ethnic politics, ethno-political marginalization and a constant tussle for resources along ethnic lines. In fact, this ethnic nemesis transcended into the various institutions that was supposedly set aside to improve the nature of the state at this point, leading to weak political institution and lack of good policy implementation. For example, the first post-independence census was marred with ethnic drawbacks and was only concluded by involving the British personnel.

Ethnicity was also a defining ingredient in the formation of political parties in the first Republic, as a result of issues of party politics be it as it may, became situated and compounded in ethnic rivalries. Furthermore, the strong regional federal structure adopted during the first Republic meant that the country was from its onset, left in a political anarchy characterized by political instability, ethnic politics, and separatist agitation that compounded into national disintegration. In fact, the first Republic of Nigeria was challenged to finding a common ground to convince the divergent ethnic group that they could live or had become one. Hence, the slogan of 'One Nigeria' became loudly sang but remained an obstinate in practice due to ethnic division and lack of national integration. It is thus safe to say that, the First Republic failed to establish the 'institutions' and process' that defines any federal political system[127].

Economically, the Nigeria state was in a back-and-forth dilemma; the positives of the oil boom and finding a suitable policy to ensure that it was well utilized with other resources became a challenge to a country in dire need of a renewed hope. However, the pro-western ideology that defined the Nigerian foreign policy continued to subjugate its resources to the exploitative arms of the British, thereby fastening the position of Nigeria as a producer of raw material in the global capitalist chain[128]. The climax of this was the mono economic approach and the total dependence on the new oil sector in neglect of agriculture and other sectors that has sustained

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the country in the yester years. In fact, the discovery of oil became a curse according[125], leading to corruption and regional inequalities.

From the military coup of January 1966, the counter coup of July 1966, through to the thirty months civil war that ended in 1970 and the continued regime of Major General Yakubu Gowon, until his overthrown in 1975 in the palace coup that brought in the Murtala/Obasanjo government, the years that followed the end of the Nigerian First Republic was characterized by the total absence of democracy, human right abuse, neglect of constitution and the authoritarian administration of military regimes. The period marked the foundation of the militarization of Nigeria politics and economy.

Enroute to the second Republic, Nigeria's socio-political landscape was subjected to various reformation, such as the promulgation of a unitary system of government by Major General Aguiyi Ironsi before his assassination and the eventual restructuring of the state into a federation of twelve states. The period was also greeted with the tensed secessionist quest by the Igbos and other parts of the Eastern region which threatened the unity of the country and led to the horrible civil war (1967-1970). The period was thus, a total declination from the various efforts that has been put in hitherto, to ensure the survival of Nigeria.

Within all these adversaries, the increase in the oil price could not have come at a better time than it did in the 1970s. Specifically, from 1973-1974, the government experienced increase in revenue as a result of increase in the oil price and its production. For example, there was a significant increase from the $3 price per barrel to $11. Subsequently, the government revenue increased from $160 to $770[126]. By implication the challenge of the Nigerian state was redirected to questions that no longer concerns revenue generation, but what, when and how to use this state revenue[127]. Evidently, the answers proffered by the political actors of the military

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government suggested the immediate utilization of this wealth at the expense of tomorrow, and more devastatingly, through corruption. To this end, the oil boom became a paradoxical curse that has hunted and continues to hunt the Nigeria state.

This was as a result of the corruption that ate deep in the political and economic sphere of the state. In fact, the 'twin-devil' of neopatrimonialism and rentier state was indoctrinated into the state political-economy as a result of careless budgeting, funds and resource mismanagement, prebendalism amongst other corrupt practice. On a general view, the military government failed to transform this growth to economic development. Instead, the increase led to a direct increase of corruption, ethnic tensions, inequalities, mono-economy and the various social vices that hunted the Nigerian state. Consequently, these factors led to the coup that overthrew the Gowon administration by Murtala Muhammed, as it lost its popularity amongst Nigerians.

One can only be adducing a probable excuse for the Murtala/Obasanjo administration as a case of having good intent without knowing the best way to express them or in reality that the military government cannot be qualified as any form of ideal government. This was reflected in the various policies that was adopted but failed the expectation of improving the living condition of the people. For example, the indigenization decree, and the austerity measures against civil servants were all adopted with insufficient knowledge, proper planning and in worst case as means of opposition repression. On its external front, foreign policies were adopted that redirected Nigeria relationship towards the Eastern bloc at the expense of the West. In fact, Nigeria on some cases failed to adopt a dialogical approach in their foreign dealings which strained her relationship with British. The military government was also criticized for often pursuing external objectives while neglecting domestic issues. In one instance, Obasanjo has

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noted that he has failed to notice the growing population of Nigeria and at such failed to ensure suitable policy that will speak to their demand[128].

As a result, these accounts of policy imbalance could only prove the incapability of the military as the rightful institutions for Nigeria political administration. Hence, the feasible option solitarily became the transfer of power to a civilian government in 1979 which ushered in Nigeria second Republic. The second Republic marked a new period of civil political dispensation, new political solutions were adopted to correct the failures witness in the first Republic. The most glaring of these new approaches was the adoption of the American model of presidential system of government. The presidential model was adopted in order to ensure that the regional strength during the first Republic which threatened the unitary survival of Nigeria was regulated.

Therefore, a new political structure of an executive president with state governors was established. However, the redefinition of Nigeria political structure meant as well the redefinition of the nature of problems and characteristics of the Nigerian state. In a structural perspective, the new presidential system concentrated resources and power at the central, in order to correct the regional imbalance that paraded the First Republic. The various regions were also restructured into nineteen states to capture the divergent social groups that make up the country. Amongst the problem associated with the new presidential structure, was the glaring lack of viability of the various states to function or ensure self-sustenance. This lack of viability can be attributed to the fact that these states were irrationally created as a substitute separatist agitation and compromise for the ethnic minority group who feared for their marginalization. Consequently, the Second Republic became characterized with an intense struggle to get hold of the central power as the last resort for the states[129]. Thus, a new political

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theme of 'winner takes all,' which did little to improve the relationship between the competing state actors became the new order and a defining characteristic of the Nigerian state. This was further embedded by the deeper sense of party politics that was relatively more complex than the ethnic politics that defined the First Republic. In other words, the political actors began to show a sharp contrast in political ideology even among their ethnic counterpart.

Furthermore, the presidential system adopted in the Second Republic raised the financial burden on the various political parties in play as their political relevance was hereafter conditioned by their financial capacity. Hence, these parties, especially those in political offices sought out for ways to ensure their survival. A common solution to this new burden was the diversion of national funds into party purses and even in worst cases personal account. This became the new order of the day for political officials, who believed that their route to power will be determine by the level of financial contribution that can be brought to the parties, and parties' abilities to buy the support of electorate. In tandem to this, money politics, like in most African states, became the new identity of the Nigeria politics. Campaigns were conducted on the basis of financial promises and gift, while public offices, on a general level was seen along neo-patrimonial lens as means for self-enrichment and 'affectionate' rewards[130]. As a result, the civilian administration was characterized with corruption and funds mismanagement which compounded the economic recession facing the country as a result of the deep in oil price, and war-torn infrastructures that still lingered the sociopolitical horizon.

Furthermore, the Second Republic was characterized by the lack of adequate public policies that will improve the economic condition of the Nigerian state. Issues of state conflict between state governors and the new created local government chairman meant that no cohesive policy were promulgated that will ensure the progress of the state. In fact, newly created local

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government areas in the second Republic became another level of tussle as opinions were divided from the central government to state government and now, the local government as well. The intergovernmental relationship between these levels of government was also nothing to write home about. For example, while there was excessive concentration of power at the central level, the local government had little room for proper administration as they were integrated as mere subordinate to the state governments that in most cases used them as their footstool. For example, enroute to the 1983 elections, many local government councils were sacked and replaced by new management committee under the directives of the state governors who were seeking to ensure a local unit that will dance to their tune.

Similarly, the issues of concentration of power at the central level at the expense of states and local government autonomy in the Second Republic illuminate the deteriorated practice of democracy in the Second Republic. Hence, democracy at the Second Republic was simply a 'crazy-demo' as Nigerians continued to search for and practice alternatives to improve their level of development while the military lingers. These fears were not helped by sectional policies that seek the interest of the ruling elites who were deeply submerged in the thick politics of the state. Consequently, the second Republic was destined for its end on account of the perceived failure of the president Shagari administration to ensuring the development of the state. Hence, while the state was grappling with the various administrative corruption and the party politics that culminated into the 1983 election crisis, a room was created for yet another military intervention in the Nigeria politics, the military coup of December 1983 which ended the second Republic to usher in Major General Muhammadu Buhari and was justified as a necessity in order to fight corrupt system.

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The military government under Buhari was poised to fight the corruption that had eaten too deep into the system, in order to improve the Nigeria economy. It however adopted extreme approaches that were often authoritarian and repressive. The lime light of this was the policy of War against indiscipline which was popularly criticized for its forceful implementation and abuse of human right. There were also various decrees that melted capital punishment on minor offences which were thus criticised. On this account, the Buhari regime was deposed to install General Sani Abacha in 1985.

The military administration from 1985 until 1999, inclusive of the aborted third Republic was a period of drastic declination in the nature and character of the Nigerian state. There was no room for any form of political opposition which compounded in wide spread killing and imprisonment of notable politicians. Although there were two different military heads in between the aborted Third Republic in 1992, they both shared a common ground of disregard to democracy, albeit Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993), adopted manipulative policies that kept him in power. The highlight of such trickery was the annulment of the 1993 June 12 election which invited extreme pressures that finally forced in out of power. However, the military proved its might to abort the Third Republican process, handing over power to Sani Abacha (1993-1998).

The major policies or actions that formed the highlight of these regimes, vis-à-vis the nature of the Nigerian state was the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) by Babangida which exposed the Nigeria economy through various conditionalities that failed to speak to the peculiarity of the Nigerian state[131]. For example, the Structural Adjustment Program, introduced in 1986 in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank with the aimed of improving Nigeria's economy by reducing government expenditure, devaluing the

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naira, removing subsidies, and liberalizing trade led to significant economic hardship for many Nigerians. The devaluation of the naira caused inflation, reduced purchasing power, and increased poverty levels. On a general view, the conditions intended to establish an open playing field without addressing how these fields will be levelled to ensure fair play among the unequal social classes.

Nonetheless, it would not be inappropriate to present the Abacha regime as an irony or a case of 'from fire to pot' when we compare it to the Babangida regime. The Abacha regime was controversial in what some perceived as a nonchalant leader, while others justified it as a case of African leader who wants to exert state authority on its subject with minimal influence from the metropolitan power. His strictness with no deterrence was at peak in the killing of Ken-Saro Wiwa and the 'Ogoni nine', despite the pleas from Nigerians and external entities. Consequently, the Nigerian state was termed as a Pariah state.

On account of these past experiences, the Nigerian people were eager to see the light of the Fourth Republic and make sure that military institutions were driven far from the shores of national politics. However, in a major irony the 1999 election which was widely criticized could not help more than ushering in a former military head of state Olusegun Obasanjo. Consequently, this has become a new pattern of problem in the contemporary Nigeria state. In fact, the primary issue that need to be redressed in the Fourth Republic is the demilitarization process, as a result of the high flux of former military personnel into civilian politic[132].

In other words, the Nigerian state in the Fourth Republic has been continuously characterized with the popularization of former military personnel into state politics. To this end, the Nigeria state has continued to struggle with authoritarian government that are disguised in democracy. This has led to the resurrection or retention of political intolerance which perhaps, never left the

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Nigeria state. The implication of this is the lack of ideal opposition that would provide a constructive criticism of the ruling government and serve as the mouthpiece of the minority[133]. In fact, this new development, has led to the situation whereby the government in power sees the opposition as mortal enemy and would do anything to remain in power. Similarly, opposition parties in the Nigeria state are often found in the position in which no room is given to credit the ruling government regardless of their efforts. This has led to undemocratic practices and the further marginalization of ethnic groups whose voices could not be projected.

Furthermore, there have been widespread issues of gaps in theories and practices of the various principles and laws promulgated in the 1999 constitution. For example, the federal character principle which was instilled to ensure the collective representation of all unit within the state has often time been hacked by political kingpins who install their apprentice client in such important positions[134]. This pattern of clientele relationship also transcends to the local government administration. In other words, the local government becomes a compensation or reward ground for faithful or loyal subordinate to these kingpins. The implication of this is that the interest of these kingpins is upheld by their subordinate at the expense of the interest of their local regions.

Furthermore, these patterns of administration have in worst cases, been proven to be sustained by the nature and conditions of the Nigeria contemporary politics. In other words, more often than not this client and subordinate are forcefully compelled to join these structures as a result of the high volume of monetization that comes along with the presidential system of government. This was explained in the African context as the 'networks that recreate the network[135]. These structures have thus led to the concept of 'godfatherism' in Nigeria. That is,

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the idea of godfathers in the Nigeria political space has become drastically delineated from its ideal as a result of the nature and structures of the Nigerian politics.

In a similar argument, the perception of political godfathers in the Nigerian context has been sustained by the construed and the recognised social cognition that has been inherent even in the precolonial Nigerian state. This argument holds on the fact that the people that makes up the Nigerian state has often exhibited conservative traits, and subjective political participation that often gives the room for the continuous drawback and exploitative institutions in the Nigerian state[136]. In other words, issues of traditional norms that are often perceived leaders as symbol of religious/spiritual authority and divinely ordained have remained a transgenerational phenomenal. In the same view, this has been modified in the contemporary politics into political apathy and a social perception in which politics is seen as not just a mere game but a dirty game. Consequently, this has provided the political leaders a substantial space to manoeuvre laws and policies with little or no opposition from the masses.

In addition, the issues of political monetization have transcended into the political economy of the Nigerian state as a result of the interdependence between the Nigerian state and its economy. In other words, the political Godfathers have sustained a form of class structure that typifies the comprador bourgeoisie. Hence, the Nigerian state has been characterized by the few elites who have developed a prebendal political mentality whereby political offices are perceived as a route to their financial enrichment[137]. The implication of this is that a rentier mentality has been developed among these few elites as they align with multinational corporations in exploiting and appropriating natural resources for their own interest at the expense of the interest of the public[138].

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To this end, the foundation of the global capitalist system of government, which was laid down during the colonial era in which Nigeria was forcefully integrated as a producer of raw material, is directly sustained by these comprador bourgeoisies. Consequently, Nigeria even at the fourth Republic has continued to struggle as a sole producer of raw material and in this case solely dependent on oil. Thus, Nigeria has become a nation that is constantly conditioned by the external price bodies that regulates the value of its natural commodity. This was evident in the period from 2015-2022, when the growth rates and the national Gross domestic product (GDP) was reduced as a result distortion in exchange rate policy leading to low oil production and the costly fuel subsidy program[139]. It thus, dawn upon us to understand the reason why this class of individual will mitigate the diversification of the Nigeria economy. Such answers are not farfetched; the petty bourgeoisie strive on few numbers of players which is not possible in a diversified economy. Hence, to maintain their status quo, the Nigeria state has been conditioned as a sole producer of raw oil and gas in the global capitalist system dancing to the tune of multinationals and more developed state as they are sung by the comprador bourgeoisie inherent in the state.

It is indicative of the fact that the nature of Nigeria's political economy has continued to reflect its position in the global capitalist system and how its contemporary characteristics has been to the benefit of the more developed state. This is evident, in the Sino-Nigeria relationship in which such relationship has in most instances served Chinese interest in their search for raw material while Nigeria continues to struggle for purpose.

It is against this background that the Nigerian state has been characterized with the concentration of power and resources at the hands of the few, while the masses lavish in poverty. To bridge this gap, a new form of violent and conflictual relationship and approach has been

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adopted by the new political conscious citizens in the contemporary Nigerian state. Hence, the Nigerian state in this regard has been constantly characterized with the high rise of tensions between the 'haves' and the 'have not.' This has resulted to the various account of revolution, strikes, and protest experienced in the contemporary Nigeria state which has led to terrorism, insecurity and sociopolitical instability which has often stagnated the economic processes leading to economic under achievement.

The nature of the political economy of the Nigerian state has also led to issues of states inequality and the constant struggle for resource allocation. Issues of revenue generation and redistribution have also become a mainstay in national questions. The Nigerian state is thus faced with the challenge of adopting a suitable formula that will ensure even development across the nation. This challenge is further compounded with the issue of ethnic and regional differences among the various states and regions. In other words, the various states that makes up the Nigerian state, more often than not feel reluctant to see to the equal development of other regions. Such issues hence, resonate with the deeper traits of national disintegration and separatist agitation that has still clouded the contemporary Nigeria state. It thus becomes glaring and safe to say that the very issues that challenged the existence of Nigeria have remained a threat to its sustenance.

In another perspective, the political economy of Nigeria has been deeply affected by issues of poor leadership and poor policies that are been formulated with proper analysis of the Nigerian state. This has been a major situation in which policies that are created to solve problems becomes new problems by themselves, either as a result of the fact that plans for such policies were not rightly followed or such plans were not rightly constructed. In other words, on one hand, the Nigeria state is frequently melted with issues of pending policies or abandoned polices

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either as a result of financial incapability, funds mismanagement or new government, the latter which is often a case in the Nigerian state. On the other hand, these policies are often time adopted without seeking to situate plans that speak to the peculiarity of the Nigerian state nor adopt a feasible step to it implementation. A good example of such policy is the recent case of Removal of fuel subsidy by the president Tinubu administration which has failed to address the immediate problem of the state economy, but instead aggravated the living conditions of the Nigerian people.

### 2.3.2 Historical Dynamics of Oil and Gas Energy in Nigeria

Petroleum describes both crude oil and natural gas. It is an energy resource that is of vital significance to every country in the world and it is a commodity that has contributed to the growth of global industrialization for many decades.

Prior to the discovery of oil globally, burning of wood was useful for cooking and combating the coldness of the weather specifically during the primitive and agrarian epoch. Therefore, wood remained the primary source of energy for longer times. So, at global level, oil was first discovered by the Chinese in 600 B.C which was transported through bamboo pipelines. A new discovery was championed by Colonel Drake in Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. The stage for a new oil economy in 1901 was set by the Spindletop well in Texas. Since this period, oil became a globally preferred energy flexibly adaptable than coal. That is, advancement of technology has made society to shift away from coal to energy with the huge effort made in the 20$^{th}$ century.

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However, the first attempt of oil and gas exploration in Nigeria occurred in 1908 through a German, company known as the Nigerian Bitumen Corporation, in Araromi area of Ondo State, but this effort was aborted as a result of outbreak of the First World and Second World Wars. Consequently, oil exploration in commercial quantities was difficult to find after the war and as such the D'Arcy Exploration Company and the Whitehall Petroleum Corporation were unsuccessful between 1919 and 1922. The Anglo Dutch consortium, shell D' Archly, which later became Shell petroleum Development Company of Nigeria made the second attempt in 1937 when it was granted the sole concessionary rights over the whole territory of the country[140].

Essentially, crude oil was discovered in Nigeria in 1956 in commercial quantities at Oloibiri in the Niger Delta after half a century of exploration. Following the discovery of crude oil by Shell D'Arcy Petroleum, pioneer production began in 1958 from the oil field of the company in Oloibiri in the Eastern Niger Delta. Notably, efforts were intensified onwards, with the breakthrough in 1956 when oil was first discovered in commercial quantities by the Shell group in Oloibiri, in the present-day Bayelsa State. An important point that needs stressing is the 12 more discoveries that were made two years later in the same Oloibiri - Afam and Bomu. In this trajectory, oil production that commenced in 1958 recorded approximately 3,000 barrels being produced per day. The other fields were also put into production, with the first shipment of crude oil export in Nigeria arriving in Rotterdam on March 8, 1958[141]

Nonetheless, the success of Shell Company attracted many other oil companies to join in the oil production and exploration in Nigeria. It is noteworthy that these other oil companies that joined later were from European countries which encapsulates the fact that, "the history of the oil industry is the history of imperialism"[142]. Meanwhile demand for petroleum products was being

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met by importation as the economy of the nation grew. With the 1960 independence, the Shell-BP Petroleum Development Company saw an opportunity to meet the product needs of the country and eventually embarked on a project to build the first refinery in the country near Port Harcourt. The Shell-BP Refinery was completed and commissioned in 1965 recording 38,000 barrels per day (bpsd). It was a simple hydro-skimming plant in which the Federal Government of Nigeria acquired 50% shareholding under a participatory agreement with Shell-BP. It was renamed the Nigeria Petroleum Refining Company (NPRC) in 1972 after the Nigerian government increased its stake to 60%, but it remained a joint venture with private sector control and management[143].

By 1960, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed by Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait among others. Following the oil boom in 1970 which coincided with the end of Biafra, Nigeria also joined the league of OPEC in 1971 and established the Nigerian National petroleum company (NNPC) in 1977. This is a state owned and managed company that is responsible for the upstream and downstream sectors of oil industry[144].

In short, refineries in the country are mainly four. These include; old Port Harcourt Refinery; capacity 60,000 bpsd commissioned in 1965, Warri Refining and Petrochemical Company; capacity 125,000 bpsd commissioned in 1978, Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company; capacity 110,000 bpsd commissioned in 1980 and New Port Harcourt Refinery; capacity 150,000 bpsd commissioned in 1989.Though, the total installed capacity is 445,000 bpsd, these plants in the last 15–20 years had a poor operating record with average capacity utilization hovering between 15 and 25% per annum. The observed condition is as a result of the importation of about 70–80% of the national petroleum products demand. For instance, as at 2017, the aggregate demand of petroleum products in Nigeria was equivalent to 750,000 bpsd.

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Also, it was disclosed that the demand for petroleum products in Nigeria will increase to 17.3 million metric tonnes, MT, from 15.1 MT in 2020, indicating an increase of 14.6 per cent. The expected demand, to be fuelled mainly by increased utilization of products as the private and public sectors continue to recover from the Coronavirus pandemic which would require increased investments sector-wide[145].

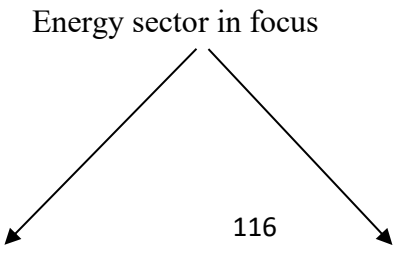
Hence, there is ample scope for investment in new plants and revamp of the existing ones to make them more efficient which led to the establishment of Dangote Refinery.

Over the years, the Nigerian oil and gas industry has been characterized by sharp practices ranging from job insecurity, capital flight, influx of expatriates into the oil sector resulting in wrongful termination of the employment of Nigerian workers and adoption of non-standard employment (casualization of labour and contract staffing), which is gaining impetus and constantly growing in a negative direction and magnitude in the highly populated Nigerian work environment.

This practice is endemic in the oil and gas industry, and is successfully spreading to other sectors of the economy, such as banking, telecommunications, manufacturing, and even in today's consulting industry, which should provide strategic advisory services. Another major challenge facing the industry, therefore, are; policy uncertainty, poor infrastructure and recently the impact of Covid-19. To this effect, series of agitations from concerned individuals, relevant labour groups and the general community have spurred the need for regulatory framework to curtail the sharp practices that eating deep into the fabric of oil and gas industry in Nigeria. The articulated and proposed framework is known as the Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB)[146].

However, for effectiveness and efficiency in the Nigerian oil and gas industry, change is inevitable. This will have to do with a policy that will drive the expected change, hence, the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA). It is germane to note that the successful implementation of the Petroleum Industry Act should not the importance of all the stakeholders, especially the workforce of various categories as well as those in the informal economy in the host communities where the various oil and gas activities will take place. The various sections of the Act that are not workers friendly should be looked into to enhance human dignity and decent work agenda[147]. By implication, therefore, changes in the industry will engender fundamental effects on critical aspects of government including finance.

## 2.4 Conceptual Model



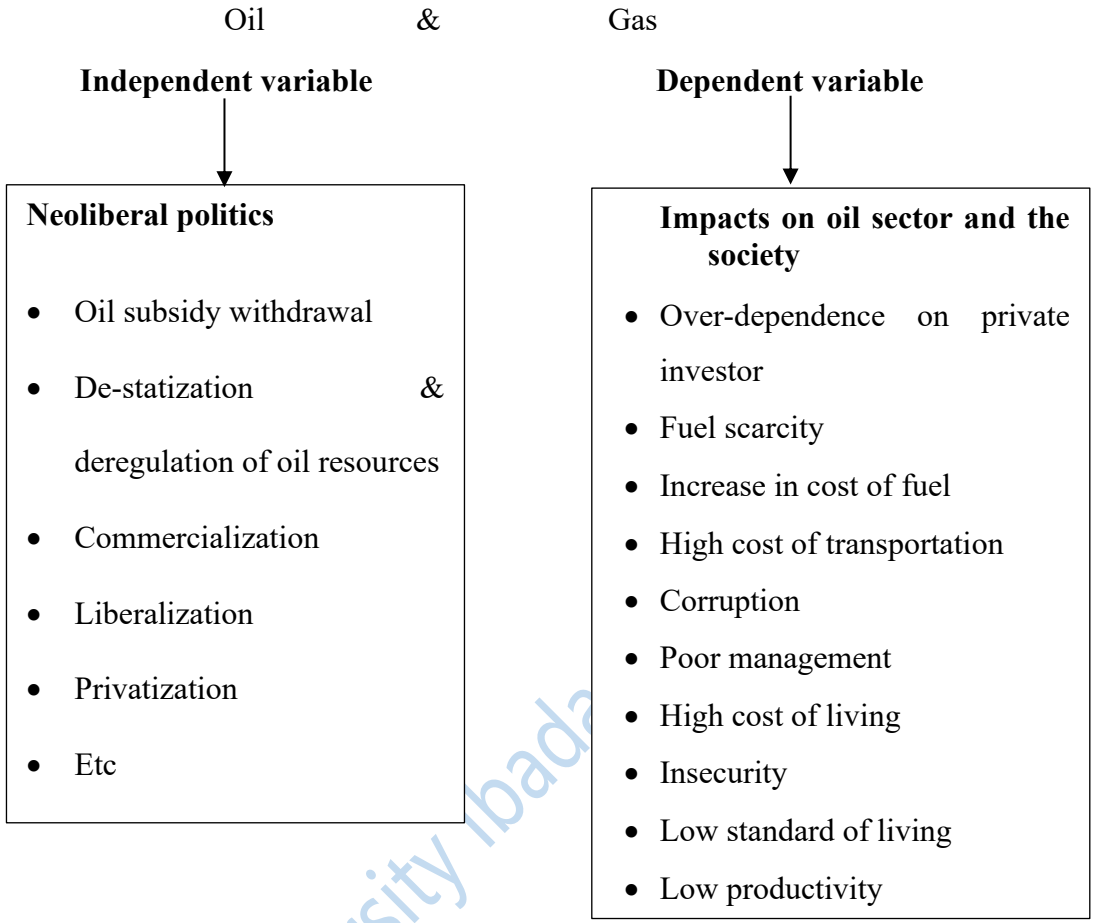



**Figure 2.1:** Conceptual Model on Neoliberal Politics in the Oil and Gas Energy Sector

**Source:** Researcher's Construct, 2024

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The above conceptual model is a diagrammatic representation of the politics of neoliberalism in the energy sector of Nigeria. However, energy sector covers numerous areas of energy production. But the specific energy in focus is the oil and gas sector of the petroleum industry. It describes the fact that neoliberal politics in the petroleum industry usually take the forms of privatization, commercialization, subsidy withdrawal, among others. These are direct functions of the nature of Nigerian state as a result of its lopsided integration from primitive economy into the advanced global capitalist architecture as a peripheral, pseudo and dependent economy,

mainly to focus on the production of primary goods and services. This defines the character of her economy in the post-colonial system of this current Republic. Not only that, the state became weak reproducing ineffective institutions in capacity to regulate the critical sectors of the economy, which is indicative of the phenomenon of paradox of poverty amidst abundant wealth. This is often referred to as the resource curse. To be emphatic, the causal contexts have been theoretically encapsulated as dependency, weak institutional capacity, lack of effective and superintending roles of state in the economy and the woe of the resource curse. In this case, the manifestations of which have propelled high cost of transportation, increase in price of food items and shortage of food supply, increase in crime rates, low productivity, high cost of living and low standard of living, and general increase in poverty and human development.

## 2.5 Summary of the Gaps in Literature Reviewed

This section has underscored relevant literature review, taking into cognizance the conceptual studies which encapsulate the notion of liberalism, neoliberalism, neoliberal globalization, historical dynamics of oil and gas in Nigeria, theoretical framework and the empirical review of studies that relate to the subject and purpose of the research. In this review, liberalism is elucidated as the foundation of neoliberalism with the latter conceptualized as the market forces which allows for privatization, commercialization and liberalization of the dynamics of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services.

It is this delineation of neoliberalism that connects it directly to the phenomenon of globalization as neoliberal globalization. That is, the driving force of globalization is hinged on neoliberal measures. Nonetheless, the historical basis of neoliberalism is traced to the idea of Thatcherism

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and Reaganism in the Europe in which Chile was considered its laboratory before it gained expression to other parts of the world as the only ideological practice without alternative.

Asides, several theories could have been adopted for the study but dependency, state interventionism, resource curse and institutional theories are deployed as the most relevant to the objective and subject of investigation. While the former probes into the socio-economic and political bases of third world development crises of development and underdevelopment inform of neoliberal virus in the oil industry based on colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism which aided her integration into the global capitalist system as a peripheral economy, the latter appreciate the internal dynamics as the major obstacles to the problems that characterized the penetration of neoliberal politics in Nigerian oil sector. It insists on the fundamental role and capability of the state in the exploration and production of petroleum energy in order to curb the attendant effects of neoliberal framework in the sector. Meanwhile institutional theory underscores the weakness of numerous institutional capacities that are central to the regulation and stability of oil production and distribution in the state. It is on this basis that the resource curse theory argues for the paradoxical situation of abundance natural resources amidst poverty in the country. Comparatively, countries such as Botswana and Norway were cited as examples of countries with abundance natural resources and effective performance.

The nature of Nigerian state and economy indicates that the hitherto experience of Nigeria especially within the trajectories of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial had eventually necessitated the current situation in her economy as a dependent and peripheral economy through its integration into the global capitalist architecture as a mere supplier of primary goods and services.

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The historical dynamics reviews that prior to the global discovery of petroleum energy, wood was the main energy source for cooking, warmth and other purposes. Meanwhile after it had been discovered in China and other countries, crude oil was discovered by the Shell-BP in 1956 at Oloibiri Niger Delta region in Nigeria and witnessed commercial production in 1958. With the growth of economy and high petroleum demand by the society, the first refinery was established alongside others to increase the production. Yet, oil was being met by importation. The history further captures that the hitherto existing refineries were mismanaged by the state and therefore required revamp and establishments of more to meet the daily demand for petroleum energy. In short, the notable point here is that the great number of other oil companies that came to join Shell in the in the upstream and downstream activities of Nigerian oil and gas sector even till now corroborates that the history of oil is the history of colonial politics in the country.

However, empirical review indicates that numerous studies have been conducted in the areas of neoliberalism and oil and gas resources ranging from policy issues to theoretical and action prescriptions based on their findings. Therefore, while some confirmed the harmful effects of neoliberalism in the Nigerian oil and gas sector, some appreciate the role of neoliberalism and the rests advocate for the unity of the working class on one hand and the working class and the host community on the other hand to address the dangers of neoliberal measures in the oil industry. Again, some of the literature emphasized the need for the state to play a key role in the sector in terms of formulating and implementing peoples 'oriented policy and actions in the production and distribution of the resources. What is more, the model constructed depicts a conceptual relationship between the neoliberal politics in the petroleum energy of the sector

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taking into cognizance the causal contexts, as currently manifesting in increase in poverty in the society.

In specific term, it is worthy to note that previous studies have been rather scanty and unsystematic on neoliberalism and oil in Nigeria. Not only that, the earlier studies failed to capture significantly the dynamics of politics of neoliberal framework that characterized oil industry in the present Republic of Nigeria, the role of state, the attendant consequences of neoliberal policies in the oil industry on the people, especially since the commencement of the current democratic dispensation in reference to the series of issues that are rapidly endangering the oil industry in the last few years up to this time in the country. Hence, the gap in the literature highlights the neoliberal politics in the energy sector of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The energy sector is contextualized only to refer to the oil and gas energy as focus of this study.

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# Chapter Three

# Methodology

## 3.1 Research Design

This study adopted both descriptive and exploratory research designs which invariably reflect Mixed Method Research (MMR) – a combination of quantitative and qualitative research. The justification for this is rooted in methodological triangulation which offers viable alternative

that equalizes the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative orientation. In fact, it allows the researcher to address all aspects of the research question thereby increasing the validity of research since using a variety of methods means that one method serves as a check on the other. This is to ensure that nothing helpful is thrown away in the course of the investigation[1].

### 3.2 Population of the Study

The population for this study principally covers both women and men who are directly working in the oil and gas sector in Nigeria. That is, members of the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG), Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN), Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources/Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), stakeholders of Trade Union Congress (TUC), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC). However, other significant population in line with the objective of the study were drawn from some selected stakeholders of Civil Society Organizations, experts in oil politics and scholars in political economy and international relations especially those who have demonstrated actions regarding neoliberal measures in the critical sectors of the state and other relevant stakeholders.

The justification for the identified subjects of the population of study is based on critical role, experience, expertise, requisite knowledge and their relevance to the focus of investigation. However, the survey research which seeks to quantify opinions of the people draws it data from a large population of category of other relevant participants in the study who could not be easily interviewed perhaps due to the population size and many other conditions. In order to guarantee greater chance of inclusion for all subjects of the population of study, it covers the population of six geopolitical zones of the Federal Republic of Nigeria -North Central, North East, North

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West, South-South, South East and South West. It is important to note that these zones were created during the regime of Late General Sanni Abacha in the early 1990s for administrative purposes, and to foster equitable development nationwide. Each geopolitical zone has several states and unique characteristics, and cultural diversity. The states in each of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria are tabulated below:

**Table 3.1: Geopolitical Zones of the Federal Republic of Nigeria**

| S/N | Geopolitical Zones | States |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | North-East | Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba & Yobe |
| 2 | North-West | Zamfara, Sokoto, Kebbi, Katsina, Kano, Kaduna & Jigawa |
| 3 | North-Central | Plateau, Niger, Nasarawa, Kwara, Kogi, Federal Capital Territory & Benue |
| 4 | South-East | Imo, Enugu, Ebonyi, Anambra & Abia |
| 5 | South-South | Rivers, Edo, Delta, Cross, River, Bayelsa, Akwa & Ibom |
| 6 | South-West | Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun & Oyo |

Researcher's Construct 2025

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### 3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

The samples for the research were categorized into exploratory (qualitative) and descriptive (quantitative) according to the research design. For the exploratory aspect, samples of 25 individuals were purposively selected from among the experts in oil politics and scholars in political economy/neoliberal development studies, selected staff of Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources/Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), stakeholders of Trade Union Congress (TUC), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), stakeholders of the National Union

of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG), Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN).

For the sake of clarity, the sample selection is tabulated below.

| S/N | Sample category | Sample Size |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Scholars in political economy/experts in oil politics & international relations | 5 |
| 2 | NUPENG and PENGASSAN | 5 |
| 3 | Civil Society Organization | 5 |
| 4 | NNPC/Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources | 5 |
| 5 | NLC and TUC | 5 |

As clearly categorized above, there is often problem of sample representativeness associated with qualitative data. Hence, the few participants were selected using not purposive sampling. The selection is being made on equal size to ensure balance of each category.

The choice of the sampling method is based on the requisite knowledge and the identifiable roles of the selected participants in the subject of investigation.

Based on this population, the samples were stratified into six geopolitical zones from which selection was made from each zone as stratified. This is to ensure national representativeness The Cochran formula was used after the population has been stratified into geopolitical zones. Thus, all zones were included in the sampling selection. The Cochran formula allows the researcher to compute an ideal sample size given a desired level of precision, desired confidence level, and the estimated percentage of the attribute present in the population to be sampled for the study. The Cochran formula is defined by the equation given below:

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**Cochran's Formula for Finite Population**

$$n = \frac{n_o}{1 + \frac{n_o}{N}}$$

$$n_0 = \frac{z^2 p(1-p)}{e^2}$$

**Table 1: Geopolitical Zones of the Federal Republic of Nigeria**

| Geopolitical zones of Nigeria | Population (2019) Projected | Sample Size |
|---|---|---|
| North Central (also known as Middle Belt) | 29,157,326 | 190 |
| North East | 28,182,725 | 183 |
| North West: | 54,839,886 | 357 |
| South East | 22,012,828 | 143 |
| South-South (also known as Niger Delta region) | 28,153,979 | 183 |
| South West | 38,788,518 | 252 |
| **Total** | **201,135,262** | **1,308** |

**Source**: Researcher's Calculation is based on NPC 2019 Projected Population Published in NBS, 2020

**Workings (for Appendix)**

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Z-score (z)** | 2.17 | **$z^2$** |
| **Confidence Interval** | 97% | |
| | | 4.71 |
| **Alpha (α) divided by 2** | 0.015 | |
| **P (p)** | 0.5 | |
| **Error (e)** | 0.03 | |
| **Population size (N)** | 201,135,262 | |
| **$n_o$** | 1308.136735 | |
| | 1.000006504 | |
| **Sample size (n)** | 1308 | |

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Although the calculated sample size was 1,308 using Cochran's formula for accuracy, however, the study selected 600 participants instead. This was done using a purposive sampling method, which means the researchers intentionally chose people based on consideration that the idea of the study is not a common terrain where data could be easily generated from the majority population earlier calculated. There was need to look for certain group of individuals who are somewhat familiar with the discourse on neoliberalism vis-a-viz petroleum energy. To make sure all the six geopolitical zones of the country were fairly included, 100 participants were selected from each zone. This approach helps to balance representation across regions, even though fewer people were involved at the end. It was a practical way to gather meaningful insights without needing to survey a large number of people as initially determined.

### 3.4 Description of the Research Instruments

The study employs three main instruments of data collection. These are questionnaire key informant and documentary/archival tool.

#### 3.4.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire for this study is structured into three (3) sections, namely the preliminary section, demographic section and the information/attitudinal section. The first section is concerned with the introduction of the purpose of research and the appeal for respondents' attention and time to fill the questionnaires appropriately. It also emphasizes the confidentiality

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of personal information of the respondents and the basic instructions to the administration of the questionnaires.

The Demographic section is all about the socio-economic and personal details of the respondents such as age, sex, educational qualification, state of origin, etc. The final section has to do with the main questions relating to the objectives of research which allows for respondents' information and attitudes towards the issues as constructed in the questionnaires. The questionnaire adopts a 5-point Likert scale. A Likert scale type of response presents the response categories in this format: Strongly Agree Agree, Strongly Disagree Disagree and Undecided. The reason for the 5-point scale is to capture and give room for the people who may choose to be neutral in their response. To this end, the questionnaire will be administered electronically and manually to ensure that every stratum of the sample is covered for the purpose of the study.

### 3.4.2 Key Informant Interviews

The KIIs for this study have been carefully designed in semi-structured format. The justification for this typology of interview is that it involves a highlight of questions that will guide the interviewer in the course of the interview session and also enables flexibility when probing for further information. The flexibility of the method allows for elaboration of information, knowledge and ideas that are crucial to the interviewee but perhaps not thought of as important to the researcher. Specifically, the interview here is conducted with some considerable level of organization. Thus, it contains the preamble.

That is, self-introduction of the researchers, details of the key informant, purpose of the investigation, issues of confidentiality, informed consent, anonymity, appeal for cooperation and understanding of the interviewees. The Second section is primarily prepared for the

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fundamental questions that relate to the various objectives of the research in order to elicit responses from the target audience. In other words, each of the four questions is broken down into further questions in relevant to the aim of the study. Lastly, there is a section to appreciate the cooperation, time, knowledge and attention of the interviewees.

### 3.4.3 Documentary Sources

The documentary here is sub divided into official documentary sources, public documentary sources and personal documentary sources[2].

In the light of this, the principles of confidentiality and privacy will be observed especially on accessing archival and other official materials by presenting letter of introduction in addition to student Identity Card for proper recognition and permission. And for other documentary materials such as opinion/public submissions, etc, principle of objectivity will be ensured by making use of only the documents that provide relevant information about the study. As a consequence, the above documentary sources serve as a key mode of data collection for this study[3].

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## 3.5 Validity of the Research Instrument

Validity is simply understood as the extent to which an instrument actually represents the phenomenon it sets out to examine. Therefore, research instruments were developed based on a thorough review of literature on the subject matter and scholarly consultation, ensuring comprehensive coverage of relevant questions. Research instruments were finally subjected to

a pilot test in which face and contents validity of the instruments were done with supervisor, experts and stakeholders for necessary suggestions, modifications, constructive corrections, clarity, relevance, and appropriateness of each item for the study objectives.

### 3.6 Reliability of the Research Instrument

Reliability here is the state of being consistent or trustworthy in the measurement of an instrument. It gives dependability and confidence about the accuracy of research instrument[5]. Hence, Data collection instrument was tested for relevance and consistency of results to minimize errors. Therefore, Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Test was adopted to test the reliability of the instrument used in this study. The Cronbach's Alpha score was 0.72 which suggests that the items are moderately correlated and collectively measure the underlying construct of implications of neoliberalism in the oil and gas sector. Specifically, the instrument explores a range of questions, with the test score (0.72) implying that respondents' views on these aspects aligned enough to indicate a coherent understanding of neoliberalism in the oil and gas sector.

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### 3.7 Method of Data Collection

Data for this study were gathered from both primary and secondary sources in order to meet the objectives of the study. Here, the methods of data collection are divided into field methods and documentary methods.

The field methods include questionnaire and key informant interview for both quantitative and qualitative data respectively. The significant point here is that the data you collect is unique to

you and your research and, until you publish, no one else has access to it. However, the documentary aspect is also called secondary data collection. It is concerned with data collected from a source that has already been published in any form for a specific purpose.

In this study, they include the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, official reports, Maps, public submission, scholarly reports, scholarly publications, case studies, newspapers, among other materials in this category. The basis for the method is that much of the background work needed has already been carried out, which has a pre-established degree of validity and reliability which need not be re-examined again by the researcher who is reproducing[4].

### 3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The study adopts both qualitative and quantitative tools of data analysis. The qualitative analysis employs thematic and discourse methods. However, thematic analysis is the fundamental technique for examining qualitative data, and is widely applicable, economical, and adaptable for exploratory research that focuses on finding and analysing patterns of meaning (themes). It is a fundamental component of qualitative data analysis more broadly[5]. In addition, discourse analysis is a method that involves analysing the components of language used and analysing them in detail to describe or explain the phenomenon being studied. This is because there is need to account for meaning to understand and explain an action, since the meaning that individual attach to their actions guide social action and interpretation. The meanings offered to individual action are socially manufactured and shared patterns of attitudinal dispositions[6].

For quantitative data analysis, descriptive statistics was adopted as a quantitative tool. The choice of this analysis is that it is useful for exploratory study with strong focus on describing

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a social phenomenon (i.e. descriptive design). It deployed frequency distribution, simple percentage and graphical presentation of findings[7]. This analysis of the quantitative data was carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

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**Endnotes**


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# Chapter Four

## Results and Discussion of Findings

### 4.1 Demographic Data Analysis of Respondents

This chapter presents the results and discussion of the findings from both the survey and the Key Informant Interviews, providing insights into the demographic characteristics of respondents, data collected, and its interpretation in relation to the research objectives. Thus, six hundred (600) copies of questionnaire were administered but only 547 were returned out of which 27 copies of the questionnaire were not properly filled and could not be used for further analysis. Therefore, while about 20 out of 25 participants as categorized in the methodology responded in the interview sessions, only 520 copies of the questionnaire were found useful and subjected to further analysis in the study. Hence, the response rate was approximately 86.67%.

### 4.1.1 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of the Respondents' Demographic Data

**Table 4.1.1: Sex**

| Gender | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Female | 208 | 40 |
| Male | 312 | 60 |
| **Total** | **520** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

The data in Table 4.1.1 shows the gender distribution of respondents. Out of the total 520 participants, 312 (60%) are male, while 208 (40%) are female. This indicates that majority of

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the respondents were male, while females constitute a smaller portion. It shows gender disparity in the respondent population, with males outnumbering females by a ratio of 3:2.

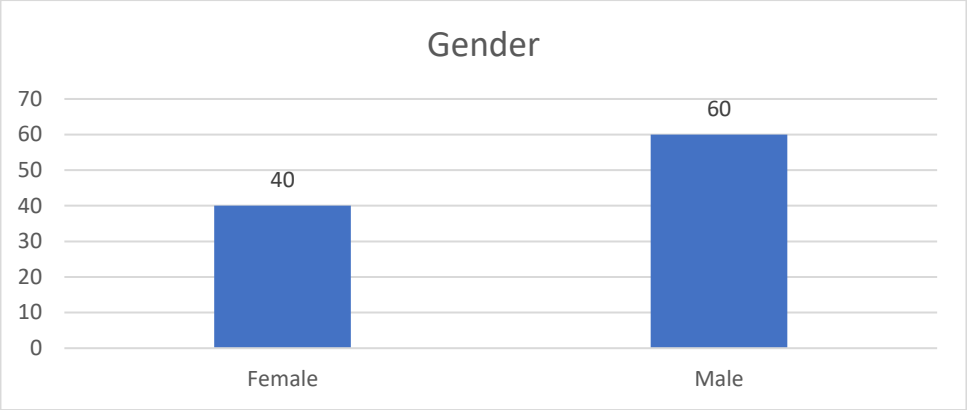


**Figure 4.1.1: Graphical Representation of the Respondents by Gender**

**Table 4.1.2: Age at Last Birthday**

| Age Interval | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| **18 – 22 years** | 60 | 11.54 |
| **23 – 27 years** | 116 | 22.31 |
| **28 – 32 years** | 128 | 24.62 |
| **33 – 37 years** | 76 | 14.62 |
| **38 – 42 years** | 56 | 10.77 |
| **43 – 47 years** | 44 | 8.46 |
| **48 – 52 years** | 20 | 3.85 |
| **53 – 57 years** | 12 | 2.31 |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **58 – 62** | 8 | 1.54 |
| **Total** | **520** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

The data in the table show the age distribution of respondents within specific intervals. The largest group of respondents (24.62%) falls within the 28-32 age interval, indicating that this age range represents the majority. This is followed by the 23-27 age interval (22.31%), suggesting a significant portion of respondents are young adults. The age group 33-37 makes up 14.62% of the respondents, while the 38-42 interval accounts for 10.77%. Older age groups (43-47, 48-52, 53-57, and 58-62) represent smaller portions of the population, collectively contributing less than 16.15%. The smallest group is the 58-62 age interval, with only 1.54%. This distribution indicates a concentration of respondents in the younger age brackets.

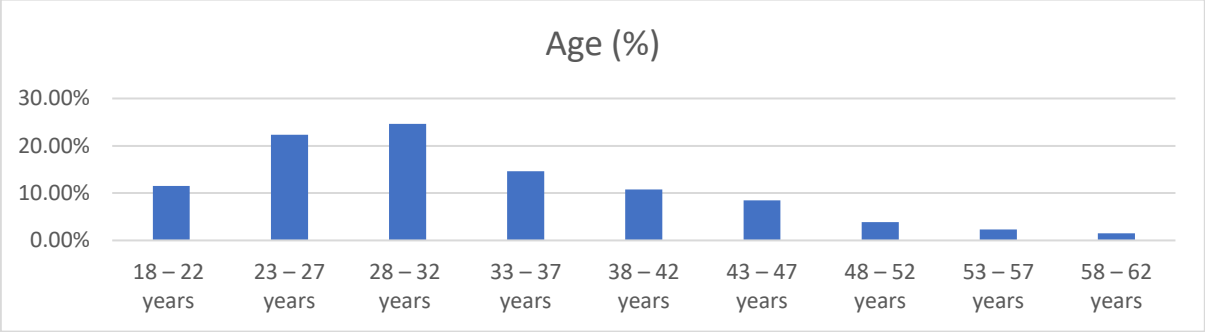


**Figure 4.1.2: Pictorial Representation of the Respondents by Age Interval**

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**Table 4.1.3: Religion**

| Religion | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Christian | 332 | 63.85 |
| Muslim | 172 | 33.08 |
| Others | 16 | 3.08 |
| **Total** | **520** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

The data in table 4.1.3 above reveal the religious affiliations of respondents, with Christianity being the predominant religion, accounting for 63.85% of the responses. This is followed by Muslims, who represent 33.08%, reflecting a notable proportion of the respondents as well while a minor proportion of the respondents represents other religious groups accounting for 3.08% of the total respondents.

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**Figure 4.1.3:** Respondents' Religions

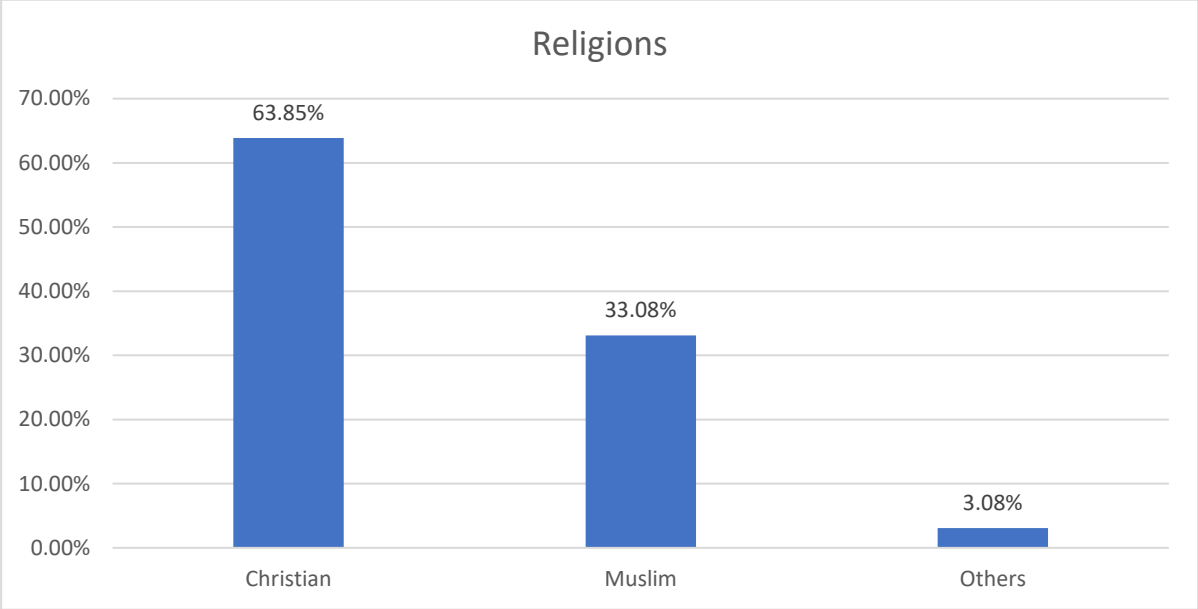


**Table 4.1.4: Marital Status**

| Religion | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Married | 208 | 40.00 |
| Separated | 4 | 0.77 |
| **Single** | 308 | 59.23 |
| Grand Total | **520** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

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The Table 4.1.4 shows that 208(40%) of the respondents are married and 308(59.23%) are single while separated represent 4(0.77%). This indicates that majority of the respondents are single.

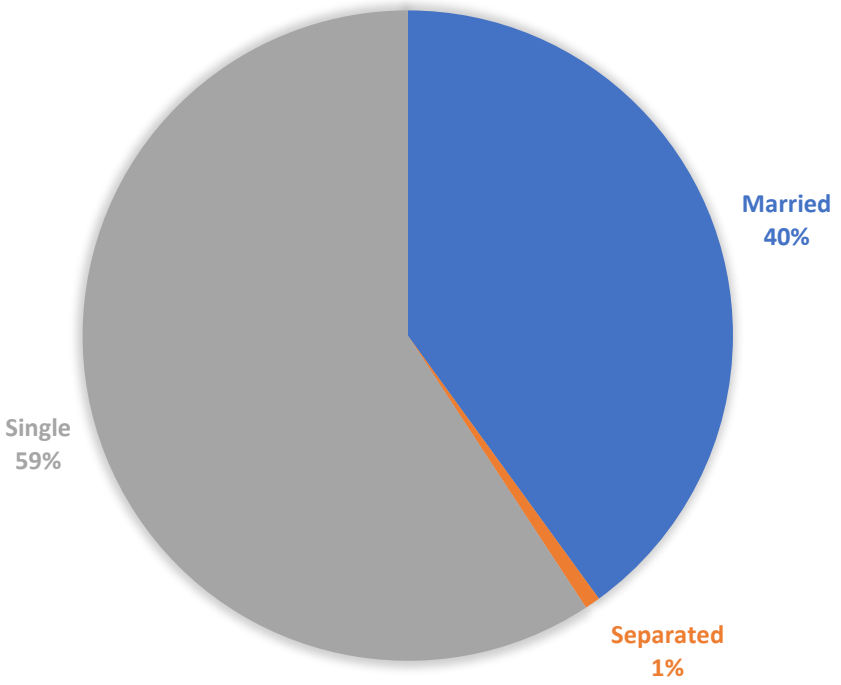


**Figure 4.1.4: Pie Chart Representation of the Respondents by Marital Status**

| Qualification | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| HND/B.SC/B.Ed | 380 | 73.08 |
| M.SC/M.Ed/M.A/MBA | 76 | 14.62 |
| OND/NCE | 12 | 2.31 |
| PhD | 24 | 4.62 |
| SSCE/O'LEVEL | 28 | 5.38 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Grand Total** | **520** | **100.00%** |

**Table 4.1.5: Academic Qualification**

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

The data in Table 4.1.5 present the qualification levels of the respondents, showing that majority with 73.08% who possess HND/B.Sc/B.Ed qualifications, indicates a predominance of bachelor's degree holders among the respondents. Respondents with M.Sc/M.Ed/M.A/MBA qualifications account for 14.62%, while those with Ph.D. qualifications make up 4.62%, reflecting a smaller proportion of individuals with advanced academic credentials. Lower qualification levels, such as SSCE/O'Level (5.38%) and OND/NCE (2.31%), are minimally represented. This reflects that the respondents are highly educated, with most participants possessing at least a bachelor's degree, which could influence the perspectives and insights provided in the study.

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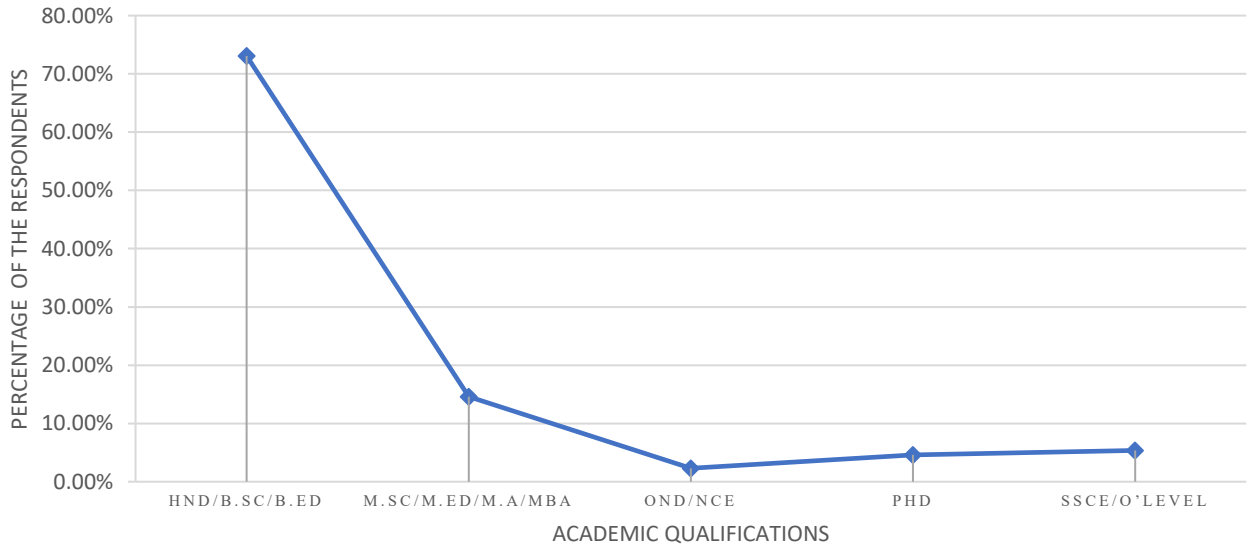


**Figure 4.1.5: Graphical Representation of the Respondents' Academic Qualification**

**Table 4.1.6: Employment Status**

| Religion | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Private Employment | 124 | 23.85 |
| Public Employment | 128 | 24.62 |
| Self-Employed | 192 | 36.92 |
| Unemployed | 76 | 14.62 |
| **Grand Total** | **520** | **100.00** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

The data in Table 4.6 provide an overview of the employment status of respondents. The largest group, self-employed individuals, accounts for 36.92% of the total respondents, indicating a significant representation of entrepreneurial/independent workers. This is followed closely by those in public employment at 24.62% and private employment at 23.85%, reflecting a fairly balanced distribution between these two categories. A smaller proportion, 14.62%, are unemployed, highlighting a segment of respondents currently without formal or self-directed employment. This distribution suggests a diverse range of employment statuses among respondents, with a strong representation of self-employment, which may indicate economic patterns or labour market trends in the area of study.

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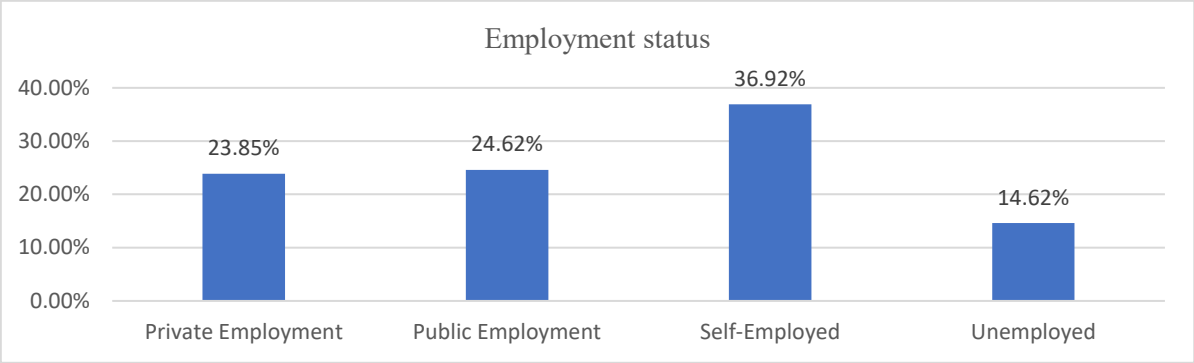


**Figure 4.1.6: Graphical Representation of the Respondents' Employments Status**

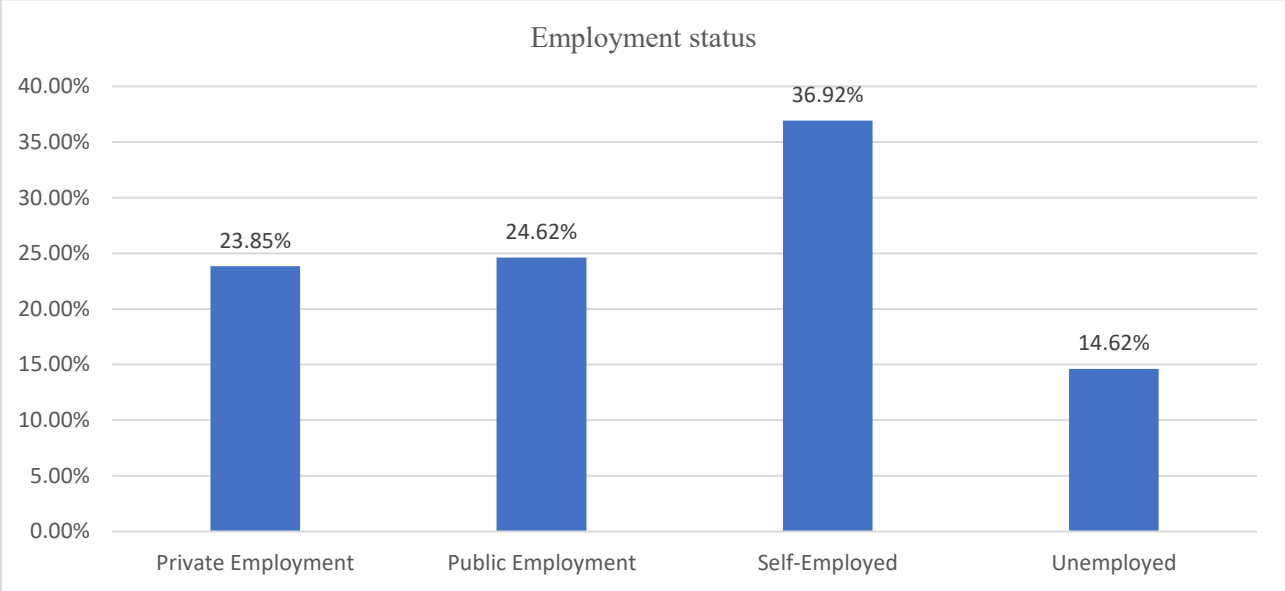


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**Table 4.1.7: Geopolitical Zone**

| Geopolitical zone | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| North-Central | 79 | 15.19 |
| North-East | 83 | 15.96 |
| North-West | 85 | 16.35 |
| South-East | 89 | 17.12 |
| South-South | 88 | 16.92 |
| South-West | 96 | 18.46 |
| **Grand Total** | **520** | **100.00** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

The data in Table 4.1.7 present the distribution of respondents across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones. The South-West has the highest representation, accounting for 18.46% of the respondents, indicating a significant concentration of participants from this region. The South-South follows with 16.92%, while the South-East accounts for 17.12%. The North-Central, North-East, and North- West have smaller representations, contributing 15.19%, 15.96%, and 16.35%, respectively. This distribution demonstrates good representation of the six geo-political zone in the study. This could reflect factors such as population size, accessibility, or the focus of the study in this region, potentially influencing the generalizability of findings to other geopolitical zones.

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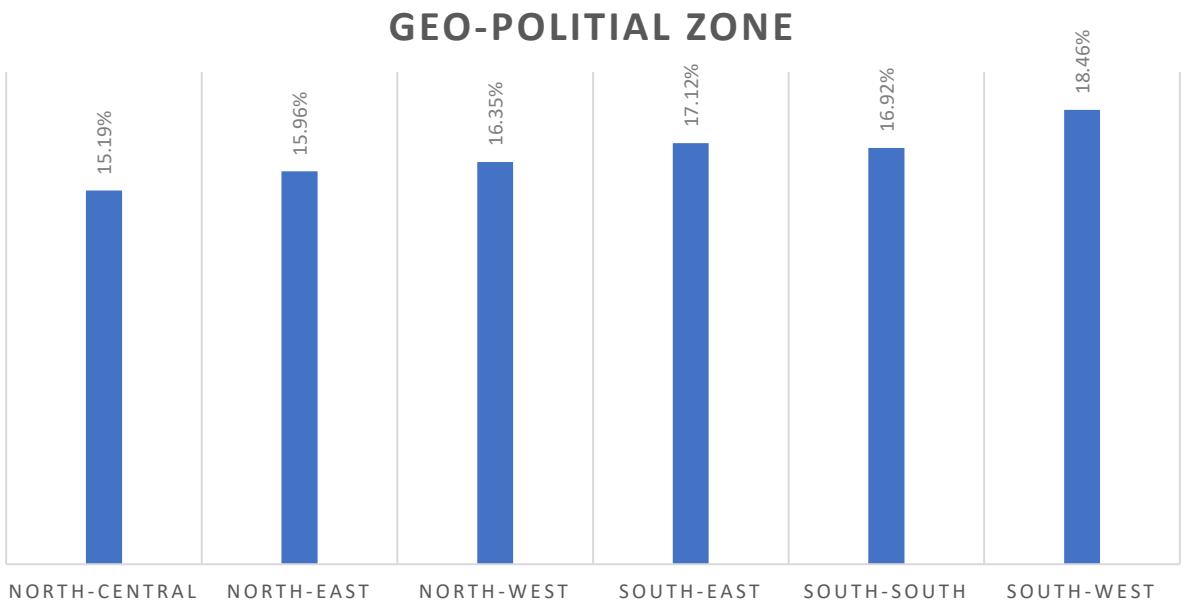


**Figure 4.1.7: Graphical Representation of the Respondents by Geo-political Zone**

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## 4.2: Presentation of Data

**Table 4.2.1: What is the Nature of Neoliberal Framework in Oil and Gas Sector in the Fourth Republic?**

| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Neoliberal framework in the oil and gas of the current Republic suggests privatization, | 164 (32%) | 276 (53%) | 60 (12%) | 16 (3%) | 4 (1%) | **520** |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| commercialization and liberalization in the management of oil resources | | | | | | |
| There have been notable successes in implementing neoliberal policies in the oil and gas sector | 76 (15%) | 216 (42%) | 92 (18%) | 112 (22%) | 24 (5%) | **520** |
| There have been economic, social, and environmental impacts of neoliberal policies in the oil and gas sector | 124 (24%) | 256 (49%) | 76 (15%) | 36 (7%) | 28 (5%) | **520** |
| These neoliberal policies have been effectively implemented with little or no challenges | 56 (11%) | 148 (28%) | 96 (18%) | 168 (32%) | 52 (10%) | **520** |

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encountered during

their implementation

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**Source:** Researcher's Statistical Computation of the Data Obtained from the Field Survey, 2025

The data in Table 4.2.1 reveal the perceptions on the neoliberal framework and its implementation in the oil and gas sector. Majority of the respondent (85%) agree that neoliberalism in the sector is characterized by privatization, commercialization, and liberalization, indicating widespread recognition of its core principles. This was corroborated in the opinion expressed by an interviewee while providing insights into the key neoliberal policies introduced in the oil and gas sector during the Fourth Republic:

> *"The main neoliberal reforms introduced in the oil and gas sector is deregulation as it relates to subsidy removal. Privatization and commercialization as it concern the NNPC. And more importantly, willing buyer and willing seller as it affects Dangote refinery"* (KII, December 3, 2024)

The key informant interview also provides further on the nature of neoliberal framework in the oil and gas sector of the current Republic. It insists that:

> *"The key one that became the game changer is the new one we are on to now, which is the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) of 2021 and which has been going back and forth in the National Assembly for like 12-14years, but eventually it was passed into Act. It was passed and signed by the then President in August 2021 and since then we have started the implementation"* (KII, November 8, 2024).

What is simply emphasized in the policy full deregulation of the downstream sector and the eventual conversion of NNPC to NNPCL in the real sense of commercialization and privatization. This is not to say that other policies were not formulated, but the fundamental

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policy made since the inception of the Republic which encapsulates the idea of neoliberalism is the PIA.

However, the successes of these policies were viewed with moderate agreement, as only 57% of respondents see notable achievements, while 27% disagree, suggesting mixed evaluations. The qualitative interviews also present similar views with some expressing optimism about the neoliberal reforms in the sector whereas some rejected the successes in totality. For instance, one of the opinions from interview argues that

> *"The implementation of neoliberal policies in Nigeria's oil and gas sector has been ineffective, hindered by corruption, inadequate institutions, lack of transparency, and insufficient public engagement"* (KII, January 7, 2025).

Closely related to this view was expressed by another participant:

> *"The PIA did not give the Ministry of Petroleum Resources the required attention that would make it successful in its mandate as the supervising AGI, the supervising ministry to oversee the industry at large. So, that is a big lacuna. It's a big gap that the Act has and it has been creating issues front and back"* (KII, November 8, 2024)

It was evident in the recent time issues with the Dangote Refinery and the NNDPR, as a result of the implementation or part of the implementation which is a lot,

In contrast, it was submitted that:

> *"there has been a very notable success in the implementation of neoliberalism in the petroleum energy, which is the creation of NUPRC Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commissioned then the NMDPRA Nigerian Mainstream and Downstream Petroleum Regulatory Authority. These two are successes from the new policies of this era of this Republic and they have been doing well. We have two regulators now that are managing the upstream and another one managing the mainstream and downstream. Another one which is arguable is the conversion of NNPC to a commercial entity, this decision is a fantastic one and no doubt about it, but we are on the implementation"* (KII, January 5, 2025)

Similar to the above, another interviewee also appreciates the neoliberal framework in the oil and gas sector following the implementation of the Petroleum Industry Act.

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> *"The Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) of 202 repeals 10 existing laws and is certainly one of Nigeria's plans to economic growth and attraction of investment because it addressed perennial issues around transparency, accountability, price inefficiencies, regulatory framework, ownership and control of resources, host community benefits, environmental concerns, appropriate fiscal terms"* (KII, December 10, 2024)

Regarding the impacts of neoliberal reforms, 73% agree that these policies have had economic, social, and environmental effects, indicating acknowledgment of their far-reaching consequences. In fact, the interview data support the larger percentage presented in the survey against the impacts of neoliberal activities especially in the region of Niger Delta.

> *"The environmental impacts of oil exploration in the Niger Delta and associated policy of neo-liberalism, because we see the oil prospecting companies, Shell, Chevron, Total, Mobil, all of these offshore players who also prospect our oil, are damaging the environment and are no commensurate compensation to the people of the Niger Delta. So, I want to say that the policy itself, being neo-liberal in nature, has no human face to provide adequate incentives, adequate protection, and adequate facilities that will help ameliorate some of the impacts that such activities will trigger within the region over the years"* (KII, January 8, 2025).

In the same vein, a participant from the interview argued further to share the socio-economic impacts:

> *"…the regulation of the oil sector is what has led to the increase in price of petrol across the country Something that have created an unprecedented harsh, which has rendered many households having an unprecedented poverty as we have it today. So, these are just some of the social economic consequences of these neo liberal policies in the oil industry"* (KII, December 6, 2024).

On the other hand, the implementation of these policies is perceived as challenging, with only 39% agreeing they were executed effectively and 42% disagreeing.

The view from the interview agrees to the above data in that it avers thus:

> *"The PIA is what is driving implementation in this situation. The Acts have been brought down by ownership. The PIA itself was also not owned by Nigeria. The PIA is a product of politics. So, implementation is also brought down by politics"* (KII, November 6, 2024).

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A similar perception was maintained by another participant, that the operating framework in the petroleum industry is thus:

> *"...neo-liberal in nature and it is basically about the capital at the expense of the people, at the expense of the working people, at the expense of the people. So, by targeting it with neo-liberal policies, it has more disadvantages than advantages to the people. Some of these policies, the implementation of it, not only brings commensurate benefits to the people, not only the people of Nigeria, but the Nigerian people as well. You can see that even up to now, we still have issues in terms of the inefficiency and privatization of refineries, because some of us who have had the opportunity to travel out of the country to oil producing countries, we know that the issue of refineries is not left in the hands of the private sector alone. Governments have a way of regulating the refining of petroleum products and making sure that there is a public ownership of refineries"* (KII, January 8, 2025).

This stresses the significant concerns about ease and success of implementing neoliberal reforms in the sector. Therefore, this result reveals that the neoliberal framework in the oil and gas sector is characterized by strong support for privatization, commercialization, and liberalization. However, while these principles are acknowledged as impactful and moderately successful, their implementation faces notable challenges, reflecting complexities in aligning neoliberal policies with economic, social, and environmental objectives.

**Table 4.2.2 What is the Extent of the Efficacy of the Role of State in the Current Process of Oil Sector?**

| Statement | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Effective role of government is not important in the | 32 (6%) | 88 (17%) | 32 (6%) | 220 (42%) | 148 (28%) | **520** |

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| success of oil and gas sector of the country | | | | | | |
| The political actors and institutions are really shaping policies in the sector of oil and gas in the Fourth Republic | 84 (16%) | 220 (42%) | 84 (16%) | 96 (18%) | 36 (7%) | **520** |
| The main political interests driving policy making in the oil and gas sector are externally generated and not internally motivated | 128 (25%) | 216 (42%) | 80 (15%) | 76 (15%) | 20 (4%) | **520** |
| The role of Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources/NNPC as the government agencies in the oil and gas sector have been very reliable | 64 (12%) | 128 (25%) | 64 (12%) | 168 (32%) | 96 (18%) | **520** |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government role is generally effective in the entire processes of oil and gas sector | 104 (20%) | 164 (32%) | 56 (11%) | 112 (22%) | 84 (16%) | **520** |

**Source:** Researcher's Statistical Computation of the Data Obtained from the Field Survey, 2025

The Table 4.2.3 above reveals the perceptions of the respondents on the roles of government in the oil and gas sector. Large proportion of the respondents (70%) disagree that the effective role of government is unimportant for the sector's success, highlighting widespread recognition of its critical involvement.

On the contrary, the response of a participant in the interview rejects the effective involvement of government in the management of oil and gas sector as expressed with example of the problem experienced in the recent time.

> *"Government is supposed to create an enabling environment and the right policy. Since day one in the 70s, the government has participated as part of the joint venture owner of oil industry in Nigeria. It is since that time that the interests have been conflicted. coupled with the fact that there are a lot of corruptions at the government circle. At the time, the minister of... Petroleum, Deziani, stole over $20 billion. So, there are a lot of wastages when government is managing anything. And it is not always encouraged that government should manage any property"* (KII, January 12, 2025)

Although the effectiveness of the government's role in Nigeria's oil and gas sector has been mixed, reflecting successes in certain areas and persistent challenges in others, the participant in the interview remarked that:

> *"The fundamental roles include policy initiation and reforms, revenue generation and regulatory Presence in the sector"* (KII, January 12, 2025)

However, opinions on government effectiveness in the sector are more divided, with only 52% agreeing that its role is generally effective, while 38% disagree. This is in agreement with the

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response of a participant in the interview as posited that the role of government in the sector has not been effective:

> *"Obviously it's not, even in the period prior to the PIA, government regulatory oversight of the sector through the NNPC has always been defective. The NNPC, oftentimes look the other way, why the multinational oil company won't throw up show over oil communities, why we cut back on the safety requirements, why we need to implement certain conditions that will ensure that their extracurricular activities will not affect our producing communities. The NNPC also, often look away even when the multinational oil company also fail to discharge, their corporate social responsibility to our oil producing communities and apart from the NNPC, including the police, army, and other security agencies that are involved in the monitoring of the oil and gas sector so often look away from the multinational oil company to take the Nigerian crude oil"* (KII, December 22, 2025).

Political actors and institutions are perceived to play a substantial role in shaping policies, with 58% agreed and only 25% disagreed. To further buttress this result, some of the perceptions in the interviews equally corroborates the fact. Such as:

> *"Governments are essential in regulating the oil and gas industry to ensure safe and sustainable operations. The Ministry of Petroleum Resources as the policy institution has evolved significantly, especially after the enactment of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) in 2021, which oversees the entire petroleum sector, from exploration to downstream activities aimed to increase transparency and attract investments while ensuring better governance of petroleum resources"* (KII, December 10, 2024).

Besides, it was emphasized at the level of interaction on policy making in the sector as presented in the participant's opinion that:

> *"Competing interests between institutions (e.g., NNPC vs. regulatory agencies) can lead to policy inconsistencies. Tensions between the federal government and oil-producing states over control of resources and revenue sharing heavily influence policy decisions. Global actors, including international oil companies (IOCs) and development partners, interact with domestic institutions to advocate for neoliberal reforms, adding another layer of complexity"* (KII, January 20, 2025).

Furthermore, 67% of respondents believe that political interests driving policy-making are externally generated, suggesting concerns about external influences overshadowing internal motivations. This response confirms the perceptions expressed by the participants in the following remarks:

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> *"...the multinational oil company Shell, Chevron, and all of them and that's why, 29 years ago, the Abacha military junta had to execute the Ken Saro Wiwa and eight others, when shell told him the only condition that would allow them to continue to exploit Nigeria's crude oil and he need to execute on behalf of shell because shell felt that Ken Saro Wiwa had become a torn in their flesh, that is to show the interest and extent of the power and control oil multinational companies over Nigeria oil"* (KII, November 10, 2024).
> *"Rent-seeking and pursuit of policies mainly to please foreign interests"* (KII, January 7, 2025).

An interview response with another participant agrees to the same fact that the driving interest in the sector has been externally influenced in connivance with national political class:

*"The interest of domestic and foreign capital. Market forces and drive for primitive capital accumulation"* (KII, December 3, 2024).

In the same manner, additional view was offered in the response of a participant by locating the interest in two mutually reinforcing perspectives:

> *"The main political interests driving neo-liberalism, as far as energy is concerned, have to be located on two platforms. One, the domestic level, as expressed in the political actors and then the international level, as expressed in the international oil companies and their parent governments. These are the major forces involved and of course"* (KII, January 8, 2025).

The reliability of the NNPC together with the Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources as government agencies receives a mixed response, with only 37% agreement compared to 50% disagreement, indicating a reasonable doubt about their effectiveness. This result reveals the perceived importance of government and political roles while pointing to challenges in reliability and internal motivations. It further suggests that the state's role in the oil and gas sector is perceived as significant but moderately effective. While political actors and external interests shape policy making in the sector.

**Table 4.2.3 How have the Neoliberal Reforms in the Sector Contributed to the Well-being of the People during the Fourth Republic?**

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| Statement | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Different groups of people have been affected by the consequences of neoliberal policies in the oil and gas sectors | 196 (38%) | 256 (49%) | 44 (8%) | 24 (5%) | 0 | **520** |
| Neoliberal policies about the oil and gas have improved the standard of living and also alleviating poverty | 48 (9%) | 92 (18%) | 112 (22%) | 156 (30%) | 112 (22%) | **520** |
| There have been unintended consequences or unforeseen challenges arising from neoliberal reforms in the oil sector | 132 (25%) | 260 (50%) | 88 (17%) | 32 (6%) | 8 (2%) | **520** |
| Stakeholders have played roles in promoting or resisting neoliberal reforms in the oil & gas sector | 100 (19%) | 236 (45%) | 108 (19%) | 60 (12%) | 16 (3%) | **520** |

**Source:** Researcher's Statistical Computation of the Data Obtained from the Field Survey, 2025

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Significant percentage of the respondents (87%) agree that different groups have been affected by these policies, with 38% strongly agreeing and 49% agreeing, indicating widespread acknowledgment of their impacts. As a matter of fact, the interview opinion remarks that the consequences of neoliberal reforms in Nigeria's oil and gas sector have affected stakeholders differently, creating a mix of opportunities and challenges, For instance,

> *"Increased revenues from deregulation and privatization have provided fiscal relief, while reforms like the Petroleum Industry Act have streamlined governance. On the other hand, the government faces criticism for policy inconsistency, corruption, and failure to ensure equitable distribution of reform benefits, eroding public trust"* (KII, January 20, 2025).

Again, from the interview perception, one of the most affected stakeholders are the masses. They are totally alienated from what is going on in the sector because the management is done in a rentier-like manner, a participant in the interview argued further that:

> *"... the citizens have been the worst victims or have been the most negatively affected by neoliberal reforms because government claims of gains, growth of the industry, and growth in revenue has not significantly translated into the common man's life"* (KII, December 22, 2024).

Conversely, only 27% believe these policies have improved living standards or alleviated poverty, while 52% disagree, reflecting skepticism about their socioeconomic benefits.

There is strong agreement (75%) that neoliberal reforms have led to unintended consequences and challenges, emphasizing their complexity and unforeseen outcomes. As a result, a participant in the interview expressed that:

> *"Policies such as subsidy removal have disproportionately burdened low-income households, increasing living costs and fuelling public dissent. Privatization has disproportionately benefited political elites and well-connected individuals, leading to concerns about crony capitalism rather than broad-based economic growth."* (KII, January 20, 2025).

To this end, another participant posits that:

> *"Over 200 companies or there about have left the shores of Nigeria in the last one and half years as a result of the very terrible operating environment that has been created by the huge rise in prices of fuel, something which also means that the operational costs of the companies, of course, also will be shoot up. And, of course, the departure of those companies also means that the unemployment situation in Nigeria gets further worse"* (KII, November 10, 2024).

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Additionally, 64% agree that stakeholders have played roles in promoting or resisting these reforms, indicating active involvement and diverse interests. The evidence of this result was articulated in the interview. Such as:

> *"The social movement represented by the labour movement and civil society group have in their little way and structural constraints and state violence have resisted through wages increase protests, minimum wages agitation, #endhungernow protests, strike actions, advocacy, etc"* (KII, December 3, 2024).

In similar response, it was advanced,

> *"Organized labour have never kept quiet on issues of neo-liberalism. So, the organized labour have been super active in challenging some of these policies that affect our economy, the workers, and the people. Negatively so, and I know that social agitation led to the issue of Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB), which will not put us, because, I think the major intent of that bill is to address major concern in the oil and gas industry"* (KII, January 10, 2025).

To further strengthen this position, interaction with a participant maintain that different stakeholders have played critical roles in either promoting or resisting neoliberal reforms in Nigeria's oil and gas sector. For instance,

> *"In promoting neoliberal reforms in the petroleum energy, government, private sector and investors, international organizations, Civil Society groups have supported the move. While the resistance of which in the sector include Local Communities, Labour Unions and Civil Society together with opposition politicians, environmental activists, traditional Oil industry stakeholders"* (KII, January 20, 2025).

This implies the significant effects of neoliberal policies, the challenges introduced, and its critical consequences on various stakeholders, while questioning it ability to improve social well-being.

**Table 4.2.4: What are the Possible Alternatives to Neoliberal Measures in the Oil Sector of the Current Administration?**

| Statement | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Neoliberal measure in the oil and gas has failed the sector and the society | 148 (28%) | 192 (37%) | 112 (22%) | 56 (11%) | 12 (2%) | **520** |
| Privatization is a crucial indication of failure of neoliberalism in the sector wherein the most powerful foreign and local capitalists rob the public of its oil resources | 168 (32%) | 220 (42%) | 80 (15%) | 52 (10%) | 0 | **520** |
| There are viable alternatives to replace neoliberal reform in the oil and gas sector | 160 (31%) | 256 (49%) | 76 (15%) | 24 (5%) | 4 (1%) | **520** |
| There is prospect in the oil and gas sector with respect to the current | 80 (15%) | 156 (30%) | 104 (20%) | 100 (19%) | 80 (15%) | **520** |

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| | |
|---|---|
| administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu | |

**Source:** Researcher's Statistical Computation of the Data Obtained from the Field Survey, 2025

The data reveal significant views of the impacts of neoliberal reforms in the oil and gas sector. A majority of respondents (65%) agree that neoliberal measures have failed the sector and society, with only 13% expressing disagreement. Similarly, privatization is widely seen as a key failure of neoliberalism, with 74% agreed that it allows powerful capitalists to exploit public of its oil resources. There is strong optimism about the availability of viable alternatives to replace neoliberal reforms, as 80% of respondents support this view.

This is in agreement with the view held in the interview concerning the possibility of any alternative to neoliberal framework in the Nigerian oil and gas sector,

> *"A more people oriented, welfare approach as provided in chapter two of the constitution"* (KII, January 7, 2025).

> *"The only way this can be done is through the program of public ownership of the oil and gas sector under democratic control, simply because The fundamental objective of the Nigerian state toward his people is to ensure that all the resources that belong to Nigeria whether under the ground, whether in the sea, whether in the air, are utilize by government in a way to provide the best of life for the Nigerian people, there's nowhere in the Nigerian constitution where the Nigerian government is permitted To make available the resources of this country for a certain set of people for their own enrichment alone"* (KII, November 10, 2024).

In addition, a participant suggested similar alternative as expressed,

> *"..nationalization and effective plan, central plan, you know, and state management and for the people, the wealth of society to be collectively, you know, owned, you know, that remains the biggest, that's the biggest elephant in the room and that's what we are saying, which is what is called tagged essentially socialism. Which is the transition of state to communism. So that remains the only alternative, you know, because the interest of imperialism is not to help the people survive hardship or develop the country. It is not; it is to exploit them"* (KII, January 22, 2025).

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A closely related view was held by another interviewee,

> *"... our refinery should be revamped. What I mean by revamping is that they should be repaired. Not only that, they should be fully nationalized. Such that it is going to be Nigerian as a refinery. And it is under the democratic control and management of the people. Meaning that every member of the board that manages this refinery should be elected from workers that work in that refinery"* (KII, November 22, 2024).

In contrast to the preceding opinions, the perception of this participant differed from the unanimous alternatives identified. The respondent contends to support the neoliberal approach in the oil and gas sector.

> *"We are still watching, still implementing the PIA. This first phase of implementation, I think it's five years. From 2021 to 2026, I think so. That's the first phase. That first phase, we look at it. What are the loopholes? What are the challenges? Things that were not covered there, they will review. Watch again, see the impact, then review. I said earlier, if there is a sincerity of purpose in the Implementation, it's going to be perfect very soon. Now or later the document will be a perfect one but if there's no sincerity of purpose to go back to where we came, from flying pan to fire"* (KII, December 9, 2024).

Beyond this, multidimensional alternatives were highlighted by a respondent as,

> *"Sustainable Development Model, Resource Nationalism Model, Public-Private Partnership Model, Community-Based Management Model, National Development Model, Energy Source Diversification Model, Green Transition and Decarbonization Model, Local Content Policy Development model, Hybrid Model and Neo-structuralist Model"* (KII, January 9, 2025).

Similarly, the view of another participant in the interview also suggests a multifaceted alternative as divided into alternative approaches and alternative governance models. That is,

*"Alternative Policy Approaches include State-led Development Model, Mixed Economy Model, Cooperative Ownership Model, Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs). The Alternative Governance Models are Decentralized Governance Model, Participatory Governance Model, Transparency and Accountability Model, Alternative Economic Models, Social and Solidarity Economy Model, Green Economy Model, Post-Extractivist Model. These alternative policy approaches, governance models, and economic models offer different perspectives on how to govern the oil and gas sector in Nigeria, prioritizing social, environmental, and economic concerns"* (KII, December 10, 2024).

However, perceptions varied about the prospects of the sector under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, with 45% expressing agreement, 34% disagreement, and 20% remaining neutral.

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The variety observed in the presentation of quantitative data on the prospects are somewhat coterminous to the views generated from the interviewees. To draw some instances, a participant in responding to the prospects of oil sector under the current administration posit that,

> *"The administration has not hidden its desire to pursue unashamedly neoliberal Bretton woods policies starting with the so-called removal of fuel subsidy which basically is nothing more than a massive increase in pump prices of petrol products which has led to massive inflation and impoverishment of the mass of the populace"* (KII, December 13, 2024).

Whereas a participant has expressed optimism about the prospect of the sector with respect to the current administration

> *"The administration has engaged in improving local content requirements, balancing the need to promote Nigerian businesses with the need to keep investments competitive. These reforms aim to foster sustainable growth and development in the oil and gas sector. Overall, the prospects for the oil and gas sector under Tinubu's leadership seem positive, especially if the policies are effectively implemented. However, challenges such as managing the balance between local content and attracting foreign investment, as well as ensuring transparency in the implementation of these initiatives, will be key to the success of these reforms"* (KII, January 20, 2025).

In considering any prospect under the current administration concerning oil sector, response of a participant here appears like a call for action as there seems lack of direction to a purposeful action. That is,

> *"The prospect for oil and gas in Nigeria, as far as I'm concerned, has a future but I have to qualify that judgement with you and that future will depend on the consciousness and alertness of the people there. Already, what we hear all over the world, in academic circles and public circles, is that there is an energy transition. And I ask you, transition for what? Transition for whom? Do we even know whether there is a transition? What are the alternatives to come to us? Some people just sat down one day and said there is an energy transition and they just want to key us into it. Have we transited anywhere? In terms of what passes for oil policy in Nigeria"* (KII, January 8, 2025).

In more critical sense, a participant expressed fear about the prospect of the administration of Bola Ahmed Tinubu under the current neoliberal pursuit in the oil sector. It posits that,

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> *"Well, the administration has continued on the same Neo-liberal trajectory. It would mean that Nigeria, the oil and gas sector, which would have continued to care and service the interests of the average Nigerian people. You know, rather it satisfies the multi-nationalists and, of course, the local capitalists' producers like Aliko Dangote, which at the end of the day, will means that the energy sector would not be able to place a hope as the driver of Nigeria's development. If he doesn't discontinue, they would be dependent on worse, which would of course mean that more poverty increase, more starvation and hunger should be expected, more unemployment should be expected especially as businesses"* (KII, November 10, 2024).

The prospect was observed with lamentation and caveat in the view of a respondent as articulated that,

> *"There is still alienation of the people from the entire process. There is limited information on that. And until these significant reforms are carried out and carried out effectively and efficiently, we may not see a significant difference between the current administration and what we had in the past"* (KII, December 22, 2024)

In spite of the above, an optimistic expression was shared about the prospect for oil sector under the current administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu as explained in the response of an interviewee,

> *"The prospect is found in the PIA if it is sincerely implemented. There are lot of prospects there in the PIA if it is strictly implemented. But I don't want to bore you with all sort of plans arrangement. You know, we are very good in making policies. Implementation is always a problem. So, I don't want to bore you with all sorts of plans, the all the special funds established in the act, the two regulators, the single tax, all those things delay realities in the upstream. They are all prospects that with we so much hopeful and believe that it will give it will it will take the oil and gas sector in Nigeria to a direct to the right direction, in line with the global standard"* (KII, November 13, 2024).

The findings highlight a significant perception of failure in neoliberal policies, particularly privatization, and strong support for exploring viable alternatives. However, diverse views were represented regarding the potential for progress under current administration, emphasizing the need for targeted reforms to address these concerns.

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## 4.3 Discussion of Findings

The discussion is organized based on the research questions in chapter one using thematic analysis as identified in chapter three under research methodology. The interview findings are engaged systematically with survey data as well as the relevant literature.

### 4.3.1 What is the Nature of Neoliberal Framework in the Oil and Gas Sector of the Fourth Republic?

As adequately noted in the literature, consistent with neoliberal economic reform is the basis for the continuation of the Structural Adjustment Programme in the critical sectors of the Nigeria's economy especially the oil energy of the Fourth Republic. This is despite its failure when initially introduced in the 80s during the military administration of Ibrahim Babangida[1]. Moreso, empirical studies from a scholar aptly substantiates this earlier point that Nigeria has been encouraged by the Western economic powers and their controlled institutions, notably the World Bank and IMF to embark on economic reforms of privatization of the public critical sector of the economy such as petroleum sector, among other. This has marked the reign of dominant ideology in the country's economy since the genesis of democratic system of governance in 1999[2].

Hence, perceptions on the neoliberal framework and its implementation in the oil and gas sector during the Nigeria's current Republic have been critically revealed in the findings. Looking at the survey data in Table 4.2.1, majority of the respondents (85%) agreed that privatization, commercialization, and liberalization characterized the neoliberal nature of the oil and gas sector which indicates widespread confirmation of its core principles in the process of oil and gas. This is well supported in the literature by stressing the process leading to the removal of

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oil subsidies in January 2012 which was based on the agreement between World Bank/IMF and the Nigerian Government. The reason adduced was to attracts financial assistance from the major global financial institutions under the administration of President Good Luck Ebele Jonathan[3].

In this case, findings from most of the participants in the interviews obviously confirmed the pervasive dimensions of neoliberalism in the Nigerian oil sector. This was interrogated with adequate insights into the various neoliberal reforms in the current Republic. As revealed, major neoliberal policies and reforms introduced in Nigeria's oil and gas sector during the Fourth Republic encapsulates the following:

Deregulation of Downstream Petroleum Sector – it is the efforts to reduce state control and encourage private sector participation, notably through fuel subsidy removals and market-driven pricing mechanisms.

Privatization Initiatives - that is, divestment of government stakes in key oil and gas assets, such as the sale of refineries and the liberalization of oil marketing. These aimed to enhance efficiency and attract foreign and local investment.

Local Content Policy - is concerned with the 2010 Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development Act, which mandates increased participation of Nigerian firms and workforce in the sector, reflecting neoliberal principles of fostering local entrepreneurship within a global framework.

Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) 2021 - is as a transformative reform created a legal framework to reduce bureaucratic inefficiencies, ensure clarity in revenue sharing, and promote private sector investment. And what is called

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Joint Ventures Restructuring - that is, transitioning state oil partnerships from joint ventures to profit-sharing or service contracts, reducing the government's financial exposure.

In this finding, a specific indicator of neoliberalism was distinguished as the nucleus of the entire facets of neoliberal reforms in the sector, which was significantly conceptualized as the game changer;

> *"The key one that became the game changer is the new one we are on to now, which is the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) of 2021 and which has been going back and forth in the National Assembly for like 12-14years, but eventually it was passed into Act. It was passed and signed by the then President in August 2021 and since then we have started the implementation"* (KII, December 3, 2024).

Overall, the findings underscored that implementation of neoliberal policies in Nigeria's oil and gas sector during the Fourth Republic has been mixed, with notable progress and significant challenges: As examined in Table 4.2.1, the implementation of neoliberal ideas in the oil sector is perceived as satisfactory with only 39% agreed that they were effectively executed, which represents the perceptions of the protagonists on the reforms.

Also, some of the results in the interviews articulated that a very notable success in the implementation, is the creation of Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission (NUPRC), then the Nigerian Mainstream and Downstream Petroleum Regulatory Authority (NMDPRA). These two are adjudged successes from the new policies implemented in this Republic as they have been working well. That is, two regulators now exist to manage the upstream and another one managing the mainstream and downstream.

To further substantiate the above in term of its implementation, conversion of NNPC from a government corporation to a limited liability company (i.e commercial entity) was essentially identified. Putting differently, as argued in the literature, a section of the Petroleum Industry

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Act unequivocally states the total ideological transformation of the NNPC from hitherto public entity to an entity of business orientation, a shift in the delivery of social goods and services to private services[4].

The section in the PIA clearly provides that:

> *"NNPC Limited and any of its subsidiaries shall conduct their affairs on a commercial basis in a profitable and efficient manner without recourse to Government funds... and NNPC Limited shall operate as a Companies and Allied Matters Act entity, declare dividends to its shareholders and retain 20% of profits as retained earnings to grow its business."* (KII, November 8, 2024).

This action is perceived as a fantastic decision accompanying a progressive implementation of the policy in the sector. Meanwhile, it is important to note that dominant perceptions regarding the failure of neoliberal reforms in the oil sector constitute 42% from Table 4.2.1. This percentage of antagonists' views corroborates the preponderant opinions of participants in the interviews. As a result, it was maintained that although successes summarized in the foregoing probably indicate progress in key areas, challenges like corruption, policy inconsistency, and social inequality hamper the positive impacts of the policy. Again, most of them agreed that weak institutions have also reduced the success of neoliberal framework in the sector. That is, regulatory and enforcement bodies often lack the capacity and independence to ensure compliance, particularly with environmental and fiscal policies. This view further echoes the thrust of institutional theory as applied in the study. It posits that Nations with institutional stability tends to enjoy more favourable growth outcomes from both oil and non-oil revenues, underscoring the import of institutional reforms for achieving sustainable development[5].

In fact, significant aspect of the findings about the implementation and consequences of the neoliberal reforms have been captured as failure, for it is entirely predicated on Petroleum Industry Act, which is neoliberal in nature. Hence, it contends,

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> *"The PIA is what is driving implementation in this situation. The Acts have been brought down by ownership. The PIA itself was also not owned by Nigeria. The PIA is a product of politics. So, implementation is also brought down by politics"* (KII, November 6, 2024).

Again, this position gained more support in the argument of certain interviewees by emphasizing that neoliberalism in the oil sector has currently promoted more dependency, poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment; misery and poverty; high cost of living/inflation; economic backwardness and underdevelopment; falling standard of living; insecurity and high crime rates as justified by the postulation of dependency theory in the literature. That is, Nigeria, an African country, is not left out of the viciousness of neoliberal measure and imperialism; in reality, imperial rule has contributed considerably to the disarticulation of Nigeria's economy, which has in turn encouraged underdevelopment[6].

### 4.3.2 What is the Extent of the Efficacy of the Role of State in the Current Process of Oil Sector?

In this discourse, state is perhaps seen as the political entity which is created usually for not profit making, but to engage the society in the steady delivery of essential political goods and services to the people[7]. In this section, question about the necessity of the role of state concerning the affairs of oil and gas energy in the Nigeria's current Republic has elicited different explanations from the findings of the study. To start with, while considering the question regarding the fundamental role and significance of state in the process of oil energy, about 70% majority respondents in Table 4.2.3 apparently agreed and appreciated the critical role of government in ensuring success of the sector.

This survey result nevertheless contrasts with the perceptions of some participants in the interviews who believed that Government should not play any critical role in the production and

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distribution of oil resources in the sector. In this explanation, the role of state should be restricted to the provision of regulatory framework and serve as a watchdog.

However, in the evaluation of the effective role of the state so far in the oil energy since the inception of the Fourth Republic, findings from the interviews established that Governments are essential in regulating the oil and gas industry to ensure safe and sustainable operations and of course the Ministry of Petroleum Resources as the policy institution has evolved significantly, especially after the enactment of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) in 2021, which oversees the entire petroleum sector, from exploration to downstream activities aimed to increase transparency and attract investments while ensuring better governance of petroleum resources.

While the above finding simply supports the 38% disagreed that, state has not been effective in the oil sector as indicated in the survey from Table 4.2.3, the argument of many participants in the interview expressed some degree of dissatisfaction against that, and maintained that the role of government in the sector has been very weak and not even in the period prior to the PIA, where government regulatory oversight of the sector through the NNPC has always been defective. The NNPC, oftentimes look the other way, why the multinational oil company would not throw up show over oil communities.

> *"The NNPC usually look away even when the multinational oil company also fail to discharge, their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) to our oil producing communities and apart from the NNPC, including the police, army, and other security agencies that are involved in the monitoring of the oil and gas sector so often look away from the multinational oil company to take the Nigerian crude oil"* (KII, November 10, 2024).

Sharing similar perception, the submission of a participant in the interview asserts that Government has not been playing any leading and effective role in the oil sector. This is because

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those in government don't even understand the nuances, the dynamics, and the processes which govern the oil and gas. And once you don't understand something, there is no way you can make any meaningful progress.

In the same vein, it was advanced from the findings that, in terms of the effectiveness of the role being played, there are lot of lapses in it. The sector is known for serially experiencing an incidence of corruption. In terms of how many barrels of oil is extracted, and sold, data on such information is still opaque. There is a lot of information about the sector that is not so clear. And in recent years, we have had tradition of government presidents appointing themselves also as petroleum minister[8].

Besides, it is implied from the findings that persistent issues of rent-seeking, embezzlement, and lack of transparency undermine the efficiency of government agencies. Also, frequent reversals, especially regarding subsidy policies and deregulation efforts, have led to instability and weakened market confidence. It is equally argued that despite the frameworks, the government struggles to enforce environmental standards, resulting in persistent oil spills, gas flaring, and ecological degradation.

In emphasis, the finding provides that government has not effectively diversified the economy, leaving the country vulnerable to global oil price fluctuations. Adding that Government efforts to address grievances in oil-producing regions, such as through the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), have been inadequate, fuelling tensions and unrest.

The above perspective was equally reinforced by the finding of a participant in the interview,

> *"The government has been a slave to capital; demonstrating that the state is the Executive committee of the ruling class as said by the Communist Manifesto"* (KII, December 3, 2024).

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It is imperative to connect this line of argument to the point articulated in the literature whereby open prejudice was expressed by such anti-poverty measures as subsidy withdrawal in the petroleum industry, government cutbacks on social sectors, currency devaluation, among others[9]. A situation that has continued to prevent the state from playing effective intervention to pursue any endogenous economic policies in the critical sector of oil and gas. To strengthen this position, a pungent assertion in the interview contends,

> *"If we don't have control over our exports, if we don't have control over the production of our raw material for national resources. Government control in the oil sector is still weak, as it is today"* (KII, November 10, 2024).

There must be more government regulation in that sector to ensure that multinationals or other multi-layers, or upstream players, have to practice within what is optimum in our part of the world.

This is the more reason majority respondents of 67% in Table 4.2.3 of the survey agreed that political interests driving policy-making in the petroleum sector are capitalist orientation and externally generated. Not only that, findings from the interviews also agreed that the interest is rent-seeking and pursuit of policies principally to satisfy foreign powers. In other words, the findings provide that the main political interests driving neo-liberalism, as far as energy is concerned, have been located on two platforms of local level, as expressed in the political class and the global level, as expressed in the International Oil Companies (IOCs) and their parent governments.

As further argued,

> *"..... the key interest, in that sense, behind the Neo-liberal arrangement in the oil and gas sector in Nigeria, often promotes the interest of the multinational oil company and also the interest of the comprador, bourgeoisie class in Nigeria"* (KII, January 6, 2025).

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It is the cumulative effect of this interest that ushered in the various neoliberal approaches being implemented in the Nigeria's oil sector with the prominent one being the Petroleum Industry Act of 2021 during the administration of Buhari. Significant to the overview of this Act, it was emphasized in the empirical study from the point of view of labour and the larger society, including communities in the oil-producing areas, that there is no single representative of any union or the central labour organisations or community in the oil producing areas in the Board of the Commission. The labour movement is totally excluded, in spite of the enormous powers of the Commission[10]. By this, many relevant social classes have been alienated automatically from the decision making in the oil sector. This is the implication of the interest behind neoliberal ideology in the oil sector in which the interest of the political class is considered above any other social classes because of the tendency for primitive accumulation of resources from the oil resources.

In essence, majority perceptions elicited from the interviews concerning this question agreed that the main interest driving the oil sector is capitalist agenda, that is under neoliberalism, is to make the sector private driven. While this was identified as the main economic interest driving the sector, the political interest from a Nigerian perspective is that government officials or those in power have vested interest in this sector because of how crucial it is to the allocation of values in our political system. So, one of the critical interests that drive political actors in that sector is gaining control over the resources in that sector, because having control over it means you have a critical say in the allocation of values because that is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy.

Again, because of the nature of the industry, it is externally driven in terms of consumption. It is managed in a renter-like manner. So, the policies and the reforms that have been pursued are

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policies that align with that goal. The reason is that the oil and gas sector in Nigeria serves external consumers more.

As a result, foreign actors have developed vested interest in the sector and that harmony of interest plays a critical role in the alliance of both the political interests of the ruling class and the foreign actors. So, at this level of interest, it somehow shapes the kind of neoliberal policies they make. This confirms that Multinational Corporations are still central to the operational framework in the Nigerian petroleum energy. The finding succinctly captures,

> *"They are still here. What some of them are doing is to move into deep offshore. They are selling their operations in the near offshore and in the inland bins. But they are going deep offshore when they think that their drilling activities are more secure. They are thinking Nigeria is cheap for them. What they are doing is restructuring their operations"* (KII, January10, 2025).

However, the point being made from the findings is that Government only leads to the extent that it fosters neoliberal principles in essence by deriving more profits from the people in favour of the few classes that control the economy. Thus,

> *"Nigeria is a captured state, a captured one on behalf of corporations and individuals who run government in the oil and gas sector in Nigeria on behalf of businesses against interests of the people"* (KII, January 6, 2025).

In other words, it indicates that reforms and policies in the sector are initiated towards more competitive participation of private businesses or private owners as the effective role of government in the sector is being undermined in a way that shows international income. It must be stressed that Government ensure upper hand in a negotiation with the multinationals without negotiating out the future of the country.

Furthermore, it is agreed that a lot of weakness in all this, especially the issues of landing costs, where crude oil has been taken out. It is in this sense that the theory of state interventionism vehemently argues that states should be firm enough to exercise their control over non-state

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actors while keeping to be independent of, responding to, and steering the non-state agents as they also use their authority to enact interventionist policies that are consistent with the economics school[11].

### 4.3.3 How have the Neoliberal Reforms in the Sector Contributed to the Wellbeing of the People during the Fourth Republic?

There is no doubt that neoliberal reforms in the oil and gas sector since the inception of the current Republic have not raised heated debates vis-à-vis the well-beings of the people. Although in the literature, neoliberal policies are made to appear as the most rational response to inevitable, but efficient forces, it is on the contrary that the findings from the survey and the qualitative interviews have furthered intensified the debates regarding its contributions to human development in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. From the survey data in Table 4.2.3, preponderant percentage of the respondents (87%) agreed that different groups have been affected by the neoliberal policies in the oil sector[3].

This fact is strongly supported by the findings from the interviews with majority participants alluding to the fact that neoliberal policies in the oil sector have currently succeeded in forcing hardship and massive hunger on the people. The people are so overwhelmed that they do not know what to do. It is as a result of the consequences of neoliberal policies in Nigeria that the general high cost of living, the increasing corruption, the increasing terrorism and banditry are growing day by day. It indicates that companies that can no longer manufacture efficiently because of the high cost of inputs are closing up and it is rapidly leading to unemployment. It was more agitated that,

> *"People who are already employed are losing their jobs. The ones who are coming out of the universities do not have places to work. So, the unemployment pool is getting larger. As the unemployment pool gets larger, vices increase"* (KII, November 6, 2024).

Above views are rather undisputable on the basis that oil sector is a very crucial component of human living condition in Nigeria. As sharply advanced in the literature, whatever happens in the oil sector affects the direction and fortune of the entire economy, positively or negatively. The reason being that the relationship between the price of fuel and the prices of all other goods and services, the fortunes and misfortunes of the oil and gas sector have implications for the wellbeing of ordinary people[12].

Furthering the argument, it is crucial to underscore from the findings that major stakeholders affected adversely are the working people. They constitute the majority in the society. And the working people are those who set their labour in order to make ends meet. In these categories are workers, unemployed youth, and students. These are the major stakeholders who have been the victims of this neo liberal reforms as many of them have lost their jobs and their income base.

Corroborating the above perspectives, there is strong agreement as noted in the survey Table 4.2.3 with majority (75%) respondents that neoliberal reforms have actually generated more unintended consequences and challenges, emphasizing their adverse implications and unforeseen outcomes for human development. As a result, the findings of interviews further confirmed that several unintended consequences and unforeseen challenges have emerged from neoliberal reforms in Nigeria's oil and gas sector during the Fourth Republic as it affects the welfarism of the society.

In this connection, the findings posit that deregulation and market-driven pricing exposed Nigeria's economy to greater vulnerability during oil price crashes, complicating fiscal stability. Again, privatization has disproportionately benefited political elites and well-connected

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individuals, leading to concerns about crony capitalism rather than broad-based economic growth. Yet, while the reforms aimed to attract private investment, the anticipated growth in refining capacity and downstream infrastructure has been slow, leaving Nigeria reliant on fuel imports.

More significantly from the findings is that policies such as subsidy removal have disproportionately burdened low-income households, increasing living costs and fuelling public dissent. Recent argument as represented aligned with this finding with respect to the fact that many Nigerians face daunting social and economic challenges against the backdrop of renewed importation of petroleum products in the country, about six months after the practice was officially suspended. This explains numerous concerns about the far-reaching impact on the nation's foreign reserves which would ultimately push the naira into deeper depreciation and stoke inflation. It was also articulated that that the development might worsen the socio-economic situation in the country, which has exposed the majority of Nigerians to severe hardship due to the sudden removal of fuel subsidy and devaluation of the naira in June 2023[13].

Indeed, from this point of view of fuel subsidy removal from the source, the interview posits that "it has led to the co-operate administration of the income of the working class, or young people, with 200 companies or there about leaving the shores of Nigeria in the last one and half years as a result of the very terrible operating environment that has been created by the huge rise in prices of fuel, something which also means that the operational costs of the companies, of course, also will be shoot up. And, of course, the departure of those companies also means that the unemployment situation in Nigeria gets further worse. Because of the role that oil plays in Nigeria and in the economy, it also means that, rise in the price of the petroleum products has impacted the prices of other commodities including pharmaceutical, cost of transportation, as

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well as the cost of the food. Now, Nigeria is experiencing what I previously described, as the worth form of living crisis in this generation. Now, never in the previous years as Nigeria experienced this cost of living in a complete and absolute economic devastation which has happened in the Nigeria today as a result of neo-liberal reforms in the oil sector"[14].

Meanwhile from Table 4.2.3 survey, only 27% believed these policies have improved living standards or alleviated poverty, while 52% disagreed. This reflects that neoliberalism in the sector contributes less to the socioeconomic concerns of the people with the rising cost of basic food following the removal of subsidy as announced since May 29, 2023. Relating the above findings to the empirical studies in the literature, it is argued that participation and positive contributions of informal sector have been undermined by the implication of market forces as occasioned in the neoliberal reforms on social service expenditures, subsidy removal, interest/exchange rates, trade liberalization and oil sector deregulation. These measures did not only aggravate the poverty state of operators but also invariably reduced human development in the sector[15].

However, another dimension of the consequences of the reforms on human development was identified from the interviews that,

> *"Local communities in the oil-producing regions have continue to feel marginalized, as the benefits of reforms rarely translate into improved living conditions or environmental restoration"* (KII, January 20, 2025).

It was agreed in addition that this is as a result of weak enforcement of environmental laws which has allowed oil companies to continue harmful practices, including oil spills and gas flaring, exacerbating ecological degradation.

Not only that, the findings argue that neoliberal policies are achieving what they are tailored to achieve;

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> *".....destroys the economy of Nigeria by increased dependency, debt overhang, control of the economy by international capital, increase the rate of capital accumulation, impoverish the Nigerian people and underdevelopment the country"* (KII, December 3, 2024).

In supportive of the view, literature emphasized slower economic growth, reduced consumer spending and higher prices for goods and services as the adverse consequences of neoliberal reforms in the oil and gas sector[15]. On human development, although the consequences of the neoliberal reforms are overwhelmingly observed on the well-being of the people, by extension its implication for international political economy was indicated in the finding as postulated in the interview.

> *...but the consequences are at the level of global imperialism, is to keep African countries down, dynamic that global production is disrupted, so that Africans continue to export unfinished goods to the global world, and of course so the profit realization"* (KII, November 10, 2024).

The above perspective substantiates the relevance of dependency theory as applied in this study with respect to the forceful integration of pre-capitalist Nigerian economy into the advanced global capitalist architecture, as a peripheral state by the colonial masters. This has reinforced the destruction of the rich and varied political systems, and social structure of the society, and the creation of new productive economic activities based on the need of foreign capitalist states. The implication is located in discouraging indigenous economic initiative and creative potentials, thereby focusing on the production of primary resources for the economic concern of the west[16].

However, the interviews findings argue that different stakeholders have played critical roles in either promoting or resisting neoliberal reforms in Nigeria's oil and gas sector. Thus, while government and its agencies, private sector, International Oil Companies, powerful international institutions popularly known as IMF/World Bank have continued to promote

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neoliberal reforms in the sector, stakeholders such as local communities, Labour Union, Civil Society Organizations, Trade Union Congress, environmental activists and academic of critical ideological leanings have been in the forefront of agitation against neoliberal framework in the current Republic of oil and gas sector.

As a matter of fact, the studies in the literature maintain that oil and gas sector is the barometer with which to measure and anticipate the momentum of state-civil society relationships, agitations and struggles by the disadvantaged classes[14]. This is in agreement with the findings as further advanced that the masses are totally alienated from what is going on in the oil sector because the management is done in a rentier-like manner. The neoliberal policies seem to favour the big industries who are players in the sector. So, the words of this policy have not really been translated into qualitative development or growth for the citizens.

The people remain impoverished, despite profits or enormous gains from the sector. That is the reason for emphasis of the unintended consequences of this neoliberal reform is that there has been severe alienation of the people in the entire process. The finding represents its backlash through the political unrest often associated with the oil and gas sector in those communities because of lack of responsibility on the part of government to hold some companies accountable for the health risk.

As sharply captured,

> *... the citizens have been the worst victims or have been the most negatively affected by neoliberal reforms because government claims of gains, growth of the industry, and growth in revenue has not significantly translated into the common man's life* (KII, December 22, 2024).

By and large, it was critically noted in the findings that organized labour have been very active, such as TUC, in advocating for eradication of neo-liberal policies that are always advancing a

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higher cost in the petroleum products in Nigerian economy. This was equally proved with the August 1, 2024 hunger protest and "Occupy Nigeria" following the fuel subsidies removal in 2012[17]. Regrettably, finding from one of the participants in the interview summarized that,

> *"…trade union movement essentially has been betrayed by its leadership within the past years. It is completely sold out within the past and the experience of the past 18 months is terrible"* (KII, November 10, 2024).

In short, neoliberal reforms aim to create a more efficient market environment, they are rapidly posing significant challenges on the well-being of the people which require careful management and consideration of social equity and environmental sustainability.

### 4.3.4 What are the Possible Alternatives to Neoliberal Measures in the Oil Sector of the Current Administration?

The significant impacts of neoliberal policies have been unarguably underscored by data from both qualitative interviews and the survey. In other words, findings in this section highlight the perceptions on the possible governing policy in the oil sector as against the prevailing neoliberal approach.

To be specific, while majority of respondents (65%) in Table 4.2.4 agreed that neoliberal measures have failed the oil sector and society, only 13% expressed disagreement. In this light, privatization is widely identified as the key indicating failure of neoliberalism, with 74% agreed that it allows powerful capitalists to exploit public of its oil resources.

Against this backdrop, finding from an interviewee is positive of socialization of the means of production as well as domestic production of refinery as the only antidote to nip the neoliberal presence characterizing the oil and gas sector in the bud[18]. This perspective echoes the submission in the empirical study as argued within the Marxian theoretical postulation that "resolving basic conflicts in oil capitalism requires socialized coordination of society and the

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economy by productive forces. This requires calls for collective ownership of the oil resources between the working class and the oil producing community"[18].

However, in adequate thought, the interview expressed that oil and gas resources should be fully nationalized. Such that it is going to be Nigeria as a refinery and it is under the democratic control and management of the people. Meaning that every member of the board that manages this refinery should be elected from workers that work in that refinery. Starting from trainers, to gardeners, to engineers, to the administrative staff. If you have a Board of committee that have representative of each component of the refinery, it means that every money meant, for the running and operation of that refinery, will be traditionally used and managed. It is argued because the trainer will not dare and expect to allow the money meant to buy equipment for the trainer to be stolen. The security will not allow the money that is meant to provide equipment for their security to be stolen[18]. The second alternative suggested, goes to the NNPC which has been privatized, which has been handed over or taken over by the billionaires. This idea of having members of the board of this institution be nominated by the politicians is not going to make the operation of these institutions to be successful. In fact, it is going to promote corruption because;

> *".... they will not be answerable to the workers who are working there. They will be deriving authority from those who appointed them. And the last is that our, what is it called? More refinery has to be built in order to ensure that, I mean, the local needs, the local consumption needs of the veteran working people is met adequately and attended"* (KII, December 10, 2024).

The survey result in Table 4.2.4 is strongly optimistic and supportive of the availability of viable alternatives to replace neoliberal reforms, as 80% of respondents support the view. Also, participant views agreed by highlighting a comparative perspective, this concentration of power has been seen under various leaders, including Obasanjo, Buhari, and now Tinubu. To

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effectively address corruption, Nigeria can learn from countries like Brazil, which have developed strategies to separate revenue-related and regulation-related responsibilities[14].

Again, part of the alternative policy is to establish the Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) alternative energy to run most of our transportation industry. Though, they have just started, but by the time they progress on that more, we have comparative advantage on the storage of gas today in Nigeria as we are one of the biggest owners of gases in the world. To put in concrete term,

> *"We have like 200 trillion cubic feet. So, if we will be able to utilize our gases more than the fuel, definitely that will fall down the price"* (KII, January 12, 2025).

Transformation of the oil system from fossil fuel to compressed gas is expected to yield the best as an identified alternative in this perspective.

While most of the views in the findings repudiate the extant governing policy in the sector, much hope was expressed in favour of the prevailing neoliberal policy in the oil and sector in with the participant who maintains,

> *"...we are still watching, still implementing the PIA. This first phase of implementation, I think it is five years. From 2021 to 2026. That is the first phase. After which we will look at the loopholes? What are the challenges? Things that were not covered and will be reviewed. Watch again, if there is a sincerity of purpose in the implementation, it is going to be perfect very soon. Now or later the document will be a perfect one but if there's no sincerity of purpose to go back to where we came, from flying pan to fire"* (KII, November 8, 2024).

However, it was only noted that NNPC control room is nothing, but Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning will be very useful in that area of monitoring and measuring production in terms of smuggling and diversion of oil trucks[16].

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The alternative to this is that the state needs to have a strong regulation of the oil and gas industry. Taking into cognizance the fundamental role of government in the oil sector, its regulation was further reiterated,

> *"You see, it's not that government will say they don't have business in business. That government must be committed to doing business. The act of governance is business of its own. You know? We must see it as regulating what we have"* (KII, January 7, 2025).

The implication of the above is that without adequate regulation of Government the sector will continue to suffer without satisfying the needs of the people. The more reason a participant in the interview was advocating for global south cooperation. This becomes necessary as aptly put,

> *"Nigeria only gets 5% of the resources from the oil, just 5%! The rest goes outside. How can we address this imbalance? That is the challenge and this is why I'm advocating the South-South Cooperation"* (KII, January 8, 2025).

With respect to external relations and Nigerian petroleum policy articulated in the empirical study, it is interesting to fit the above argument into one of the recommendations identified. That is, "approaching Third World countries which are fairly versed in the sophisticated technology of the oil industry for technological expertise" will be significant to addressing oil crisis in the Nigerian economy[19].

In emphasis, finding of another interview provides further that numerous alternative policy approaches and models could be considered for governing Nigeria's oil and gas sector, each with its own set of potential benefits and drawbacks. Some of these approaches are highlighted below:

- Sustainable Development Model: This model prioritizes environmental protection, social equity, and economic development. It emphasizes the need for responsible resource

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management, minimizing environmental impacts, and ensuring that the benefits of oil and gas development are shared equitably among all stakeholders.

- Resource Nationalism Model: This model emphasizes state ownership and control of oil and gas resources to ensure that the benefits of resource extraction are more equitably distributed across the population. It aims to maximize economic benefits for the host country and minimize foreign influence.
- National Development Model: This approach prioritizes using oil revenues to fund national development goals, including infrastructure, education, and healthcare. It supports long-term economic diversification and industrialization, improves public services and infrastructure and reduces vulnerability to oil price fluctuations[19].
- Public-Private Partnership Model: This model involves collaboration between the government and private companies in the oil and gas sector. It can leverage the strengths of both sectors, such as government regulation and private sector innovation and efficiency.
- Community-Based Management Model: This model empowers local communities to participate in decision-making processes related to oil and gas development. It aims to ensure that the needs and concerns of local communities are addressed and that they benefit from resource development.
- Energy Source Diversification Model: To reduce dependency on oil revenues, Nigeria could explore diversification strategies. Integrating Oil with sectors will sustainability and energy security
- Green Transition and Decarbonization Model: This aligns the country energy policies towards global commitment to decarbonize or use less carbon-intensive petroleum products. This

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could be Phased reduction of gas flaring and stringent penalties for non-compliance, Investments in renewable energy projects using oil revenues.

- Local Content Policy Development model: Builds on Nigeria's existing local content laws to ensure greater participation of Nigerian companies and workers in the oil and gas industry. This aims to promotes economic empowerment and skills development, reduces dependency on foreign expertise and imports and enhances long-term sustainability of the sector.
- Hybrid Model/Neostructuralist Model: this combines neoliberal and interventionist policies to balance market efficiency with social equity and environmental protection. This balances economic growth with equitable development, ensures a diversified economy while leveraging oil revenues and protects national interests alongside public welfare[19].

As noted in the literature, thrust of the state interventionist theory is not disconnected from the core of the foregoing alternatives particularly the hybrid model/neostructuralist. State interventionism in the context of crises has represented and assumed a pillar of society and the protection of citizens and the national real economy[2]. It emphasizes the role of the state in driving economic development, including in the oil and gas sector. The state would maintain control over key assets and decision-making processes.

However, analysis of prospects of oil and gas sector under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu presents some findings revealing pessimism on one hand and considerable optimism on the other hand with caveats based on implementation assessment. For instance, it was confidently said,

> *"The prospect of the oil and gas sector in Nigeria under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration looks promising, with a focus on reforms and incentives to attract investment and boost economic growth with the instruments of Local Content Compliance, Contracting Costs and Timelines investors"* (KII, January 7, 2025).

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Similar to this perspective, the finding underscores that one of the key actions taken by the administration includes the introduction of executive orders to streamline the contracting process, compressing it to six months. This is part of an effort to reduce bureaucratic delays and improve the overall efficiency of oil and gas projects. There is also a focus on advancing the "Decade of Gas" agenda, which encourages the utilization of natural gas through tax exemptions and incentives, aiming to diversify Nigeria's energy mix[2].

This perspective agreed that overall, the prospects for the oil and gas sector under Tinubu's leadership seem positive, especially if the policies are effectively implemented.

In contrast to the above submissions, findings of majority participants in the interviews indicates pessimism about the prospects of oil and gas under the current administration. As expressed from the perspective of a participant in the interview, "the administration of Bola Ahmed Tinubu has not hidden its desire to pursue unashamedly neoliberal Bretton woods policies starting with the so-called removal of fuel subsidy which basically is nothing more than a massive increase in pump prices of petrol products which has led to massive inflation and impoverishment of the mass of the populace. No doubt the government will continue on this path as the president has vowed to do. The presidential orders and fiscal incentives to boost foreign investment in the oil and gas sector are also invariably entrenching the neoliberal policies[2].

In agreement with little or no future in the oil and gas sector under the current administration, it is further argued that following neoliberalism this regime will continue to dance to the tone of IMF/World Bank. The next round, in expectation is further hike in the price of PMS, because we have been informed that the price of PMS in Nigeria is going to be dictated by the international price of crude which, in our own case, is in jeopardy. We are still importing PMS,

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while Dangote is also breaking his own. Now, the exchange rate of the Naira is also fluctuating. Now, as long as the Naira continues to lose its value, the price will continue to increase[2].

As a matter of fact,

> *"This class of people will increase prices without anybody questioning them. So, the price will continue to increase and as long as the price continues to increase, and as long as the public refineries are undermined by politicians and their fat cats in businesses, they will continue increasing prices in the oil and gas sector"* (KII, January10, 2025).

Thus, the oil and gas sector will continue to work against the Nigerian people, as long as this present administration remains in power. So, it indicates that oil and gas sector should not be expected to now begin to contribute positively to the lives of Nigerians within these four years. What is puzzling noticeable is that the "Western economic powers, notably the US and the UK, that support neoliberal economic employ their socio-political and culturally-evolved strategies to provide benefits to politically privileged groups – such as farmers and the disadvantaged and elderly, in forms of food stamps (US) and winter fuel allowances (UK). Although such welfare provision has become far less generous in the past few decades, it seems paradoxical that these powerful countries are encouraging Nigeria, with vast natural resources such as petroleum and gas, to embrace demonstrably ineffective Western model and remove welfare that benefits more than 80% of Nigerians living in poverty, that is, subsidies on petroleum products[2].

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# Chapter Five

# Conclusion

## 5.1 Summary of Findings

This study was mainly designed to interrogate politics of neoliberalism in the petroleum energy of Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Against this backdrop, it engaged specific objectives and issues which include the nature of neoliberal framework in oil and gas sector of the Fourth Republic, efficacy of the role of state in the current process of oil sector, neoliberal reforms and its contributions to the wellbeing of the people in the current Republic and assessment of possible alternatives to neoliberal measures in the oil and gas sector of the current administration. By way of triangulation., data presentation, analysis and discussions of findings were approached from primary data of survey and qualitative interviews. Moreso, analysis of the findings was equally guided by various relevant theoretical orientations and significant empirical studies as reviewed in the literature together with secondary documentary sources.

From the demographic characteristics of the respondents, majority are self-employed (especially from the survey), followed by those in public and private employment. Meanwhile, demographic characteristics of the qualitative interviews indicates some preponderant percentage of participants with public and private employment particularly from organized Labour Movements. This reflects a significant reliance on entrepreneurship, possibly due to limited formal job opportunities in the sector on one hand, and on the other hand a major factor of public employment opportunity.

The educational qualifications of respondents showed a high level of literacy, with most holding at least a bachelor's degree and some especially in the qualitative interviews already engaged

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the issues in terms of scholarship as established scholars and activists in oil politics and critical political economy perspectives. This suggests that the views expressed in the study are product of adequately informed and educated audience, which have greatly influenced their understanding of the subject of investigation. Religious and regional data spread highlighted a predominance of Christian respondents and a strong representation from the South-West region. This demographic imbalance could have influenced the overall findings, as different regions and religions might have varying experiences with the sector. Nonetheless, certain percentage of participants were recorded from the East, South-South and Northern Nigeria generally in the interview analysis. Thus, 86.67%. response rate was recorded in the survey process, while about 20 KIIs participants was out of 25 initially identified in the methodology. This represents greater participation in the study.

However, findings from the first objective provided insights into the key neoliberal reforms introduced in the oil and gas sector during the Fourth Republic, the economic, social, and environmental impacts of neoliberal policies on the oil & gas sector and the questions about challenges and successes being experienced at implementation stage. It confirms since the Nigeria's Fourth Republic began in 1999, neoliberal policies and reforms have been introduced in the oil and gas sector to promote economic liberalization, encouraging private sector participation, and further address inefficiencies within the sector. These reforms sought to align Nigeria's energy policies with global best practices, attracting investment, increasing transparency, and enhancing regulatory frameworks.

In this sense, the study specifically encapsulates the key neoliberal policies introduced in the sector to include deregulation of downstream petroleum sector, commercialization (with the conversion of NNPC to NNPCL) and privatization initiatives, Local Content Policy (LCP), Joint

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Ventures Restructuring (JVR) and notably the passage of Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) in 2021 which is conceptualized as the game changer in the current oil and gas sector of the country. While arguably adducing certain successes such as partial deregulation of the downstream sector with private participation, Local Content Act fostering growth in indigenous participation, with Nigerian companies now playing significant roles in the sector and the chief PIA clarifying regulatory frameworks seen to be attracting investment, the findings emphatically highlights that they have deepened social inequalities and failed to adequately address environmental sustainability, raising questions about their holistic effectiveness.

In assessing the efficacy of the extent of the role of state in the process of oil and gas sector in the Fourth Republic, the study interrogates how political actors and institutions interact in shaping energy policies and regulatory frameworks, the main political interests and agendas driving energy policy-making under neoliberalism and the effectiveness of the role of government in the entire processes of oil and gas sector. Based on this, the findings established that the interplay of political actors (Executive, Ministry of Petroleum Resources, State Government, Legislature etc) and institutions (Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, National Petroleum Investment Management Services, Organized Labour Movements etc)) reflects a complex balance of power, regional interests, and external pressures, which collectively shape Nigeria's energy policies with respect to oil and gas.

Also, it posits that the major interest driving energy policy making under neoliberalism is market forces and drive for primitive capital accumulation as succinctly captured in the analysis. In effect, the main political interests driving neo-liberalism as far as energy is concerned have been located at two levels of analysis. That is, domestic level expressed in the political class and the international level inform of the International Oil Companies and their parent

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governmental institutions notably known as World Bank and IMF. It is against this backdrop the study argues that Nigeria's policy on oil and gas sector is externally motivated with the presence of the IOCs under the pretext of restructuring their operations and the IM/World Bank neoliberal prescriptions such as subsidy removal, withdrawal of state participation and expenditure, inter alia. Although the study underlined the fundamental roles and the need for government to be effectively involved in the process of oil and gas sector as the pivot of Nigeria's economy, its roles have been undermined and rendered ineffective following the continuation of the neoliberal reforms in the sector with the overwhelming influences of the local and global agents of neoliberal ideology and institutions.

Arising from the findings on the neoliberal measures and the well-being of the people in the current Republic, the study addressed questions regarding unintended consequences or unforeseen challenges arising from neoliberal reforms, perspectives of different stakeholders being affected by these consequences, roles played by different stakeholders in promoting or resisting neoliberal reforms in the oil & gas sector. In this case, the findings on one hand shared opinions that favoured neoliberalism in the oil sector in the sense that it has increased private participation and attracting foreign investment with the effect of Petroleum Industry Act, on the other hand the study argued pungently that neoliberal reforms in the sectors have contributed negatively to human development especially with respect to its various manifestations in the recent times through various privatization initiatives, reannouncement of subsidy removal from the petroleum products in 2023 by the current President of Nigeria.

Not only that, the study revealed how the reforms have affected largely the mass of the society with the rising cost of transportation, food, education, among other basic needs that usually promote well-being of the people. As noted in the literature, the reason for this is not far-fetched,

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it is because oil and gas resources constitute the core of Nigeria's economy which translates that whatever goes on in the sector will automatically determine the general behaviours in the economy. As a result, the study indicated that different stakeholders have played critical roles in either promoting or resisting neoliberal reforms in Nigeria's oil and gas sector with government, private sectors and International Oil Companies and World Bank/IMF supporting the reforms. However, major fractions of the Civil Society Organizations, Organized Labour Congress, PENGASSAN/NUPENG, scholars of critical political economy and the local communities have continued to critique the reforms through seminars, symposium and principally protests as evidenced in 2012, 2023, and so on even at the early stage of formulating the Petroleum Industry Act before it was finally passed and signed in 2021.

Following the attendant consequences of neoliberal framework on the well-beings of the people with little or adverse effects, the final findings underscored the possibility of alternatives to the existing neoliberalism in the oil and gas sector with respect to the prospects of oil and gas sector under the current administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu. In this light, the study noted that few perspectives support the existing neoliberal governing policy in the oil and gas sector. Meanwhile preponderant views agreed that the sector is due for a new governing policy as against the prevailing neoliberal framework. Hence, the study identified several alternatives such as Sustainable Development Model, Resource Nationalism Model, National Development Model, Public-Private Partnership Model, Community-Based Management Model, Energy Source Diversification Model, Green Transition and Decarbonization Model, Local Content Policy Development model. The import of this highlighted socialization and nationalization of the means of production as well as domestic production of petroleum resources. The study

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particularly argued for South-South Cooperation to benefit technological expertise from the sophisticated technology of the oil industry in the production of oil and gas in Nigeria.

In the main, the findings expressed dual perspectives concerning the prospects of oil and gas sector under the present administration. Whereas some findings agreed that prospects for the oil and gas sector under Tinubu's leadership seem positive, especially if the policies are effectively implemented with respect to the Petroleum Industry Act, among other aspects of neoliberal ideas currently guiding the sector, the dominant perspectives expressed pessimism that the administration has not hidden its desire to pursue unashamedly neoliberal Bretton woods policies starting with the so-called removal of fuel subsidy which basically is nothing more than a massive increase in pump prices of petrol products which has led to massive inflation and impoverishment of the mass of the populace. Given this situation, the prospect seems nothing but negative unless reversed and replaced with peoples'-oriented governing approach which embraces collective ownership of the oil resources as identified earlier identified.

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## 5.2 Conclusion

The core of this study is that neoliberalism (i.e market forces) has become dominant framework guiding the course of Nigeria's oil and gas sector since the beginning of the Fourth Republic. It takes the dimensions of deregulation, privatization, commercialization of the oil resources as evidenced in the passage of the Petroleum Industry Act in 2021 and the consequent conversion of Nigerian National Petroleum Company to a limited liability company which is suggestive of a commercial entity instead of an institution set up to providing public goods and services. Yet,

the study noted that implementation of this ideological initiatives has failed to address human development given the current challenges confronting the oil and gas sector in terms of corruption, lack of transparency, mutual distrust, partial and dishonest participation of government including private individuals who have become major institution. In fact, following the removal of fuel subsidy in 2023, this situation has rapidly increased poverty level, inflation, high cost of transportation, food scarcity, poor standard of living, unemployment, and insecurity in different dimensions on daily basis.

What is more, despite several protests and agitations at the levels of organized Labour, PENGASSAN/NUPENG, local communities, academics and the popular citizens, the neoliberal reforms have refused to achieve anything positive regarding the well-beings of the general populace. For instance, the country is still importing PMS because the news about the commencement of oil production at the Portharcourt refineries and others was in doubt which speaks to political distrust and failure of government as a critical institution concerning the needs of the people as far as oil sector is concerned. Of course, private owners like Dangote have been playing role in determining and controlling price of petrol. This is the more reason the study largely articulated lower hope on the prospect for oil and gas sector particularly under the current administration following the prevailing force of neoliberal reforms in the oil and gas sector without reversal. In spite of the perspective that support the existing neoliberal framework in the sector, the study largely aligns with alternatives policy approaches as majorly advanced in the findings such as nationalist approach and socialization of the oil resources to replace the existing neoliberal initiatives and promote collective ownership and public satisfaction.

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## 5.3 Recommendations

Flowing from the import of the findings with respect to the specific objectives of this study as critically engaged in the foregoing, the study recommends the followings:

1. South-South Cooperation in the operation of oil industry. Based on the finding it was established that Nigeria only gets lesser percentage share from her oil, while the rest goes into the hands of International Oil Companies. They are very powerful and still existing in Nigeria oil industry. Meanwhile there are countries in the global south who have been able to wrestle the oil companies to the ground. Countries such as Algeria, Mexico, Brazil etc. As a result, just in the spirit of south-south cooperation, the solution is to approach them on how they could help us to bypass the oil companies, and in the process, run the oil industry ourselves and eventually begin to appropriate the gains.
2. Government has been playing role in the oil and gas sector, but the findings highlighted deficiencies in the effectiveness of government involvement in the sector by abdicating the strategic concern of the economy to a private ownership and international investors who determine the course of actions in the oil sector. Therefore, state should be made to play strategic, proactive, honest, effective and purposefully fundamental role in the oil sector as the mainstay of Nigerian economy. No private individual should dictate the petroleum price for the society. It is a national and public resources for the benefits of the people
3. The current administration should shift away focus from patronizing IMF/World Bank's neoliberal prescriptions in the country's strategic sector, and embark on nationalist and state-led approach in the economy. An approach that prioritizes the wellbeing of the people. This will bring about enormous hope in the minds of the people by promoting positive support towards the administration.

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4. Sustainable Development and Green Energy Transition. Government should shift the focus of energy policies toward sustainability and diversification of energy sources, integrating renewable energy alongside oil and gas development.

## 5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

It is based on the objectives of these findings that the study contributes to knowledge by providing critical insights into the key neoliberal reforms implemented so far in the oil and gas sector of Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The study identified deregulation, privatization, commercialization, fuel subsidy removal, and the Petroleum Industry Act 2021 as the main neoliberal paradigms prevailing in the Nigeria's oil sector which has ensured the metamorphosis of Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation to NNPCL (i. e a commercial entity), thereby shifting focus away from providing public goods to commercial services, among others. The study found out that neoliberalism in the oil and gas sector has only aggravated the hitherto experienced crises in the Nigerian economy, with the sector being left in the hands of powerful individuals and industries who are invariably the key players in the sector, dictating the price of public products at will, and also controlling oil production.

Consequently, the study established that masses have been the most adversely affected stakeholders being at the receiving end to face the negative impacts on the standard of living and cost of living. The study argued that oil resources are intimately linked to the authoritative allocation of resources in Nigerian political system as a crucial sector of the economy. Hence, this research has shown that the major political interest driving neoliberal reforms in the Nigerian oil and gas sector is primitive accumulation of capital in form of rentier-mentality which is layered into local and international levels of interests.

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Based on this fact, the study articulated that the state has remained constantly distanced from satisfying the well-beings of the people, abdicating its key role to some big individuals, and rapidly becoming vulnerable to foreign penetration and domination of the resources which perpetually hinders the opportunity of local appropriation of gains from the oil resources in the country, while usually left with minimal shares. The research identified a lot of information about the oil and gas sector that is opaque due to the failure of state structure, which frequently undermines and raises transparency question about the state regarding what goes on in the sector. Given the failure of government as an institution of the state and its lack of nuances and dynamics of oil and gas matters, the study underscored the need for government to frequently engage experts in the field of oil politics in order to be guided in policy initiation and policy adoption in the oil and gas sector of the country.

Another notable contribution of the study is that from the findings, there is clear evidence that the current administration has continued to embrace neoliberal ideology of IMF/World Bank as the operating framework in the entire facets of the economy and particularly the oil and gas sector. This is despite its socio-economic, political and environmental pains on the society. Meanwhile the study has illuminated numerous governing alternative approaches to replace the neoliberal reforms currently taking lead in the sector for the purpose of achieving equitable, environment friendly and sustainable development. Above all, the research has provided implication for human development vis-à-vis the operation of oil resources in the country, that is, the state should as a matter of fact enter into global south cooperation in the operation of her oil industry to leverage the technology competence of the countries of perhaps the same colonial trajectory instead of looking up to the global North with their expected neoliberal entanglement.

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## 5.5 Suggested Areas for Further Research

Having satisfied the general objective of this study, the limitations and perhaps areas left uncovered have formed the gaps for further study. Thus, it is important to note that the methodological approach adopted, though mixed methods but while the quantitative focused on descriptive statistics of frequency distribution and simple percentage analysis, qualitative method applied only the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). To this effect, future study should consider inferential statistics to test the hypothesis through the relevant techniques. Also, the qualitative method should focus on either Focus Group Discussion (FGD) or Elite Interview to engage mainly the top officials and powerful individuals in the sector.

Neoliberal reforms have focused on maximizing oil and gas revenues, sidelining investment in sustainable energy sources and climate adaptation efforts. Future study should focus on the possibility of integrating renewable energy alongside oil and gas development in Nigeria

There is a need to research the efficiency of Nigerian Petroleum Company in the age of neoliberalism in the oil sector. This would aim to examine whether the situation has changed from what it used to be under public entity.

Given the situation that weak enforcement of environmental laws has allowed oil companies to continue harmful practices, including oil spills and gas flaring, exacerbating ecological degradation, there is need to research neoliberal reforms in the Nigerian oil sector and environmental regulation with respect to the current system.

Another promising area for further study is to explore comparative study of Nigeria oil sector and other sectors especially in the global south. This will open more windows to learn better for the improvement of the local oil system.

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Future study can also look into the dynamics of fuel subsidy regime and the development of oil sector in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

Lastly, the news about the commencement of production in some of the refineries in the country has left many in doubt because at the end no form of production was seen. In spite of the fact that this was massively reported in the major national newspapers. Hence, there is need to investigate political trust and the Nigerian oil sector in the Fourth Republic.

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A Scholar in Oil Politics, Interview by the Researcher, Lagos, January 8, 2025,

A Senior Staff in Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Interview by the Researcher, Abuja, December 10, 2024

A Senior Staff in Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Interview by the Researcher Abuja, November 8, 2024,

A Senior Staff in Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Interview by the Researcher, Abuja, January 9, 2025

A Senior Staff of NNPC, Interview by the Researcher, Kaduna, December 10, 2024

A Senior Staff of NNPC. Interview by the Researcher, Kaduna, January 7, 2025

A Senior Staff of NNPC. Interview by the Researcher, Warri, January 5, 2025

An Expert in Oil and Gas Resources, Interview by the Researcher, Lagos, January 12, 2025

An Expert in Oil Politics, Interview by the Researcher, Ibadan, January 20, 2025

Stakeholder of Civil Society Organization, Ilorin, December 6, 2024

Stakeholder of Civil Society Organization, Interview by the Researcher, Lagos, November 10, 2024

Stakeholder of Civil Society Organization, Interview by the Researcher, Lagos, November 10, 2024

Stakeholder of NUPENG, Interview by the Researcher, Lagos, November 10, 2024

Stakeholder of NUPENG, Interview by the Researcher, Lagos, November 10, 2024

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Stakeholder of Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Interview by the Researcher, Abuja, November 6, 2024

Stakeholder of PENGASSAN, Delta, January 7, 2025

Stakeholder of PENGASSAN, Interview by the Researcher, Delta, January 7, 2025

Stakeholder of PENGASSAN, Interview by the Researcher, Kano, December 13, 2024

Stakeholder of Trade Union Congress (TUC), Interview by the Researcher, Abuja, January 8, 2025

Stakeholder of Trade Union Congress (TUC), Interview by the Researcher, Abuja, January 8, 2025

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## Appendix I

## QUESTIONNAIRE
## (Five-point Likert Scale)

**SECTION A: PREAMBLE**

I am a PhD candidate in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State. I am conducting research on **"Politics of Neo-liberalism in the Energy Sector of Nigeria's Fourth Republic".** The focus is basically on the petroleum energy**.** This research is purely for academic purpose. While appreciating your honest attention in filling the questionnaire, you are assured of utmost confidentiality in the handling of your responses. Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

**SECTION B: PERSONAL DATA**

Please tick (√) as applicable.

- Sex : (1) Male [ ] (2) Female [ ]
- Age at last birthday: _____
- Religion: (1) Christian [ ] (2) Muslim [ ] (3) Others, specify [ ]
- Marital Status: (1)Married [ ] (2)Single [ ] (3) Separate [ ] (4) Divorce [ ] (5)Widow [ ] (6)Widower [ ]
- Qualifications: (1)SSCE/O'LEVEL [ ] (2)OND/NCE [ ] (3) HND/B.SC/B.ED [ ] (4) M.SC/M.ED/M.A/MBA [ ] (5)PhD [ ]
- Employment status: (1) Private Employment [ ] (2) Public Employment (3) Unemployed [ ] (4) Self-Employed [ ]
- Geopolitical zone: (1) North-Central [ ] (2) North-West [ ] (3) North-East [ ] (4) South-South [ ] (5) South-West [ ] (6) South-East [ ]

**SECTION C**

Kindly tick (√) to indicate your level of agreement with the statement in the table below using the Likert modified five-point rating scale - Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N) Disagree (DA) and Strongly Disagree (SD).

**What is the nature of neoliberal framework in oil and gas sector in the Fourth Republic?**

| S/N | Statements/items | SA | A | N | DA | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Neoliberal framework in the oil and gas suggests privatization, commercialization and liberalization in the management of oil resources | | | | | |
| 2 | There have been notable successes in implementing neoliberal policies in the oil and gas sector in the current republic | | | | | |
| 3 | There have been economic, social, and environmental impacts of neoliberal policies on the oil and gas sector | | | | | |
| 4 | These neoliberal policies have been effectively implemented with little or no challenges encountered during their implementation | | | | | |

**SECTION D**

**What is the extent of the efficacy of the role of state in the current process of oil sector?**

| S/N | Statements/items | SA | A | N | DA | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Effective role of government is not important in the success of oil and gas sector of the country | | | | | |
| 2 | The political actors and institutions are really shaping policies in the sector of oil and gas in the Fourth Republic | | | | | |
| 3 | The main political interests driving policy making in the oil and gas sector are externally generated and not internally motivated | | | | | |
| 4 | The role of Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources/NNPC as the government agencies in the oil and gas sector have been very reliable | | | | | |
| 5 | Government role is generally effective in the entire processes of oil and gas sector | | | | | |

**SECTION E**

**How have the neoliberal reforms in the sector contributed to the well-being of the people during the Fourth Republic?**

| S/N | Statements/items | SA | A | N | DA | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Different groups of people have been affected by the consequences of neoliberal policies in the oil and gas sectors | | | | | |
| 2 | Neoliberal policies about the oil and gas have improved the standard of living and also alleviating poverty | | | | | |
| 3 | There have been unintended consequences or unforeseen challenges arising from neoliberal reforms in the oil sector | | | | | |
| 4 | Stakeholders have played roles in promoting or resisting neoliberal reforms in the oil & gas sector | | | | | |

**SECTION F**

**What are the possible alternatives to neoliberal measures in the oil sector of the current administration?**

| S/N | Statements/items | SA | A | N | DA | SD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Neoliberal measure in the oil and gas has failed the sector and the society | | | | | |
| 2 | Privatization is a crucial indication of failure of neoliberalism in the sector wherein the most powerful foreign and local capitalists rob the public of its oil resources | | | | | |
| 3 | There are viable alternatives to replace neoliberal reform in the oil and gas sector | | | | | |
| 4 | There is prospect in the oil and gas sector with respect to the current administration of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu | | | | | |

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## Appendix II

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

## SUBJECT: POLITICS OF NEO-LIBERALISM IN THE ENERGY SECTOR OF NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

### MAIN INTERACTION

| Areas of engagement | Questions |
|---|---|
| **General introduction of the activities** | Interviewer introduces himself and the study to the interviewee.<br>Appeals and seeks the consent of interviewee before embarking on the interview |
| **The nature of neoliberal framework in the oil and gas sector during the Fourth Republic** | Can you provide insights into the key neoliberal policies or reforms introduced in the oil and gas sector during the Fourth Republic?<br>What have been the economic, social, and environmental impacts of neoliberal policies on the oil & gas sector?<br>How effectively have these policies been implemented?<br>What challenges or barriers have been encountered during their implementation?<br>Have there been any notable successes in implementing neoliberal policies in the oil and gas sector? |
| **The efficacy of the role of state in the current process of oil sector** | How do political actors and institutions interact in shaping energy policies and regulatory frameworks?<br>How have power dynamics and political interests influenced the implementation of neoliberal policies?<br>What are the main political interests and agendas driving energy policy-making under neoliberalism?<br>Is the government role generally effective in the entire processes of oil and gas sector? |
| **Neoliberal reforms and the well-being of the people in the current Republic** | How have different stakeholders been affected by these consequences?<br>Have there been any unintended consequences or unforeseen challenges arising from neoliberal reforms?<br>What roles have different stakeholders played in promoting or resisting neoliberal reforms in the oil & gas sector? |

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| | |
|---|---|
| **Possibility of alternatives to neoliberal framework in the oil and gas sector of the current administration** | What alternative policy approaches or models could be considered for governing the oil and gas sector in Nigeria?<br>What is the prospect of oil and gas sector in Nigeria with respect to the current administration of Bola Ahmed Tinubu? |
| **Closing** | Deep appreciation for the attention, cooperation and contributions |

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## Appendix III

## List of Interview Participants

| S/N | Participant's Title and Name | Sample category |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Prof. Kayode Soremekun | Scholars in political economy/experts in oil politics/international relations |
| 2 | Prof. Cyril Obi | Scholars in political economy/experts in oil politics/international relations |
| 3 | Prof. Laja Odukoya | Scholars in political economy/experts in oil politics |
| 4 | Prof. Lalude | Scholars in political economy/experts in oil politics |
| 5 | Prof. Ray Adibe | Scholars in political economy/experts in oil politics |
| 6 | Comrade Kolawole | NUPENG and PENGASSAN |
| 7 | Comrade Seyi Gambo | NUPENG and PENGASSAN |
| 8 | Comrade Idowu | NUPENG and PENGASSAN |
| 9 | Comrade Soweto Taiwo | Civil Society Organization |
| 10 | Comrade Seni Ajayi | Civil Society Organization |
| 11 | Comrade Trosky | Civil Society Organization |
| 12 | Barrister Femi Aborisade | Civil Society Organization |
| 13 | Dr Abubakar Mohammed | NNPC/Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources |
| 14 | Engineer Balogun | NNPC/Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources |
| 15 | Late Dr Olusoga | Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| 16 | Mrs Yemi | NNPC/Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources |
| 17 | Engineer Dipo | NNPC/Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources |
| 18 | Comrade Chris | NLC and TUC |
| 19 | Comrade Martins | NLC and TUC |
| 20 | Mr Nazir Jamiu | Ministry of Foreign Affairs |

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## Bio-data

### A. Personal Data

| | |
|---|---|
| **Full Name:** | Samson Olusegun OYEFOLU |
| **Address:** | Plot A330, Nigerian Army Post Service, Ojo, Lagos |
| **Email:** | samson.oyefolu@lasu.edu.ng & oyefolusamson5050@yahoo.com |
| **Phone No:** | +2348132687002 & +2348090200988 |
| **Date of Birth:** | 27th September, 1988 |
| **Place of Birth:** | Ikorodu, Lagos State |
| **Nationality:** | Nigerian |
| **Next of Kin:** | Mrs O. Oyefolu Plot A330, Nigerian Army Post Service, Ojo, Lagos |

### B. Educational Background with Dates

**Educational Institutions Attended with Dates and Qualifications**

- PhD International Relations – Lead City University, Ibadan (In view)
- M.Sc in Political Science – Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos 2020
- B.Sc in Political Science - Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos 2012
- Senior School Certificate SSCE – Imota Community Grammar School, Ikorodu, Lagos 2006

### C. Working Experience with Dates

Record Officer (National Secretariat-Lagos State University Alumni Association) 2014 - 2018

Graduate Assistant (Lagos State University Department of Political Science) 2018-2021

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Assistant Lecturer (Lagos State University Department of Political Science) 2021- 2024

Lecturer II (Lagos State University Department of Political Science) 2024 - date

**Research Support**

1. Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence Full sponsorship to present "African Intellectuals and the Decolonization Project: The Case of Bade Onimode and Claude Ake" at the Lagos–ACC Graduate Conference in African Studies themed: 'Studying Contemporary Africa: Politics, Society and Decoloniality' Lagos-African Cluster Centre, Institute of African and Diaspora Studies, University of Lagos, 22 – 24 September, 2021.

2. Full sponsorship of One-Day Workshop for Early-Career Scholars on Energy and Society in Nigeria with internal grants awarded by the Faculty of Liberal Arts and Professional Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada in collaboration with Department of History, University of Ibadan, February 19, 2024

3. YIAGA Africa project full sponsorship on "Youth participation in Lagos politics" 2021

4. University College London (UCL) in collaboration with University of Cambridge Full sponsorship to present "Political economy of health infrastructural development in Urban System: The Nigerian experience during covid-19 pandemic" at the Early Career International Workshop on "Infrastructure, Inequality and Neo-Apartheid" at University College London (UCL), United Kingdom June 6, 2022.

**D. Awards and Fellowships**

Lagos State Government Scholarship Award for Undergraduate Students of Lagos origin 2011

Best Graduating M.Sc in the Department of Political Science 2020

Best Oral Presentation at the German Government Alexander von Humboldt International Conference held at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, 21 – 24 Nov., 2021

**E. Membership of Academic/Professional Bodies**

Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA)

Lagos Studies Association (LSA)

Graduate Research Clinic (GRC)

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Conflict Research Network West Africa (CORN West Africa)

**F. Publications**

**Oyefolu, O. Samson, (2024),** "The political economy of health infrastructural development in Urban System: The Nigerian experience during the COVID-19 pandemic", *KIABARA University of Port Harcourt Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. 30, Issue 1, Pp. 212-223

**Oyefolu, Samson & Seteolu, Dele,** 2024), "Research Methods, Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework", 85-118 in Methodological Issues in Social Science Research-A Book of Readings, edited by Sylvester Odion Akhaine and Abiodun Fatai-Abatan, Lagos: Lagos State University Press.

**Aderemi, A, Oshodi, T & Oyefolu, S (2020).** The Political Economy of the African Crisis Through the Lenses of Bade Onimode. In Oloruntoba S. O & Falola, T. (eds.), The Palgrave Handbook of Africa Political Economy, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp 315 – 325

**Oyefolu, S. (2021).** "Covid-19 Pandemic and the Realities of Poverty in Nigeria: A Political Economy Interpretation". *Socialscientia: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. 5(4), pp. 32 – 39

**Fatai-Abatan, Abiodun & Oyefolu, Samson, 2024),** "Democracy without Democrats: Critical Reflection of the Fourth Republic In Nigeria", 143-169 in The National Question: Critical Reflections on the State and Society in Nigeria, edited by Abdul-Gafar Tobi Oshodi and Abdul-Wasi Babatunde Moshood, Lagos: Lagos State University Press.

**Oyefolu, Samson, (2024),** "Neoliberalism in Africa: Is there a Pan Africanist response?", *Africa and Diaspora Discourse A-DD A Journal of the Institute of African and Diaspora Studies, University of Lagos*, Vol. 6, Issue, Pp. 151-182.

**Oyefolu, S. (2021).** "State and globalisation in the 21st century: A case of Nigerian" State. *LASU Journal of History and International Studies (LAJOHIS)*, Vol. *3*(1), pp. 127 – 140

**Thovoethin, Paul-Sewa, Oyefolu, Samson, (2024),** "Between Legal Provisions and Socio-Cultural Practices: An Interrogation of Northern Women's Representation in Governance", *Nigerian Jo0urnal of Public Sector Management NJPSM*, Vol. 7, Issue 1, Pp. 1-17 .

**Adebogun, Olayinka & Oyefolu, Samson (2020).** "Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Peace-Keeping operations in West Africa: An Appraisal of the 21st Century". *Caleb International Journal of Development Studies (CIJDS),* Vol. 3(1), pp. 189 – 198

**Seteolu, Dele & Oyefolu, Samson (2019**). "Is Africa in a development conundrum? Crises, dimensions and alternatives." In: Conference Proceedings for *Africa in the competitive 21st century: Towards an agenda for urgent repositioning*, Lagos: Free Enterprise, Pp. 181-186

## G. Major Conferences Attended with Dates

1. A One-Day Workshop for Early-Career Scholars on Energy and Society in Nigeria sponsored by internal grants awarded by the Faculty of Liberal Arts and Professional Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada in collaboration with Department of History, University of Ibadan, February 19, 2024

2. Critical and Creative/Writing Training Program for Post-Graduate Students and Early Career Faculty in the Humanities organized by Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa CODESRIA held at Lagos State University between June 10-July 09, 2024.

3. (2023): Ethnographic methods workshop: Making Sens: co-exploration of sensitive ethnographic methods. The workshop workshop was held at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria July 06-07, 2023

4. "America first' and multilateralism: Trumpism and the politics of climate change," (with Aderemi, A and Oshodi, A. T), Faculty of Social Sciences Annual National Conference on 'Climate Change and Vulnerability in Nigeria,' Lagos State University, Nigeria, 6-9 August 2018.

5. "Constructing a colonising 'China in Africa': A case for – or, the poverty of – histori (ci) sm?" (with Tobi Oshodi), the Karl Popper for Africa International Conference, Lagos State University, Lagos, Nigeria 28-31 March 2019.

6. "Is Africa in a development conundrum? Crises, dimensions and alternatives" (with Dele Seteolu), Faculty of Social Sciences Annual International Conference on 'Africa in the competitive 21st century: Towards an agenda for urgent repositioning,' Lagos State University, Lagos, Nigeria 17-20 November, 2019.

7. "African Intellectuals and the Decolonization Project: The Case of Bade Onimode and Claude Ake" (sole author), Lagos – ACC Graduate Conference in African Studies themed: 'Studying Contemporary Africa: Politics, Society and Decoloniality' Lagos-African Cluster Centre, Institute of African and Diaspora Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria 22nd – 24 September, 2021

8. (2024): An International Conference of Nigeria Africa-China Research Group on Knowledge re production and the academe in Africa-China research space, Lagos State

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University, Faculty of Social Sciences and Chinese in Africa Africans in China Research Network NiACReG , held at Lagos State University, Lagos, Nigeria, 7th & 8th May 2024

9. "Neoliberalism and Environmental Regulation in Nigeria (2010 – date)" Workshop on Environmental Security in Post Transition Nigeria, Organized by Obafemi Awolowo University in collaboration with University of Edinburgh, held at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, Thursday August 8, 2019.

10. "Nation-building in multi-ethnic societies: An exegesis of National Youth Service Corps in Nigeria (1999 – 2021)", the 6th Edition Annual Lagos Studies Association Conference on "Everyday Life in Africa: Past and Present" at the University of Lagos, Nigeria, June 21 and 25, 2022

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This is to certify that this thesis written by Samson Olusegun OYEFOLU with matriculation number LCU/PG/002759 in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan is in full compliance with the approved University Format and Style.

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