

INDEX

A

Accountability, 6, 9n14, 21, 26, 29, 38, 79, 111, 112, 122, 126, 147, 148, 158, 160, 186, 200, 207, 226, 239, 241, 260, 272, 273, 280n13, 305, 309, 314

Africa, ix, 2–4, 7, 10, 24, 33, 36, 47, 50, 65, 67, 71–73, 81, 87, 89, 90n4, 91, 92, 114, 120n39, 127, 129, 136n57, 136n58, 150, 152, 187, 187n6, 189, 193n14, 194, 204, 210, 212, 212n13, 246–248, 246n20, 250–252, 292, 295, 298n1, 302

Agencies of globalization, 17, 20, 33, 38, 49

Ake, Claude, 3, 4, 5n8, 6, 25, 29, 33, 43, 65–67, 72, 91, 98, 295

Allison-Madueke, Diezani (The Minister), 102n19, 146, 146n2, 196, 241, 280

Amin, Samir, 43, 45, 48, 56, 65, 295

Armstrong, 274

Asian Tigers, 73, 74, 76

Authoritarianism, 2, 28, 50, 68, 76, 77, 79

B

Bretton Woods institutions, 6, 19, 47, 57, 183, 189

Buhari, Muhammadu (President), 9, 106, 136, 165, 182, 196, 198n21, 205, 234, 241n15, 274

Bunkering, 136, 161, 163, 163n26, 215, 269

Bureaucracy, 74, 75, 79–82, 84, 93, 109, 110, 137, 177, 201, 296, 306, 307, 312

C

Capital flight, 56, 191, 194, 268

Capitalism, vii, 1, 2, 7, 10, 25, 26, 32n8, 33–35, 39n10, 47, 48, 52, 66, 69–72, 78, 200, 218, 297

Capitalist powers, 20, 22, 33, 39, 44, 57, 64, 69, 72, 218, 293

- Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), 54,
106, 127, 127n47, 132, 157n16,
211, 239, 240, 270, 279, 280,
284, 288
- Centralization of power, 95, 270
- Civil Society Organization (CSO), 7,
31, 146, 161, 194, 194n16, 195,
195n18, 200, 206, 206n5,
219n18, 227, 282
- Clientelism, 271, 271n3, 271n4
- Colonialism, 6, 37, 48, 49n4, 61, 62,
64–66, 72, 83, 88, 89, 92, 92n6,
96, 99, 113, 131, 137, 218, 295,
296, 307, 311
- Commercialization, 5, 6, 82, 103,
110, 183n4, 186, 227, 260, 299,
305
- Corruption, 5, 45, 50–53, 64, 76, 81,
88, 90, 90n4, 102n19, 103,
111–113, 115, 117n36, 118,
119, 119n38, 125, 127n47, 131,
134, 146, 147, 153, 155, 157,
159, 161, 165, 171, 173, 174,
176, 177, 194, 197, 199, 200,
204, 206, 217, 219–221, 223,
224n23, 226, 232, 233,
236–241, 240n13, 243–245,
261, 267–288, 294, 296, 303,
308, 309, 311–313
- D**
- Democracy, 2–4, 7, 10, 17, 20–27, 43,
45, 47, 53, 64, 76–78, 88, 96,
97, 106, 108, 114–116, 118,
122, 125, 126, 134, 138, 176,
194, 275, 292, 293, 304, 311,
312, 314
- Democratic consolidation, 9, 11, 17,
23, 24, 50, 195, 293
- Democratic peace theory, 21, 97, 304
- Democratization, vii, viii, 1, 3, 3n1, 4,
6, 7n11, 10–12, 17–39, 43, 50,
64, 75, 81, 82n9, 91, 116, 121,
122, 134, 272n4, 291, 305, 306,
308, 312, 315
- Dependency, 11, 26, 48, 49, 61,
64–72, 83, 91, 194, 232, 239,
262, 288, 302, 307
- Dependent development, 11, 61,
71–79, 83, 249, 307
- Deregulation, viii, 1, 3–12, 32, 39,
43–57, 73, 82, 84, 90, 99, 110,
113, 122, 123, 125, 127, 131,
138, 146–148, 154, 155,
156n15, 160, 161n23, 165, 166,
171, 172, 176, 181, 183n4, 186,
187, 189–191, 189n8, 194–201,
195n16, 198n20, 199n23,
203–227, 231, 235, 237, 238,
239n10, 242, 250, 259–262,
267, 280–283, 285, 286, 288,
292, 293, 296, 303–306, 308,
309, 311–315
- Developing countries, *see* Developing
world
- Developing world, 24, 57, 68, 76,
126, 183, 184, 190
- Development, 2, 17, 43, 61–84, 88,
151, 183, 203, 233, 249, 267,
291
- Developmentalism, 74, 75, 79
- Developmental state, 73–76, 79, 108,
118, 272, 297, 307, 311
- Diesel, 9n14, 10n16, 51n6, 164, 208,
209, 214, 247, 248, 256, 258,
280–283, 302, 309
- Directorate of Petroleum Resources
(DPR), 146, 150, 154–156, 158,
159, 159n19, 168, 174, 175,
177, 235, 239, 276, 284, 309
- Dissent, vii, 109, 123, 126, 134, 181,
218–226, 232, 251, 254, 299,
303, 314
- Dividends of democracy, 75, 87, 108,
115, 125

- Downstream oil sector, vii, 4, 8, 17, 43, 50, 51, 55, 73, 78, 83, 84, 122, 138, 145–177, 182, 189, 190, 193n13, 197, 198n20, 204, 227, 234–236, 250, 261, 262, 267, 268, 278, 282, 293, 297, 303, 308, 313
- Dutch-disease, 126, 132–134, 132n53, 133n55, 182
- E**
- Economic Financial Crime
Commission (EFCC), 127n47, 147, 148, 260, 273–275, 273n7, 274n8, 275n9, 279, 312
- Economic nationalism, 38n9, 39, 46, 49, 74, 304
- Economic reform, 6, 8, 10, 34, 36, 43, 44, 47, 48, 52, 53, 57, 69, 89, 90, 130, 187, 292, 299, 303, 305
- Environmental degradation, 107, 135, 295, 300n2
- Ethnicity, 74, 96–98, 111
- F**
- Federalism, 51, 64, 93, 95–97, 95n10, 99, 118, 132, 137, 312
- Filling station, 150, 158, 159, 162, 168, 169, 169n34, 216, 278, 280n14, 286
- Fiscal federalism, 103–109, 132, 260
- Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), 27, 29, 34, 37, 45, 73, 190, 213, 291
- Frank, Andre Gunder, 6, 10, 43, 65
- Free market economy, 50, 67, 74, 157, 183n3
- Fuel, 9, 9n14, 53, 55, 56, 84, 99, 113, 149, 151, 154, 157–162, 159n19, 161n23, 165, 168, 171–174, 181, 187, 194, 195, 195n16, 197, 199, 200, 203, 205–207, 205n4, 207n7, 209, 211–217, 220, 222–227, 224n23, 231, 234, 236, 237, 239–245, 247, 248, 251, 253–261, 277, 278, 281, 286, 287, 309, 313–315
- Fuel prices, 2, 8, 9, 51, 78, 84, 147, 169–172, 176, 177, 181, 189, 195–200, 205, 206, 209–218, 220–223, 225–227, 231, 233, 234, 242, 251, 252, 256–258, 262, 267, 280, 288, 299, 301, 302, 314
- Fuel scarcity, 136, 147, 156n15, 159, 161, 162, 170, 171, 211, 215, 216, 243–247, 259, 261, 262
- G**
- Global capitalist system, 33
- Globalization, vii, viii, 1–12, 17–39, 43, 56, 68, 69, 71, 75, 79, 81, 82, 82n9, 88, 89, 91, 112, 190, 192, 218, 224, 233, 291–315
- Governance, vii, viii, 3, 4n3, 8, 19–22, 26, 27, 29–31, 38, 39, 39n12, 43, 45, 51, 51n7, 52, 78, 81, 87, 88, 90, 90n2, 90n3, 91, 96, 104, 112, 113, 115–118, 123, 124, 126, 138, 147, 148, 172, 175, 176, 187, 187n5, 188, 191, 197, 204, 205, 206n5, 207, 214, 234n5, 249, 267, 268, 270, 271n4, 285, 292, 296, 297, 303, 304, 306, 308, 310–313
- H**
- House of Representatives, 101, 101n17, 117n37, 160, 173, 173n41, 174, 176, 219n20, 242, 275n9, 277, 279, 284, 310
- Hyper-globalizer, 19

I

Imperialism, 6, 48, 49n4, 61, 61n1, 64–66, 69, 76, 83, 131, 218, 295, 307
 Impoverishment, 7, 135, 184
 Indonesia, vii, 76, 250, 250n21, 256–260
 Institutional weaknesses, 51, 62, 83, 84, 246, 267, 275, 314
 International Financial Institutions (IFIs), 19, 146, 153, 181–190, 218, 293
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 3n1, 4, 4n3, 6, 9, 19, 20, 32, 33, 37, 48, 49, 52, 55, 67, 82, 128, 130, 131, 146, 153, 182–185, 187, 187n5, 189, 200, 253, 260, 273, 293, 305, 314

J

Jonathan, Goodluck (President), 8, 9, 99, 147n2, 205, 210, 234, 249, 260, 269, 269n1, 273, 275n9, 303, 305

K

Kerosene, 9n14, 10n16, 51n6, 168, 172–174, 172n38, 208, 209, 214, 227, 243, 244, 247, 248, 258, 258n24, 260, 278, 280–288, 299, 309, 312

L

Lagos, viii, 12, 32n6, 92, 94, 94n8, 107n28, 108, 109, 115, 122, 146n2, 151, 162, 166–168, 198, 198n20, 198n22, 246, 285n23
 Liberal democracy, 2, 20, 22, 23, 23n1, 30, 38, 39, 39n11, 45, 47, 64, 120, 291, 304, 305, 314

Liberalization, vii, viii, 7, 10, 12, 17, 22, 23, 26, 29, 33, 35, 39, 39n10, 44, 46–50, 53, 56, 57, 73, 90, 127, 146, 172, 182–184, 183n4, 186, 187, 190, 195, 201, 207, 209, 210, 217, 218, 227, 260, 297, 302–305, 309, 314
 Limited government, 22, 32n7, 39n10, 64n3, 73, 76, 81, 82, 181, 182, 183n3, 204, 218, 292, 295, 303
 Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG), 247, 258, 259, 281, 286, 287, 287n25

M

Major Oil Marketers Association of Nigeria (MOMAN), 157n16, 160, 160n21, 172, 191, 191n10, 239, 240, 244, 245, 284, 285n22, 286, 287
 Marxism-Leninism, 66
 Masses, viii, 4, 9n14, 50, 53, 89, 100, 115–117, 121, 123, 125, 189, 195n16, 213, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222, 233, 253, 282, 283, 288, 292, 293, 298, 303, 305, 309, 314
 Metropolis, 49, 66, 70, 161
 Militancy, 8, 90, 98, 103, 109, 133, 136, 298, 298n1, 310
 Military, 7, 7n11, 19, 24, 31, 95, 99–101, 103n24, 105, 106, 110, 113–115, 114n31, 119, 120n39, 121, 124, 134, 164, 165, 189, 194, 208, 209, 217, 233, 245n19, 260, 268, 271, 271n4, 274, 276, 283n20, 306, 308, 310–312, 314
 Modernization, 2, 26, 61–66, 64n3, 71, 72, 91, 134, 137, 262, 311
 Monopoly, 10, 32, 57, 79, 90, 120n39, 190, 210, 212, 224,

- 227, 260, 276, 285, 286, 288, 312
- Multinational Corporation (MNC), viii, 5, 5n5, 8, 19, 20, 29, 35, 36, 44, 49n4, 51n6, 57, 68, 76, 78, 89, 125, 128, 135, 137, 146, 150, 155, 160n21, 186, 190–201, 191n10, 193n14, 233, 235, 246, 250, 251, 292–294, 307–309
- N**
- National Assembly, viii, 99, 101, 101n16, 102n19, 117n37, 148, 166, 171–176, 217, 219n20, 225, 238, 277, 283, 285n22, 286
- National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS), 8, 12, 84, 110, 182–190, 209, 260, 268, 304, 305
- Neo-colonialism, 49, 49n4, 65, 131, 295
- Neo-liberal, 6, 12, 36, 44, 46–48, 74, 75, 82, 91, 137, 183, 186, 215, 294, 311
- Nepotism, 110, 111, 125, 131, 145, 156, 177, 240n12, 272, 276, 296, 308
- New Public Management (NPM), 11, 61, 79–84, 201, 246, 285, 307
- Niger Delta, 5, 5n6, 8, 51, 51n6, 98, 103, 103n23, 107, 109, 128, 129, 135–137, 136n57, 151, 164, 182, 276, 294, 295, 298n1, 300n2, 310
- Nigeria, viii, 3–12, 17, 31n6, 43, 61, 88, 148, 181, 203, 231–262, 267, 291
- Nigeria civil service, 82, 109–112, 138
- Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), 8, 9, 9n15, 31, 31n6, 122, 157n16, 194, 194n16, 195, 195n18, 197–199, 206, 206n5, 207, 213, 214, 236, 237, 239n10, 240, 283
- Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), 51, 52, 106, 128, 147–156, 151n9, 157n16, 158, 159, 161–163, 168, 172–175, 188, 199, 208, 209, 210n11, 211, 212, 222, 227, 235, 239, 241, 242, 244–247, 260, 270, 276–288, 279n11, 280n14, 308, 312, 314
- O**
- Obasanjo, Olusegun (President), 107n28, 108, 120n39, 146, 165, 172, 275n9
- Oil boom, 5, 6, 126, 131, 132, 135, 146, 177, 181, 182, 267, 269
- Oil business, 8, 125, 155, 158, 173, 177, 221, 261, 285, 310, 314
- Oil corruption, 191, 245, 276, 281, 288
- Oil income, 132, 182, 313
- Oil marketers, 157n16, 158–161, 158n18, 160n21, 169, 171, 174, 200, 216, 220, 224, 225, 232, 237, 240, 240n13, 242, 244, 277, 278, 284, 293
- Oil resource, 2, 5, 8, 11, 53, 61, 103, 125, 132n53, 138, 150, 154, 177, 218, 232, 250, 253, 269, 288, 298, 300n2, 315
- Oil revenue, *see* Oil income
- Oil sector, 1, 17, 43, 50, 51, 73, 87, 145–177, 181–201, 232, 267–288, 291
- Oil-boom, 80, 90, 106, 220
- Okonjo-Iweala, Ngozi, 8n12, 189n9, 211, 280
- Oshiomole, Adams, 194

P

- Palliatives, 9, 167, 226, 227, 257
 Paradox of plenty, 90, 181, 310
 Patrimonialism, 271
 People's Democratic Party (PDP),
 55n10, 108, 119, 172, 175, 224,
 246, 273, 274, 278, 283n20
 Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior
 Staff Association of Nigeria
 (PENGASSAN), 157n16, 191,
 195, 225
 Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB), 102,
 196, 310
 Petroleum Industry Governance Bill
 (PIGB), *see* Petroleum Industry
 Bill
 Petroleum Motor Spirit (PMS), 9,
 10n16, 51n6, 84, 122, 124, 147,
 157, 172–174, 198n20, 199,
 200, 205, 206, 206n5, 208, 209,
 211, 211n12, 212, 212n13, 214,
 215, 223, 227, 233, 239–243,
 239n11, 242n17, 245, 247, 248,
 255, 256, 278, 280, 282, 284,
 298, 303, 309, 313
 Petroleum Products Pricing and
 Regulatory Agency (PPPRA),
 145, 147, 154, 156–161, 168,
 173–175, 177, 191, 208, 209,
 219n20, 238–243, 249, 276,
 283, 284
 Petroleum resources, 102n19, 103,
 106, 109, 132n53, 133, 146n1,
 147n2, 149, 154–157, 157n16,
 163–165, 168, 175, 176, 196,
 197, 211, 212, 218, 231, 238,
 246, 284
 Pluralist democracy, 22
 Policy transformation, viii, 10–12, 30,
 83, 307
 Political economy, viii, 1, 2, 9, 10, 25,
 27, 38, 43, 46, 48, 49, 57, 61,
 70–73, 91, 92, 103, 131, 137,
 189, 189n9, 190, 218, 291, 296,
 304, 311
 Political leadership, 64, 87, 90, 91, 96,
 112–126, 148, 204, 239, 271,
 275, 303, 311
 Post-colonial Africa, 109, 291, 296
 Poverty, *see* Impoverishment
 Prebendal politics, 271, 271n3
 Presidential pardon, 269, 269n1,
 275n9
 Presidential system, 100, 101, 271
 Privatization, 4n2, 6, 6n10, 8, 44, 45,
 45n2, 48n3, 52, 54, 57, 81, 82,
 84, 110, 127, 131, 154, 183n4,
 185–187, 189n8, 190, 193n14,
 207, 208, 218, 227, 249, 250,
 260, 299, 305
 Project AQUILA, 169
 Pseudo-deregulation, vii, 10
 Public administration, 61, 79–82, 84,
 269, 308
 Public policy, viii, 53, 96, 109, 268,
 297
 Public sector, 45, 47, 52, 75, 79–82,
 88, 110, 112, 131, 132, 184,
 186, 227, 270
- R**
- Radical political economy, 11, 25, 26,
 46, 48, 61, 66, 70, 71, 91, 131,
 137, 218, 311
 Refinery, 46, 51n5, 53, 128, 148, 150,
 154, 156n15, 162–164, 169n35,
 187n6, 195, 196, 207, 208,
 208n8, 212, 213, 217, 221–224,
 222n22, 224n23, 232, 235–237,
 239, 244, 245, 261, 277, 281,
 285, 296, 310, 312
 Reform, vii, viii, 4, 4n2, 6, 8–12, 33,
 34, 36, 43–45, 47, 48, 50, 52,
 53, 55–57, 67, 69, 78, 80,
 82–84, 82n9, 87, 89, 90, 110,

112, 113, 115, 121, 124–127,
130, 137, 145, 153, 157, 171,
172, 175, 176, 181–201, 207,
208, 215, 220, 226, 232, 232n1,
236, 242, 253–255, 260–262,
267–288, 292, 299, 302–314
Regime consolidationist, 46, 50
Rentier state, 272
Resource curse, 90, 90n3, 132,
132n53, 133, 133n55, 181, 310

S

Safety nests, 226
Social security, 90, 219, 252, 253,
256, 297
South Africa, 36, 92, 102n18, 114,
127n48, 129n52, 152, 152n13,
187, 187n6, 211n12, 212, 217,
220, 248, 250–252, 259, 297, 313
State authoritarianism, 77
State capacity, 5, 75, 87, 91, 311
State collapse, 5n8, 87, 89, 90, 309
State failure, 5, 5n8, 61, 87, 89–91,
123, 210, 302, 309
State sovereignty, 20, 30
Structural Adjustment Programme
(SAP), 4n3, 6–8, 6n9, 12, 45, 47,
62, 81, 90, 121, 132, 182–190,
183n2, 200, 201, 209, 218, 260,
299, 304, 305
Subsidy, vii, 4, 9, 10n16, 51, 52, 55,
122, 146, 148, 154, 155,
156n15, 157–160, 158n18, 165,
166, 170, 172–174, 187, 196,
197, 201, 205–211, 205n3,
207n7, 213–217, 219–222, 225,
227, 231–244, 239n10, 240n13,
242n17, 246, 249, 250,
253–262, 258n24, 267, 268,
277–285, 285n22, 288, 293,
297, 303, 305, 313–315
Subsidy administration, 157, 177,
220, 224n23, 231–262, 277,
288, 296, 313

Subsidy-cut, 165, 166, 189, 197,
198n20, 226, 227, 237, 238,
253–257, 259, 300, 302
Subsidy Reinvestment and
Empowerment (SURE-P)
Programme, 165–168, 197, 227,
242, 302
Surplus value, 66
Sustainable democracy, 7, 17, 24, 26,
96, 122

T

Third World, 4, 10, 35, 61, 63–66,
91, 307, 315
Trade Union Congress (TUC),
157n16, 195, 196, 198
Transformationist, 19, 20
Transparency International, 204, 268

U

Underdevelopment, 2, 3, 10, 36, 43,
48, 57, 61, 63–69, 71, 75, 76,
83, 107, 190, 248, 307
Uniform prices, 151, 168, 170, 171,
177, 243, 244, 259
Upstream oil sector, 51n6, 147, 152,
187n6, 270

W

Westernization, 18, 63, 64
World Bank, 3n1, 4, 5n8, 6, 8n12, 19,
20, 32, 33, 37, 48–50, 52, 67,
82, 87, 88, 130, 183, 185, 189,
189n9, 232, 314

Y

Yar'Adua, Shehu (President), 275n9
Yemen, vii, 206, 250, 253, 254, 259