



## Petroleum Subsidy And The Future of Nigeria'S Oil Sector: From Consumer Relief To Market Deregulation

OGIDI, Timinere Samuel

[Samuel.ogidi@ust.edu.ng](mailto:Samuel.ogidi@ust.edu.ng)

Department of Political Science ( Public Administration) Rivers State University Nkpolu-  
Orowurokwo, Port Harcourt, Rivers State P.M. B. 5080

Received 13 10, 2024; Accepted 14 10, 2024 © The author(s) 2024. Published with open access at  
[www.rapidjournals.com](http://www.rapidjournals.com)

### ABSTRACT

*This study, titled Petroleum Subsidy and the Future of Nigeria's Oil Sector: From Consumer Relief to Market Deregulation, explores the impact of Nigeria's removal of petroleum subsidies on its oil sector and broader economy. The primary objective is to assess the challenges and benefits associated with this market deregulation, with particular attention to its socio-economic consequences for consumers. The research examines the immediate effects of subsidy removal on fuel prices and the cost of living, the influence of deregulation on local refining capacity and sector efficiency, and the socio-economic repercussions on vulnerable populations. It also investigates the potential benefits of a liberalized petroleum market in terms of economic growth, competition, and energy security, while addressing the political and social resistance that has affected the policy's implementation. The study employs Public Choice Theory to analyze the political behavior surrounding subsidy reforms, highlighting how self-interested actions of political actors, labor unions, and bureaucrats have influenced decision-making processes. This framework explains the persistence of subsidies in the face of economic inefficiencies and the challenges of transitioning to a deregulated market. Using secondary research methods, the study reviews existing literature and data to provide a comprehensive analysis of the policy shift. Key findings reveal that subsidy removal has increased fuel prices and living costs, attracted investment in local refining, and improved sector efficiency, though government mitigation measures for vulnerable populations have been inadequate. Despite the benefits of deregulation, political and social resistance has posed significant challenges. The study concludes by recommending enhanced social support programs, stronger investment incentives, improved communication, policy flexibility, and stakeholder engagement to address the complexities of policy implementation and ensure stability in Nigeria's oil sector.*

**Keywords:** Petroleum Subsidy, Nigeria's Oil Sector, Future, Consumer Relief, Market Deregulation

### I. INTRODUCTION

The petroleum subsidy regime in Nigeria has long been a pivotal component of the country's socio-economic framework. Introduced as a mechanism to alleviate the cost of fuel for consumers, it has provided short-term relief by ensuring that citizens pay lower-than-market prices for petroleum products. However, this system has also become a major drain on government finances, fostering inefficiencies and hampering investment in the local oil and gas sector. Over the years, Nigeria has struggled to strike a balance between maintaining social welfare through subsidies and ensuring fiscal sustainability. The removal of fuel subsidies by President Ahmed Tinubu's administration signals a profound shift in policy, moving away from consumer relief and toward market deregulation, with far-reaching consequences for the country's oil sector and overall economic development.

Petroleum subsidies in Nigeria have historically been justified on the grounds of protecting consumers from the volatility of global oil prices. By cushioning the impact of these price fluctuations, the government aimed to safeguard the welfare of the population, particularly the lower-income groups, who are most vulnerable to rising

fuel costs. However, the long-term sustainability of this approach has come under question due to the significant fiscal burden it imposes on the government. In 2022 alone, Nigeria spent over ₦4 trillion on fuel subsidies, representing a substantial portion of its budget, money that could otherwise be allocated to critical sectors like infrastructure, healthcare, and education (BudgIT, 2023). The subsidy program has also been plagued by corruption and inefficiencies, with fuel imports being inflated, and subsidized fuel frequently diverted to neighboring countries where prices are higher (Ogbonna & Appah, 2012). Beyond its fiscal impact, the subsidy system has stunted the development of the oil sector. Despite being one of the largest producers of crude oil in the world, Nigeria lacks sufficient refining capacity to meet its domestic demand for refined petroleum products. This has resulted in a heavy reliance on fuel imports, a paradox given the country's oil wealth. Subsidies have discouraged investment in local refining, as the artificially low prices made it unattractive for private investors to enter the market. Consequently, local refining facilities, including government-owned refineries, have deteriorated due to underfunding and mismanagement (Adamu & Abubakar, 2021). The removal of subsidies opens the door for market liberalization, which could attract investment into local refining, promote competition, and enhance the efficiency of the entire value chain in the oil and gas sector (Ikpefan & Ebhomele, 2023).

President Tinubu's subsidy removal policy is aimed at addressing these structural challenges. The decision to remove subsidies forms part of a broader set of economic reforms designed to stabilize Nigeria's economy, particularly in light of the country's dwindling oil revenues and increasing debt levels. The policy is expected to have several positive outcomes in the long term. By eliminating the fiscal burden of subsidies, the government can reallocate resources to more productive sectors, driving economic diversification and reducing dependency on oil exports. Furthermore, a deregulated petroleum market is likely to attract private sector participation, increasing efficiency in fuel distribution, refining, and marketing. Increased investment in local refining capacity will also reduce Nigeria's dependence on fuel imports, enhance energy security, and create jobs (Adedokun & Ogunleye, 2023). Nevertheless, the removal of petroleum subsidies presents significant short-term challenges, particularly for consumers. The immediate aftermath of the policy has been characterized by rising fuel prices, inflationary pressures, and public discontent. For many Nigerians, higher fuel costs translate into increased transportation and food prices, exacerbating existing socio-economic inequalities. Labor unions, civil society organizations, and opposition parties have expressed concern over the potential socio-economic impact of the policy, leading to protests and calls for government intervention (Akande, 2023). In response, the government has proposed various social intervention programs aimed at cushioning the impact on vulnerable populations, including transportation vouchers, conditional cash transfers, and subsidies targeted specifically at sectors critical to the poor, such as public transport.

In the broader context of Nigeria's oil sector, subsidy removal is a key step toward market deregulation and liberalization. In a deregulated environment, prices will be determined by market forces, which could foster competition and innovation. The end of subsidies may also encourage the entry of private players into the refining sector, potentially boosting domestic production capacity. Nigeria's refining industry, which has been plagued by inefficiency, underutilization, and mismanagement, stands to benefit significantly from increased private sector involvement and market-oriented reforms (Adamu & Abubakar, 2021). The Dangote Refinery, Africa's largest privately-owned refinery, is a prominent example of the potential for private investment to transform the sector. Its success could serve as a model for further investment, enhancing Nigeria's refining capacity and reducing its dependence on fuel imports (Ikpefan & Ebhomele, 2023). Moreover, this shift aligns with the Nigerian government's broader goal of diversifying the economy. Over the past decade, oil has accounted for over 90% of Nigeria's export revenues, making the economy highly vulnerable to fluctuations in global oil prices. The removal of fuel subsidies is part of a larger economic strategy aimed at reducing this dependency by fostering growth in other sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and technology (Onyekwena & Ekeruche, 2019). In this context, subsidy removal is not merely a fiscal adjustment, but a strategic move to promote long-term economic growth, structural transformation, and resilience.

The removal of petroleum subsidies in Nigeria marks a significant turning point in the country's economic policy, with both challenges and opportunities for the oil sector and the broader economy. While the immediate impact on consumers may be painful, the long-term benefits of market deregulation—including increased investment, improved efficiency, and greater economic diversification—could position Nigeria for sustainable growth. The key to the success of this policy lies in the government's ability to implement complementary

reforms, including social safety nets and infrastructure investments, to mitigate the short-term costs while maximizing the long-term gains of a liberalized petroleum market.

## **II. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

The removal of petroleum subsidies in Nigeria presents a complex challenge. While the policy aims to address the unsustainable fiscal burden and inefficiencies in the oil sector, its implementation has led to immediate socio-economic hardships, particularly for the most vulnerable populations. Fuel prices have surged, leading to inflationary pressures and an increase in the cost of living, which disproportionately affects lower-income households. Additionally, Nigeria's reliance on imported petroleum products due to underinvestment in local refining capacity compounds the problem, as higher global oil prices exacerbate domestic fuel costs.

Moreover, the shift towards market deregulation faces resistance from labor unions, civil society, and political opposition, who argue that the removal of subsidies without adequate social safety nets could deepen poverty and inequality. The challenge lies in balancing the long-term benefits of a liberalized petroleum market with the need to mitigate the immediate negative impacts on the economy and society. Without effective policy measures to address these concerns, the removal of subsidies may risk further destabilizing Nigeria's fragile socio-economic environment.

## **III. AIM AND OBJECTIVES**

The aim of the study is to assess the impact of the removal of petroleum subsidies on Nigeria's oil sector and broader economy, focusing on the challenges and benefits associated with market deregulation and the socio-economic consequences for consumers. While the objectives are to:

1. To evaluate the immediate effects of petroleum subsidy removal on fuel prices and the cost of living in Nigeria.
2. To analyze the impact of deregulation on investment in local refining capacity and the overall efficiency of the oil sector.
3. To examine the socio-economic repercussions of subsidy removal, particularly on vulnerable populations, and assess the adequacy of government measures to mitigate these impacts.
4. To explore the potential benefits of a liberalized petroleum market in terms of economic growth, competition, and energy security.
5. To investigate the political and social resistance to subsidy removal and its implications for policy implementation and stability.

## **IV. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. What are the immediate effects of petroleum subsidy removal on fuel prices and the cost of living in Nigeria?
2. How has deregulation impacted investment in local refining capacity and the efficiency of Nigeria's oil sector?
3. What are the socio-economic repercussions of subsidy removal on vulnerable populations, and how effective are the government's mitigation measures?
4. What potential benefits could a liberalized petroleum market bring in terms of economic growth, competition, and energy security in Nigeria?
5. How does political and social resistance to subsidy removal influence its implementation and overall stability in the country?

## V. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### **Public Choice Theory: Origins, Principles, and Relevance to Nigeria's Petroleum Subsidy Removal**

Public Choice Theory is a significant branch of economics that applies the analytical tools of economic thought to political behavior. It emphasizes how self-interest and incentives drive the actions of politicians, voters, and interest groups, much like in market transactions. This theory diverges from traditional economics, which assumes that governments function purely for the public good, by suggesting that political actors—similar to market participants—are motivated by personal benefits and incentives (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962). In the context of Nigeria's petroleum subsidy removal, Public Choice Theory offers a valuable framework for understanding the political resistance, economic inefficiencies, and societal impacts that accompany such policy shifts.

The origins of Public Choice Theory trace back to economists James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, considered the founders of this school of thought. Buchanan, particularly influential in this field, was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1986 for his groundbreaking contributions to the development of Public Choice Theory. His and Tullock's seminal work, *The Calculus of Consent* (1962), established a foundation for analyzing political decision-making processes shaped by self-interest, collective action, and institutional arrangements. Buchanan and Tullock (1962) argue that political actors—including legislators, bureaucrats, and voters—often make decisions based on personal or group interests, which can sometimes result in outcomes that are misaligned with the broader public good.

A core principle of Public Choice Theory is the concept of "rent-seeking." This refers to efforts by individuals or groups to secure financial benefits through political influence rather than through productive economic activities. In many instances, this involves lobbying for policies like subsidies, tariffs, or regulations that provide direct financial advantages. Nigeria's longstanding petroleum subsidy regime can be analyzed through the lens of rent-seeking behavior, as powerful interest groups, including political elites, oil marketers, and labor unions, have historically benefited from the subsidies. This dynamic has made it challenging for successive governments to reform or eliminate these subsidies, despite their fiscal unsustainability (Mitchell & Simmons, 1994).

Public Choice Theory also emphasizes the role of incentives in political decision-making. Politicians, for instance, are driven by the goal of remaining in power, which can lead them to support policies that are popular with voters, even if such policies are economically inefficient. In Nigeria, fuel subsidies have been maintained over the years because of their popularity among the electorate, who view them as an essential form of economic relief. However, the continuation of subsidies has placed a substantial burden on the national budget, diverting critical resources away from infrastructure, healthcare, and other essential public services. This theory helps explain why, despite their harmful economic consequences, subsidies persisted for so long (Mueller, 2003).

The relevance of Public Choice Theory to Nigeria's 2023 removal of petroleum subsidies lies in its capacity to explain the political dynamics and institutional constraints that have influenced the policy. President Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration removed the subsidies in an effort to reduce fiscal pressure and attract investment in the oil sector. However, the decision met significant opposition from labor unions, civil society groups, and political opponents, who argue that the removal disproportionately affects the poor by increasing fuel costs and, subsequently, the overall cost of living.

Labor unions, a key group benefiting from the fuel subsidies, are particularly relevant in this analysis. Public Choice Theory explains why these unions have a vested interest in opposing subsidy removal. Unions often represent lower-income workers, who benefit directly from the artificially low fuel prices maintained by subsidies. These unions have a strong incentive to resist the change, mobilizing against the policy to protect their members' economic interests, even if the long-term benefits of subsidy removal—such as improved fiscal

sustainability and enhanced investment in local refining capacity—are evident (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962). Similarly, politicians who depend on the support of these groups may hesitate to back such reforms, fearing a loss of political capital or electoral support.

Another critical element of Public Choice Theory is the notion of "bureaucratic self-interest." This concept suggests that bureaucrats, like other political actors, tend to pursue policies that enhance their power, budget, and influence. In Nigeria, public officials responsible for managing the petroleum subsidy regime may have resisted reforms that would diminish their control over subsidy allocation and distribution. Corruption and mismanagement in the subsidy system, including cases where payments were made to entities that failed to deliver fuel, reflect bureaucratic self-interest overriding the public good (Mueller, 2003). These bureaucratic actors, driven by personal incentives, contributed to the inefficiencies and corruption that plagued Nigeria's subsidy regime.

Public Choice Theory also discusses the concept of "logrolling," or the practice of exchanging political favors by supporting each other's preferred policies, even when those policies are economically inefficient or unpopular. In Nigeria, this practice may have played a role in the continuation of petroleum subsidies. Policymakers may have supported subsidies in return for political favors or future support on other legislative initiatives. This creates a feedback loop in which economically harmful policies are perpetuated because they benefit powerful political actors and coalitions, rather than serving the public interest (Tullock, 1967).

Public Choice Theory also provides insight into the broader governance challenges facing Nigeria's oil sector. By focusing on the role of political incentives, rent-seeking, and institutional weaknesses, the theory helps explain why oil sector reforms, including the removal of subsidies, have been difficult to implement. Despite the clear economic rationale for removing subsidies, the political obstacles have been formidable. Public Choice Theory suggests that unless these underlying political and institutional factors are addressed—such as reducing the influence of rent-seeking interest groups and creating more transparent governance structures—the long-term goals of the reform may not be fully realized (Mitchell & Simmons, 1994).

Public Choice Theory offers a comprehensive framework for analyzing the political economy of petroleum subsidy removal in Nigeria. By focusing on the self-interested behavior of political actors, interest groups, and bureaucrats, the theory explains the resistance to subsidy reform and the difficulty in implementing market-based policies in the face of entrenched interests. The persistence of subsidies in Nigeria, despite their negative economic impact, can be attributed to rent-seeking, political incentives, and institutional weaknesses. As Nigeria moves toward a deregulated petroleum market, Public Choice Theory underscores the need to address these political and institutional constraints to ensure the success of subsidy removal and market liberalization

## **VI. LITERATURE/ EMPIRICAL REVIEW**

Olufemi and Akinola (2021) conducted a study titled Impact of Petroleum Subsidy Removal on Economic Indicators in Nigeria, aiming to assess the immediate effects of subsidy removal on fuel prices, evaluate changes in inflation rates, and analyze broader economic implications for Nigeria's GDP. Akinola (2021) explored the research questions of how subsidy removal affects fuel prices, inflation rates, and GDP, hypothesizing that fuel prices and inflation rates would rise, with mixed impacts on GDP. The study was framed by Economic Deregulation Theory, focusing on the consequences of reducing government intervention. Employing a quantitative approach, Akinola analyzed secondary data from government reports and economic databases from 2015 to 2020. The findings indicated that subsidy removal led to increased fuel prices and inflation rates, though the GDP impacts were varied, with some sectors experiencing growth due to increased investment opportunities, while others faced economic strain. Akinola (2021) concluded that subsidy removal had mixed effects, recommending enhanced social safety nets to mitigate adverse impacts on low-income populations and investment in local refining capacity to stabilize fuel prices.

Chioma and Nwosu (2022) examined Consumer Reactions to Petroleum Subsidy Deregulation in Nigeria: A Case Study of Lagos State. The objectives were to analyze consumer reactions, assess changes in spending patterns, and evaluate the effectiveness of government compensatory measures. Nwosu (2022) formulated research questions regarding consumer reactions, changes in spending, and the effectiveness of compensatory measures, with hypotheses suggesting that deregulation would negatively impact consumer spending and that compensatory measures would be insufficient. The study was based on Public Choice Theory, which examines how political decisions are influenced by individual interests. Using a mixed-methods approach with surveys and focus groups in Lagos State, Nwosu (2022) found significant negative consumer reactions, reduced spending on non-essential items, and ineffective compensatory measures. The study concluded that deregulation led to decreased consumer welfare and recommended enhancing the effectiveness of compensatory measures and providing more comprehensive support systems.

David (2023) conducted research titled Petroleum Subsidy Removal and Its Impact on Investment in Nigeria's Oil Sector. The objectives were to evaluate the effect on domestic and foreign investment, analyze changes in refining capacity, and assess overall sector efficiency. Okonkwo (2023) explored research questions about investment levels, refining capacity, and sector efficiency, hypothesizing that subsidy removal would increase investment and improve sector efficiency. Utilizing Market Deregulation Theory, which focuses on the effects of reducing government intervention, Okonkwo (2023) used a longitudinal design, analyzing data from industry reports and investment records from 2015 to 2022. The findings showed increased domestic and foreign investment, improved refining capacity, and enhanced sector efficiency following subsidy removal. Okonkwo (2023) concluded that deregulation positively impacted the oil sector and recommended continued support for investment and stable regulatory environments to sustain improvements.

Maria (2024) examined The Socio-Economic Effects of Petroleum Subsidy Removal on Low-Income Households in Nigeria. The study aimed to assess the impact on living standards, evaluate changes in household expenditure, and examine the effectiveness of government support programs. Eze (2024) addressed research questions regarding living standards, expenditure changes, and the effectiveness of support programs, with hypotheses suggesting significant adverse effects on living standards and increased household expenditure, alongside varying effectiveness of support programs. Framed by Welfare Economics Theory, the study used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, including household surveys and interviews. Eze (2024) found that subsidy removal led to declines in living standards and increased expenditure on essential goods for low-income households, with government support programs proving inadequate. The study concluded that current support measures were insufficient and recommended enhancing support programs and implementing targeted measures to protect vulnerable populations during the transition.

## **VII. METHODOLOGY**

This study on Petroleum Subsidy and the Future of Nigeria's Oil Sector utilized secondary research methods to analyze the impacts of subsidy removal. The research involved a comprehensive review of existing literature, including government reports, industry publications, and previous academic studies related to petroleum subsidies and market deregulation. Data sources included published reports, policy documents, and statistical data from relevant organizations. The data were analyzed thematically to identify key trends and patterns in the effects of subsidy removal. The findings were presented through detailed narrative summaries to clearly convey the results of the secondary data analysis.

## **VIII. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

### **1. Immediate Effects of Petroleum Subsidy Removal on Fuel Prices and the Cost of Living**

The removal of petroleum subsidies in Nigeria has had profound and immediate effects on fuel prices and the overall cost of living. This policy shift, aimed at addressing fiscal pressures and reducing government expenditure, resulted in a sharp increase in fuel prices. Akinola (2021) documented that the elimination of subsidies led to an immediate spike in fuel prices, reflecting a direct pass-through effect where the cost of fuel

was transferred to consumers. This increase was significant enough to affect transportation costs, which in turn had a cascading effect on the prices of goods and services across the economy.

The rise in fuel prices has been particularly impactful in Nigeria, where the cost of transportation is a major component of the cost of living. Increased fuel prices directly translated into higher transportation costs for both goods and individuals, which contributed to an overall increase in the cost of living. As Akinola (2021) notes, this increase was felt acutely by households, especially those in lower-income brackets, who spend a larger proportion of their income on transportation and essential goods. The inflationary pressures caused by the subsidy removal led to an increase in the prices of everyday items, straining household budgets and reducing disposable income.

In addition to the direct cost impacts, the broader economic environment also felt the effects. The inflationary spike had ripple effects throughout the economy, influencing consumer behavior and economic stability. The rise in living costs led to reduced consumer spending on non-essential goods and services, which further impacted businesses and economic growth. Akinola's (2021) findings underscore the significant role that fuel subsidies play in moderating price levels and controlling inflation, and they highlight the challenges of transitioning away from such subsidies without causing undue economic strain on consumers.

## **2. Impact of Deregulation on Investment in Local Refining Capacity and Efficiency**

The deregulation of Nigeria's petroleum sector has had a notable impact on investment in local refining capacity and the overall efficiency of the oil sector. According to Okonkwo (2023), the removal of subsidies created a more attractive investment environment by allowing market forces to dictate prices and returns. This shift in policy incentivized both domestic and international investors to channel funds into the oil sector, particularly into refining infrastructure.

Before deregulation, the oil sector faced significant underinvestment in refining capacity due to the distortive effects of subsidies and a lack of market incentives for improvement. The removal of subsidies removed these distortions, making investments in refining and other infrastructure projects more financially viable. Okonkwo (2023) observed an increase in investments aimed at expanding and modernizing refining facilities, which led to improvements in refining capacity and operational efficiency.

Investors were more willing to invest in new technologies and upgrades to existing refineries, driven by the expectation of stable and competitive market conditions. This influx of investment has been associated with enhanced sector efficiency, as deregulation facilitated better resource allocation and operational performance. The increased investment has also led to greater competition within the sector, further driving improvements in efficiency and service delivery (Okonkwo, 2023).

The findings of Okonkwo (2023) are consistent with Market Deregulation Theory, which posits that reducing government intervention in markets can lead to increased investment and efficiency. By removing subsidies, the government allowed market forces to play a more significant role in shaping the sector, resulting in positive changes in refining capacity and sector performance. This evidence supports the view that deregulation can be beneficial for sector development, provided that complementary policies are in place to manage potential risks and challenges.

## **3. Socio-Economic Repercussions on Vulnerable Populations and Effectiveness of Government Mitigation Measures**

The socio-economic repercussions of subsidy removal on vulnerable populations have been substantial. Eze (2024) investigated how the policy shift affected low-income households, revealing that the removal of subsidies led to increased fuel and transportation costs. These higher costs placed an additional financial burden on low-income families, who spend a larger proportion of their income on essential goods and services.

The increase in living costs had a detrimental impact on the standard of living for many vulnerable individuals. Low-income households experienced a decline in their purchasing power, as they had to allocate more of their limited resources to cover higher costs for transportation and basic necessities. Eze (2024) highlighted that the

government's mitigation measures, such as targeted subsidies and compensatory programs, were inadequate in fully offsetting the financial strain faced by these populations. The compensatory measures were intended to provide relief but were often limited by logistical and financial constraints. The ineffectiveness of these measures exacerbated the challenges faced by vulnerable groups, indicating a need for more robust and comprehensive support mechanisms. Eze (2024) emphasized the importance of designing effective support programs that address the specific needs of low-income households and mitigate the adverse impacts of subsidy removal.

The findings suggest that while the policy shift may have been beneficial for broader economic goals, its implementation needed to be accompanied by more effective social protection measures to ensure that vulnerable populations were not disproportionately affected. The evidence highlights the necessity of integrating social considerations into economic policies to balance the objectives of market efficiency with the need for social equity.

#### **4. Potential Benefits of a Liberalized Petroleum Market**

A liberalized petroleum market in Nigeria holds several potential benefits, including enhanced economic growth, increased competition, and improved energy security. The removal of subsidies and subsequent deregulation can create a more competitive market environment, fostering innovation and efficiency within the petroleum sector. According to Akinola (2021), a liberalized market can drive economic growth by attracting investment and encouraging competition among fuel suppliers. The increased competition can lead to more efficient pricing and better service delivery, benefiting consumers and businesses alike. In addition, a competitive market environment can stimulate innovation, as firms seek to differentiate themselves and capture market share. Energy security is another potential benefit of market liberalization. By diversifying sources of supply and encouraging investment in infrastructure, a liberalized market can reduce dependency on imported fuel and enhance the stability of the energy supply. Okonkwo (2023) notes that increased investment in local refining capacity and infrastructure can contribute to a more resilient and secure energy system.

Overall, the potential benefits of a liberalized petroleum market include improved economic performance, enhanced competition, and greater energy security. These benefits can contribute to broader economic development and stability, provided that the market is well-regulated and supported by complementary policies that address potential challenges.

#### **5. Political and Social Resistance to Subsidy Removal**

Political and social resistance has played a significant role in shaping the implementation and stability of petroleum subsidy removal in Nigeria. Nwosu (2022) highlights that the policy shift has faced substantial opposition from various stakeholders, including political actors, civil society groups, and the general public. Resistance to subsidy removal has often been driven by concerns about the immediate financial impact on consumers and the perceived inadequacy of government compensatory measures. Protests and public outcry have been common in response to increased fuel prices and the associated cost of living pressures (Nwosu, 2022). This resistance has created challenges for the successful execution of deregulation policies and has led to political instability in some cases.

The findings underscore the importance of addressing political and social concerns when implementing major policy changes. Effective communication and stakeholder engagement are critical to building public support and ensuring the stability of policy transitions. Nwosu (2022) suggests that policymakers need to design and implement policies that not only address economic goals but also consider the social and political context to mitigate resistance and enhance policy effectiveness.

In summary, the discussion of findings from the study on petroleum subsidy removal reveals the complex interplay of economic, social, and political factors. While deregulation has brought about positive changes in investment and sector efficiency, it has also highlighted significant challenges, particularly for vulnerable populations. The insights gained from this analysis underscore the need for comprehensive policy design that balances economic objectives with social considerations and addresses potential resistance to ensure successful implementation and long-term stability.



### **Key findings**

1. The removal of petroleum subsidies led to a significant increase in fuel prices, which substantially raised the cost of living in Nigeria.
2. Deregulation of the petroleum sector attracted increased investment in refining capacity and improved sector efficiency.
3. Vulnerable populations experienced heightened financial strain due to rising fuel and transportation costs, with government mitigation measures proving insufficient.
4. A liberalized petroleum market has the potential to enhance economic growth, competition, and energy security through increased investment and improved market efficiency.
5. Political and social resistance to subsidy removal has created challenges for policy implementation and stability, highlighting the need for effective communication and stakeholder engagement.

### **IX. CONCLUSION**

The removal of petroleum subsidies in Nigeria has brought significant changes to the economy, impacting fuel prices, the cost of living, and investment in the oil sector. While deregulation has encouraged increased investment and improved sector efficiency, it has also imposed financial burdens on vulnerable populations and faced substantial political and social resistance. These findings underscore the complexities of policy implementation and the need for a balanced approach that considers both economic objectives and social implications.

### **X. RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. **Enhanced Social Support Programs:** Implement more comprehensive and effective social protection measures to mitigate the adverse effects of subsidy removal on low-income households. This includes targeted financial assistance and cost-of-living adjustments to support vulnerable populations.
2. **Strengthened Investment Incentives:** Develop policies that further incentivize investment in local refining capacity and oil sector infrastructure to maximize the benefits of deregulation and improve sector efficiency.
3. **Improved Communication Strategies:** Increase transparency and communication with the public regarding the benefits and rationale behind subsidy removal to build support and reduce resistance.
4. **Policy Flexibility and Monitoring:** Establish mechanisms for ongoing monitoring and adjustment of deregulation policies to address emerging challenges and unintended consequences effectively.
5. **Stakeholder Engagement:** Engage with political actors, civil society, and other stakeholders to address concerns and resistance, ensuring a more stable and supportive environment for the implementation of subsidy removal policies.

### **REFERENCES**

- 1) Adamu, A., & Abubakar, S. (2021). The Nigerian refining industry: Challenges and prospects. *Nigerian Journal of Petroleum Studies*, 32(3), 23-36.
- 2) Adedokun, A., & Ogunleye, K. (2023). Subsidy removal and its implications for Nigeria's economic growth. *Journal of African Economics*, 16(2), 14-29.
- 3) Akande, T. (2023). Nigeria's economic reforms: The case for fuel subsidy removal. *African Development Review*, 35(2), 45-61.

- 4) Akinola, O. S. (2021). Impact of petroleum subsidy removal on economic indicators in Nigeria. *Journal of Economic Policy*, 45(3), 234-250.
- 5) Buchanan, J. M., & Tullock, G. (1962). *The calculus of consent: Logical foundations of constitutional democracy*. University of Michigan Press.
- 6) BudgIT. (2023). Nigeria's 2022 subsidy expenditure: Fiscal implications and policy recommendations. *Policy Brief*, May 2023.
- 7) Eze, M. B. (2024). The socio-economic effects of petroleum subsidy removal on low-income households in Nigeria. *Journal of African Development Studies*, 62(4), 275-290.
- 8) Ikpefan, I., & Ebhomele, P. (2023). Petroleum subsidy removal and market deregulation in Nigeria: Prospects and challenges. *Journal of Energy Policy Studies*, 21(1), 15-29.
- 9) Mitchell, W. C., & Simmons, R. T. (1994). *Beyond politics: Markets, welfare, and the failure of bureaucracy*. Westview Press.
- 10) Mueller, D. C. (2003). *Public choice III*. Cambridge University Press.
- 11) Nwosu, C. E. (2022). Consumer reactions to petroleum subsidy deregulation in Nigeria: A case study of Lagos State. *Nigerian Journal of Social Research*, 39(2), 185-202.
- 12) Ogbonna, G. N., & Appah, E. (2012). Petroleum income and Nigerian economy: Empirical evidence. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 2(1), 33-45.
- 13) Okonkwo, D. O. (2023). Petroleum subsidy removal and its impact on investment in Nigeria's oil sector. *Oil and Gas Review*, 58(1), 115-130.
- 14) Onyekwena, C., & Ekeruche, M. A. (2019). Nigeria's fiscal crisis: Issues and options for reform. *Centre for the Study of the Economies of Africa*, Working Paper 05-19.
- 15) Tullock, G. (1967). The welfare costs of tariffs, monopolies, and theft. *Western Economic Journal*, 5(3), 224-232.