

Oil Pipeline Vandalism and Nigeria's National Security

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Abstract

This paper examines the nexus between oil pipeline vandalism and national security in Nigeria. Comprehending national security in terms of sustainability development and livelihood, the paper seeks to establish the implications of oil pipeline vandalism for Nigeria's national security. By way of descriptive analysis, predicated on empirical evidence, the paper posits that oil pipeline vandalism is a threat to Nigeria's national security. In view of its adverse impacts as exemplified in loss of life, economic losses, environmental degradation, and pipeline explosions, the paper submits that oil pipeline vandalism portends serious danger for national sustainability of Nigeria.

Index terms— pipeline; oil theft/bunkering; pipeline vandalism/vandalization; national security/sustainability; public safety; organized crime.

1 Introduction

The Nigerian petroleum industry has been confronted by two sapping challenges over the years. The challenges relates to the prevalence of militancy and oil pipeline vandalism in the Niger Delta. While the former has significantly attenuated in the aftermath of the Amnesty deal in 2009 (Okoli, 2013), the latter appears to have escalated both in incidence and impact. According to Ogbeni:

A total of 16,083 pipeline breaks were recorded within the last 10 years adding that while 398 pipeline breaks representing 2.4 percent were due to ruptures, the activities of unpatriotic vandals accounted for 15,685 breaks which translated to about 97.5 percent of the total number of cases (Ogbeni, 2012, para 8).

Indeed, the incidence of oil pipeline vandalism has been on the rise in Nigeria. According to the 2013 annual report of the Nigerian Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (NEITI), Nigeria lost a total of 10.9 billion US Dollars to oil theft between 2009 and 2011 (NEITI, 2013; Onoja, 2013). This loss adumbrates the significance of vandalism as a veritable problem in the Nigerian oil industry. The implication of oil pipeline vandalism vis-a-vis Nigeria's security has been vividly demonstrated by its nexus with economic, environmental, and humanitarian losses and consequences. In effect, oil pipeline vandalism has been associated with consequences which hold negative implications for national issue of Authors ? ? : Department of Political Science Federal University Lafia, Nigeria. E-mails : okochu007@yahoo.com, sundayorinya@yahoo.com oil pipeline vandalism, in spite of its topical relevance, has not received adequate emphasis in the existing literature. Again, the bulk of the extant works in the area of inquiry has tended to be merely journalistic, bereft of analytical rigours and systematization. This has necessitated a systematic investigation into the problematique. This paper, therefore, an attempt is made to establish the relationship between oil pipeline vandalism and national security in Nigeria. The paper posits that oil pipeline vandalism results in untoward outcomes which threaten Nigeria's national security.

2 II.

3 Methodology

The paper is qualitative and exploratory in approach. In keeping with the logic of deductive reasoning of systematic inquiry, the paper qualitatively explores its subject matter by way of a descriptive analysis, predicated

on scholarly exegesis and empirical evidence. The thrust of analysis was systematically prosecuted under select themes and sub-themes carefully designed to address the salient aspects of the paper's objective.

4 III.

5 Frame of Reference

Two basic concepts form the thrust of the subject matter of this paper. These are oil pipeline vandalism and national security. Following hereunder is an attempt to clarify these concepts vis-à-vis their contextual meanings in this writing.

6 a) Oil Pipeline Vandalism

Vandalism is an action involving deliberate destruction of public or private property. Within the civic domain, vandalism denotes willful destruction of public or government property in keeping with criminal or political intent. Oil pipeline vandalism therefore implies deliberate breaking of oil pipelines with the intent to steal petroleum products or to sabotage the government (Vidal, 2011).

In Nigeria, oil pipeline vandalism has been perpetrated principally by criminal syndicates who are motivated by the desire to loot oil products for material aggrandizement. This organized crime is often aided and abetted by the state agents, which gives it a semblance of a franchise. Oil pipeline vandalism is also known in Nigeria as oil bunkering, which is the act of drilling into the pipelines with the intent to steal products.

7 b) National Security

The conception of national security in this paper identifies with the revisionist thinking on the subject matter (Gambo, 2008; Onuoha, 2007), which sees national security from the point of view of human security. According to Onuoha (2007, p.4), human security entails:

Freedom from actual and potential threats to human life, safety and survival which may arise as a result of human actions or inactions, or from natural disaster such as flood, earthquake, famine, drought, disease and other non-man-made calamitous events resulting in death, human suffering and material damage.

National security is therefore understood in the context of this writing to mean the ability of the state to protect its citizenry from hunger, poverty, ignorance, disease, and all forms of defenselessness (Okoli, 2012). This entails protecting the citizenry from all forms of social, political, ecological, territorial, as well as cosmic vulnerabilities. This conception of national security marks a radical departure from the orthodox perspective which conceives of national security merely from defense/military-centric point of view (Alkali, 2003).

IV. Theoretical Framework : The Queer Ladder Theory (qlt)

A number of theories have been developed by scholars in an attempt to come to terms with the phenomenon of organized crime. These theories include the ethnic succession theory, social control theory, alien conspiracy theory, and queer ladder theory (Lyman, 2007; Mallory, 2007). For the purpose of this paper, the Queer Ladder Theory (QLT) has been adopted.

The principal assumptions of QLT can be summarized thus: i. Organized crime is an instrumental behavior/practice; it is a means to an end. ii. It is an instrument of social climbing and socioeconomic advancement. iii. It is a means to accumulate wealth and build power (Mallory, 2007). Often alluded to this theory is the assumption that organized crime thrives in contexts where the government's capacity to dictate and sanction crime is poor; where public corruption is endemic; and where legitimate livelihood opportunities are slim (Nwoye, 2000; Lyman, 2007). Under these circumstances, the incentive to indulge in life of crime is high, while deterrence from criminal living is low. This creates room for criminal impunity and franchise.

Applied to this study, QLT enables us to situate the prevalence of organized crime and other acts of criminality in Nigeria. In this regard, it is to be noted that the incidence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria has been driven by 'rat-race' for material aggrandizement.

This has been made worse by the prevailing socioeconomic malaise and concomitant livelihood crisis in the country. The inability or failure of the country relevant government agencies in ensuring efficient enforcement of appropriate sanctions against crime in Nigeria has all the more complicated and accentuated the problem.

The notion of 'ladder' in QLT symbolizes social climbing or mobility. Hence, those who take to organized crime as a means of social climbing (mobility) are thought to be toeing the awkward, unconventional (queer) path. The adoption of the theory for the purpose of this discourse is informed by its analytical utility in providing insights into the sociological foundations of organized crime in developing nations.

The queer ladder theory was influenced by an American sociologist, Daniel Bell (1919-2011), who coined the idea of 'queer ladder' in an attempt to explain the functional significance of organized crime as a desperate tactic for socioeconomic empowerment and social climbing. This analytical construct has since fertilized into a popular theoretical framework widely used in contemporary crime studies.

V.

8 The Structure of Nigeria's Oil Pipeline System

The discovery of crude oil in commercial quantity in Oloibiri in 1956 marked the birth of the petroleum industry in Niger. Since then, the Nigeria economy has been more or less dependent on petroleum. To facilitate the distribution of crude oil product from the oil rich Nigeria Delta to other parts of the country, a network of oil pipelines was constructed to inter-link some states at strategic locations (Onuorah, 2007).

Nigeria has a total pipeline grid of 5001 kilometers. This consists of 4315 kilometers of multiproduct pipelines and 666 kilometers of crude oil pipelines. These pipelines transverse the country, forming a network that inter-connects the 22 petroleum storage depots, the four refineries at Port-Harcourt (I and II), Kaduna and Warri, the off-shore terminals at Bonny and, Escravos, and the jetties at Alas Cove, Calabar, Okirika and Warri (Onuoha, 2007, p.6). This system of oil pipelines are used to transport crude oil to the refineries in Port-Harcourt (I and II), Warri and Kaduna, covering a total distance of 719 kilometres. The multi-product pipelines are used to transport products from the refineries/import receiving jetties to the 22 petroleum storage depots at various places in the country. The storage infrastructure consisting of 22 loading depots linked by pipeline of various diameters has aggregate installed capacities of 1,266,890 (PMS), 676 400 (DPK), 1007 900 (AGO), and 74 000 (ATK) m³tonnes (Special Committee on the Review of Petroleum Products Supply Distribution-SCRPPSD, 2000, p.10). The entire pipeline grid and oil products

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Oil Pipeline Vandalism and Nigeria's National Security distribution network is made up of organic systems as illustrated in the table below.

11 VI. Incidence and Prevalence of Oil Pipeline Vandalism in Nigeria

The Nigerian oil Pipeline infrastructure has been subjected to incessant attacks by vandals over the years. The frequency of such attacks has been rather disturbing in the recent times. For instance, in 1999 alone, there were a total of 477 recorded cases of pipeline vandalization in Nigeria (see Tables 2 below).

The incessant occurrence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria has raised the question as to whether the pipeline networks were laid in such a manner that forecloses easy vandalization. This is in addition to the question as to whether the pipelines are policed and protected at all. Indeed, some safety valves were considered while laying the pipelines. For instance, the government acquired 3.5 metres wide right of way (ROW) on each side of the pipelines; also the pipes were buried a meter deep to avoid accidental contacts, or vandalization. Despite these safety valves, recent experience in Nigeria has shown that the integrity and safety of these pipelines have been incessantly compromised because of the activities of vandals and saboteurs. The vandals fracture the oil pipelines with the criminal intent of obtaining and appropriating petroleum products for commercial purposes or personal use. The table below (Table 2) highlights the incidence of oil pipeline vandalization in Nigeria in 1990s. (Onuoha, 2007).

In effect available records clearly indicate that incidence of oil pipeline vandalism has been on the spiral increase in Nigeria. The vandals appear to have acquired more criminal discipline, sophistication and efficiency in perpetrating oil pipeline vandalism with apparent ease and impunity. So, the incidence has been escalating. A media report by Ogbeni (2012, para 5) succinctly situates the rising incidence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria in recent times thus:

Between 2010 and 2012, total of 2,787 lines breaks were reported on pipelines belonging to the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), resulting in a loss of 157.81mt of petroleum products worth about \$12.53billion. Pipeline along the Gombe axis recorded 850 cases and Kaduna system recorded 571 cases of pipeline vandalism. The pipeline along Warri axis recorded 548 cases vandalism while Mosimi system pipelines in Lagos recorded 463 cases and Port Harcourt recorded lesser cases of vandalism while mosimi system pipelines in Lagos recorded 463 cases and porthacort recorded lesser cases with 336 point vandalized.

It is evident from the above citation that oil pipeline vandalism is a burgeoning organized crime in Nigeria. This illegality has been so systematized in such a manner that it goes with a semblance of a franchise, wherein even public officials have been implicated. In this regards, Vidal (2011, para 5) poignantly observes:

The prevalence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria has been principally driven by the culture of inordinate ambition to amass fortunes for accelerated socio-economic mobility and empowerment. This is a pattern of 'primitive accumulation' that is prevalent in Nigeria's public and private domains. It is to be noted, however, that pipeline vandalism has also been occasioned by political sabotage. This was the case in the hey-days of the Niger Delta crisis when militants used to indulge in sporadic assaults of the pipeline systems in an attempt to sabotage the activities of the oil companies as well as elicit government and international attention (Ilagaha, 2007). The point to be underscored in the foregoing is that the prevalence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria has left the oil pipeline systems vulnerable to incessant breaks with untoward consequences for the political economy

of Nigeria. Below is a table showing the scale of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria between 2002 and 2012. In all, a total of 15, 685 cases of pipeline vandalism were recorded in Nigeria between 2002 and 2012. ??Ogbeni, 2012, para 8). The bulk of these incidents occurred in the Southern half of the country where the difficult terrain of the Creeks and Coastlines apparently makes such activities easy.

12 VII. Causes of Oil Pipeline Vandalism in Nigeria

It has been indicated in the preceding sections that oil pipeline vandalism is principally motivated by the criminal intent of the vandals who break into pipelines to drill products for pecuniary gains. The criminal intent notwithstanding, there are other factors which tend to predispose people to indulge in oil pipeline vandalism.

Prominent among these factors are scarcity of petroleum products, widespread poverty and ignorance (illiteracy) among Nigerians, poor protection of the pipelines as well as shallow lying of the pipelines. Some of these factors have been alluded to in the following citation:

The vandalism mostly take place in poor courtiers because international oil and gas companies often fail to buy or protect their pipelines as they would have to do by law in rich countries. The easily accessible pipes, which often run through slums and informal settlements in burgeoning cities, are tempting to desperately poor communities, who often have no electricity and must rely on oil lamps for lightening and power (Vidal, 2011, para 2).

In tandem with the above, the following can be identified as causative and predisposing factors of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria.

- i. Inordinate ambition to a mass wealth.
- ii. Culture of criminal impunity and corruption in Nigeria.
- iii. Poor policing /protection of oil pipelines.

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Volume XIII Issue V Version I But organized crime has moved into oil theft, and is now thought to be paying groups to break in to oil industry equipment and steal many thousands of gallons at a time. Tankers or barges are then filled and oil is exported -often with the help of corrupt bureaucrats and police forces.

- v. Widespread poverty of the rural and urban-slum dwellers.
- vi. Scarcity of petroleum products.
- vii. Flourishing of the oil black market in Nigeria and the likes.

14 VIII. Effects of Oil Pipeline Vandalism in Nigeria

Pipeline Vandalism has resulted in untoward consequences which threaten economic public safety and national sustainability in Nigerian. Hereunder is a discussion on the major effects of this phenomenon.

15 a) Economic Losses

The economic losses associated with oil pipeline vandalism are arrived at by qualifying the monetary with (value) of lost products and the cost of pipeline repairs. This has amounted to billions of Nigeria over the years. For instance, the Managing Director of Pipelines and Products Marketing Company (PPMC), Prince Haruna Momoh recently revealed that "between 2009 and December 2012, the NNPC alone lost about ?165 Billion to products theft and repairs of vandalized pipelines" (Ugwuanyi, 2013, para 6). More recent figures suggest that Nigeria has lost as much as ?1.011 trillion to oil theft (See for instance an entry at www.legalcom/news.asp%3fmonth%...). A report issued by NEITI in July 2013 (already cited elsewhere in the paper) indicates that Nigeria lost a whopping sum of 10.9 billion US Dollars to oil theft and vandalism in the period of 2009 to 2011 alone. These translate to huge economic loss with far reaching implications for Nigeria's economic growth and development, and by extension national security.

16 b) Environmental Degradation

Pipeline vandalism has led high incidence of oil spillage in Nigeria over the years. The 2011 Draft Annual Statistical Bulletin of the NNPC shows that oil spills are significantly on the rise in Nigeria. The figure below (Appendix 1) illustrates this fact. Associated with the incidence of oil spills is the attendant environmental degradation which jeopardizes the land, vegetation and habitation of the affected area. This has been exemplified in desolation of farmlands, loss of aquatic and wild lives, as well as water and air pollution. These conditions have implications for public health and safety of the people. c) Fire Disasters/Pipeline Explosions This has been the worst manifestation of the impact of oil pipeline vandalism on human security in Nigeria According to Ugwuanyi:

Over 2,500 lives have been lost to explosion from vandalized pipelines in last 15 years. Sometimes, the exact figures of casualties were not got in the event of fire outbreaks while some incidents were not reported (2013, para 8). To better appreciate the spate of pipeline explosion disasters in Nigeria in the recent years, a graphic highlight of such occurrences is instructive. See table 4, 5, and 6 below details. The above table shows that Nigeria has witnessed cases of oil pipeline explosions as much as twenty-six (26) times since the foremost incident at Jesse, near Warri in 1998. About 3,000 people are estimated to have died in these incidents (see for instance Table 5.3 above). The incidents of pipeline disasters have been most pervasive and frequent in the coastal states

of Nigeria, of which Lagos and Delta have ostensibly taken the lead. Table 5 below compares these two states (Lagos and Delta) in terms of the incidence and frequency of oil pipe disasters.

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Volume XIII Issue V Version I () Apart from human casualties, oil pipeline disasters have resulted in loss of livelihood sources, population displacement, and destruction of family assets, and environmental degradation (Okoli, 2012). This implies that oil pipeline vandalism is a veritable impediment to human security in Nigeria. Hence, oil pipeline explosions have been associated with dire ecological and humanitarian conditions (UNEP, 1085; Nrnberger, 1999), whereby populations are displaced as a result of actual or impending disaster.F

18 d) Killing of Public Officials

Oil pipeline vandalism has also resulted in wanton killing of government officials and public security agents. In effect, oil vandals have acquired immense sophistication in arms bearing and violence. This enables them to contend with and ward off threats during their criminal operations. In this context, they have often killed both policemen and civilians in an attempt to ensure 'hitch free' operations. A case in point is the killing of five members of staff of PPMC at Arepo in January, 2013 when they came to fix a vandalized pipeline (Ugwuanyi, 2013, para 9).

19 IX. General Strategic Implications of Oil Pipeline Vandalism

In addition to its impacts, the prevalence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria holds some strategic implications for the country. First, it is an affront to the Nigerian Justice system. In spite of its criminalization in the Nigeria criminal law, the phenomenon has prevailed with apparent impunity. It is indeed worrisome that an act that amounts to a blatant violation of the Constitution has subsisted in defiance of criminal justice and rule of law.

Secondly, the prevalence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria portends danger for the fight against corruption in Nigeria. It has been established that government agents have often aided and abetted this criminal practice, thus given it some semblance of a franchise. It has also been established that in some cases, criminal elements in Nigeria oil industry have collaborated with organized syndicates in perpetrating pipeline vandalism. This tells volume of the systemic corruption in Nigeria, which has been quite endemic and intractable within the sphere of public domain.

Thirdly, the prevalence of oil pipeline vandalism implies negatively for Nigeria's aspiration towards sustainable economic growth and development. The extent of infrastructural damage, as well as economic loss and sabotage associated with oil pipeline vandalism points to the fact that it is a veritable impediment to Nigeria's economic development. This is more so in view of the strategic position of the petroleum sector in Nigeria's political economy.

Overall, oil pipeline vandalism constitutes a veritable threat to Nigeria's national security. As it has been observed in the preceding sections of this writing, the impact and implications of pipeline vandalism have been critically detrimental to the concerns of public safety and development in Nigeria. To say the least, therefore, the prevalence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria over the years has presented the country with crucial national security challenge.

20 X. Conclusion and Recommendations

In this paper, an attempt has been made to examine the phenomenon of oil pipeline explosion disaster in Nigeria with a view to situating its impacts and implications vis-a-vis Nigeria's national security. The paper took off on the premise of the assumption that oil pipeline vandalism is a veritable threat to Nigeria's national security. To buttress this point, the paper explored the trend of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria and posited that the act amounts to criminality, economic and ecological sabotage. Regarding its impacts, the paper observed that oil pipeline vandalism has resulted in immense economic losses, environmental degradation, and pipeline explosions wherein scores of people have been killed. In the light of these findings, the paper submits that oil pipeline vandalizing has posed a serious threat to national sustainability of Nigeria. This affirms the assumption of the pipeline of the paper to the affect that oil pipeline vandalism is a veritable threat to Nigeria's national security.

The paper also observed that the prevalence of oil pipeline vandalism in Nigeria portends negatively for Nigeria's aspirations to rule of law, anti-corruption, and sustainable economic development. To checkmate the criminality, the paper recommends stringent penalties for perpetrators of oil pipeline vandalism in an attempt to ensure deterrence. The NNPC and oil multinationals should work with local communities towards ensuring that pipelines are adequately protected in the hinterlands. There is a need for the law enforcement agents to be up and doing and proactive in ensuring a grass-roots surveillance of pipelines in order to defer prospective vandals.

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Figure 1: Table 1 :

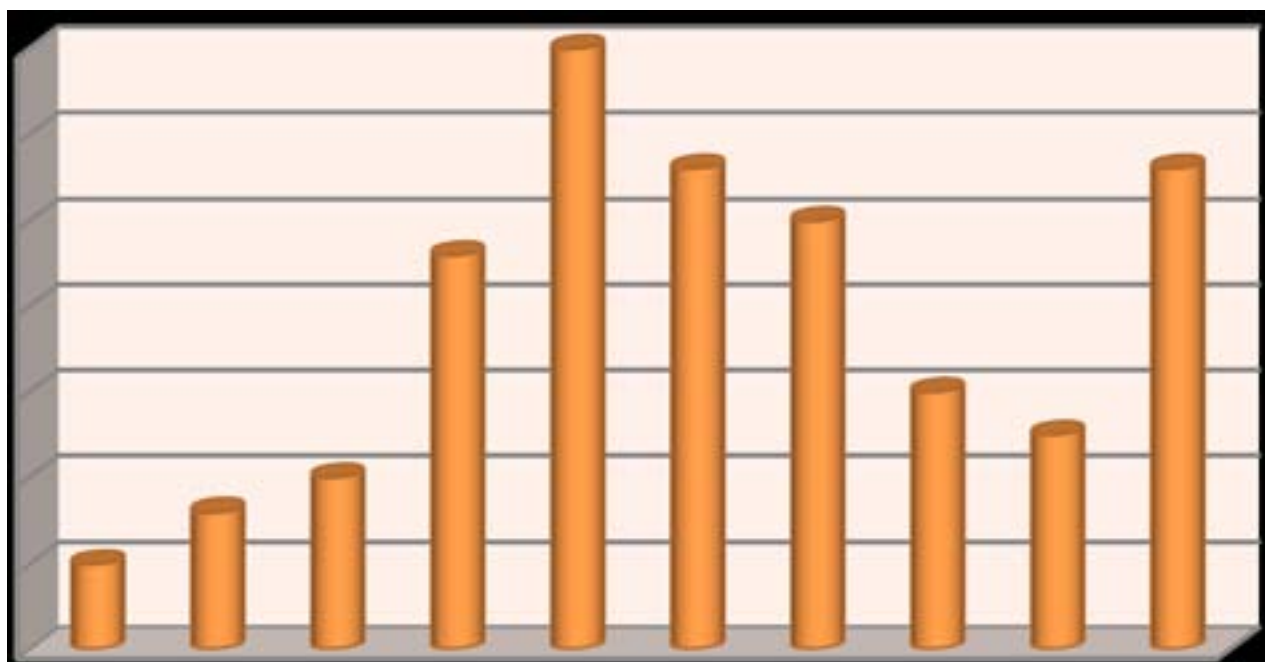


Figure 2:

2

| Year | Number of Incidents | Remarks |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1995 | 7 cases | Reported cases only |
| 1996 | 33 cases | Reported cases only |
| 1997 | 34 cases | Reported cases only |
| 1998 | 57 cases | Reported cases only |
| 1999 | 497 cases | Reported cases only |

Source : NNPC's Special Committee on the Review of Petroleum Product Supply and Distribution-SCRPPS (p.4).

Figure 3: Table 2 :

3

| PIPELINE SYSTEM | PIPELINE ROUTE | NO OF BREAKS (%) |
|-----------------|---|-------------------------|
| System 2E/2EX | Port-Harcourt -Aba -Enugu -Makurdi + Yola | 8, 105 (50.3%) |
| System 2A | Warri -Benin -Suleja/Ore | 3, 295 (20.2%) |
| System 2B | Atlas Cove -Mosimi -Satellite -Ibadan -Ilorin | 2,440 (% not indicated) |
| System 2C-1 | Warri -Escravos | 74 (% not indicated) |
| Gas System | Trans -Forcados | 55 (% not indicated) |

[Note: Source : Adapted from Ogbeni (2012); <http://ehatafrik.com/articles/economy/item/1284-fue-pipe-vandalism-in-nigeria.html>]

Figure 4: Table 3 :

4

| S/N | Date | Location | State | Death Toll | Observed Consequences |
|-----|------------------|-------------------------|-------|---------------|--|
| 1. | 17 October 1998 | Jesse | Delta | At least 1000 | Damage to farm-lands, environmental pollution, dozens of people injured. |
| 2. | 22 April 1999 | Bayatta, Ijaw Community | Delta | At least 10 | Damage to farmlands, pollution (air and water). |
| 3. | 8 June 1999 | Akute Odo | Ogun | At least 15 | Damage to farm-lands (land and air pollution) |
| 4. | 13 October 1999 | Ekakpamre Ughelli | Delta | Undetermined | Damage to farm-lands, destruction of flora and fauna, environmental pollution. |
| 5. | 14 January 2000 | Gatta Community | Delta | At least 12 | Damage to farm-lands and environment. |
| 6. | 7 February 2000 | Ogwe Community | Abia | At least 15 | Damage to farm-lands and the environment. |
| 7. | 20 February 2000 | Lagos | Lagos | At least 3 | Damage to farm-lands, destruction of a canoe, environmental pollution. |
| 8. | 14 March 2000 | Umugbede Community | Abia | At least 50 | Environmental pollution, damage to farmlands. |
| 9. | 22 April 2000 | Uzo-Uwani | Enugu | At least 6 | Damage to farm-lands, environmental pollution. |

Figure 5: Table 4 :

5

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Delta | Lagos |
| Jesse incident, 1998 | Lagos incident, 2000 |
| Bayatta incident, 1999 | Ijegun incident, 2004 |
| Ekakpamre incident, 1999 | Imore incident, 2004 |
| Gatta incident, 2000 | Ilado incident, 2006 |
| Adaje incident, 2000 | Ijeododo incident, 2006 |
| Okuedjeba incident, 2000 | Abule Agba incident, 2006 |
| Adeje/Egborede, Okpe incident 2000 | Ikate incident, 2007 |
| Oviri Court incident, 2000 | Ijegun incident, 2008 |
| Total no. of cases = 8 | Total no. of cases = 8 |
| Source : Adapted from | |

Figure 6: Table 5 :

4

Figure 7: Table 4 .

6

| DATE/YEAR | PLACE | STATE | EFFECTS |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------|--|
| December 2009 | Arepo | Ogun | Loss of lives and environmental pollution |
| May, 2010 | Amukpe, Near Sapale | Delta | Destruction of public property (NNPC facilities) |
| December, 2010 | Idu, near Ijegun | Lagos | Loss of lives and environmental degradation. |
| May, 2011 | Okoko Amukpe | Delta | Loss of lives and environmental and damage |
| 2011 | Okoroma Clan Nembe LGA | Bayelsa | Population displacement and family dislocation. |
| October 1, 2012 | Umueke-Umueze in Osisioma LGA | Abia | Loss of lives and destruction of farmlands. |
| Januarys 2013 | Arepo | Ogun | Loss of line and environmental degradation |
| Source : Author | | | |

Figure 8: Table 6 :

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