



NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES
SERIES EDITOR: GEORGE CHRISTOU

Oil and Gas Pipeline Infrastructure Insecurity

Vandalism, Threats, and Conflicts in the Niger
Delta and the Global South

Abdul L. Abraham Jatto

palgrave
macmillan

New Security Challenges

Series Editor

George Christou, University of Warwick, Coventry, UK

The security agenda has become increasingly complex in recent years, with the war in Ukraine that began in February 2022 reminding us that we cannot take sustainable peace for granted, and that traditional concerns focusing on the state, war and military defence that came with the Cold War, remain important. It has also highlighted, however, the interconnectedness of the traditional and issues that are now of equal and indeed more significance to the security of the collective and the individual in the 21st Century, including, for example, human, food, cyber, health, environmental, economic, and energy security. Such issues have also seen a proliferation of a multiplicity of actors – state and non-state – as well as institutions at different levels – local, national, regional, global – in the performance of security. Moreover, the construction, contestation and practice of security is increasingly playing out across many new ‘spaces’ and ‘sites’ to address new types of risks and threats that are far from straightforward, including bioterrorism, cyber-attacks, climate change, interference in democratic processes and global pandemics. The increasing complexity and dynamism of the unfolding security agenda is what the *New Security Challenges* series seeks to capture and reflect, whilst not neglecting the importance of the relationship between the traditional and the new, for the contemporary global security environment.

For an informal discussion for a book in the series, please contact the series editor George Christou (G.Christou@warwick.ac.uk), or Palgrave editor Lucy Everitt (lucy.everitt.1@palgrave.com).

This book series is indexed by Scopus.

Abdul L. Abraham Jatto

Oil and Gas Pipeline Infrastructure Insecurity

Vandalism, Threats, and Conflicts in the Niger
Delta and the Global South

palgrave
macmillan

Abdul L. Abraham Jatto
School of Social and Political Sciences
University of Lincoln
Lincoln, UK

ISSN 2731-0329

ISSN 2731-0337 (electronic)

New Security Challenges

ISBN 978-3-031-56931-9

ISBN 978-3-031-56932-6 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-56932-6>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer
Nature Switzerland AG 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Paper in this product is recyclable.

This book is dedicated to God Almighty for giving me good health, the will, resilience, and finances that made it possible for me to complete this rigorous academic research.

Also,

To the unforgettable memory of my mother: Madam Kelimatu Agnes Oseni Jatto for her wise counsel, meticulous guidance, unrelenting prayers, and unflinching faith and conviction about providence in my life. Being the spark of light that has led me through the unpredictable path of life. Honing my invaluable quest for knowledge, and what I came to achieve.

Equally to a Part of Me:

Mrs. Edidiong Abdul Lamidi Abraham Osiorenuah Jatto

More importantly, to my Posterity:

Mr Anabulu Osiokwah, Miss Ogbieghie Efvah, and Mr Imouedemeh Enakhe

Abdul L. Abraham Osiorenuah Jatto

For their Ever-attractive, Exciting, and Energetically Charming Sparkles.

FOREWORD

Always a pleasure when asked to write a forward for a book by authors, but for such a request to come from a mentee, is a double honour and a joy fulfilled. The book dwells on one of the most intractable and intricate security challenges in Nigeria, focussing on the entanglement underpinning oil pipeline infrastructure insecurity and conflict in Nigeria's historic Niger Delta region. The author shows this entanglement constituting a 'Gordian knot' of deeply interconnected social, economic, environmental, political, and security challenges. Through extensive first-hand empirical research engaging an array of stakeholders on the ground, this eye-opening book provides illuminating and essential insights into the dynamics of these issues from the perspectives of those directly impacted. The in-depth interviews spanning key players ranging from impoverished community members to civil society activists, security forces, and oil company executives represent a profoundly valuable contribution distinguishing this text. Unlike abundant prior academic analysis of Nigeria's petro-insecurity dilemmas which has relied on secondary data and macro analysis, this book uniquely prioritises amplifying the voices of those experiencing these challenges first-hand in the affected communities.

Giving primacy to these local Niger Delta viewpoints enriches understanding of the context-specific frustrations and disparities which simmer below the surface before potentially manifesting in pipeline vandalism, oil bunkering, illegal refining, and the spectrum of threats to human and critical infrastructure security. Whether due to perceived social injustice and

economic marginalisation, the unbearable burden of the environmental impacts of incessant oil spills and gas flaring, or the rural perspectives revealed in this book, add essential nuance regarding what fuels regional instability and infrastructural risks.

In addition to its empirical foregrounding of diverse qualitative insights from the bottom up, another signature hallmark of this text lies in its application of relevant theoretical propositions to logically explain the conflicts documented. The foundational Frustration-Aggression Displacement Theory first posited by Yale sociologist John Dollard and extended more recently by criminologists and human security scholars provides a cogent explanatory framework. Within Nigeria's oil-producing Delta communities long afflicted by abject poverty and lack of basic infrastructure despite providing the lion's share of government foreign exchange revenues, this analytical model illuminates logical linkages in how chronic unresolved development grievances psychologically give rise to anger, then aggression, often directed through displacement at the structures of powerful external oil interests.

As a compelling supplement to such established conceptual models, an additional seminal theoretical contribution of this text comes through the author's proposed Community Neglect Aggression Displacement Theory. This integrates environmental considerations by highlighting how sustained degradation of the local livelihoods and ecology essential for subsistence fishing and farming also fans community frustrations which at boiling point bubble over into destructive backlash. Hence the book provides actionable policy insights by tracing a circular cascade spanning socio-economic and environmental drivers of perceived neglect, eliciting hostility channelled toward the infrastructure enabling exclusion amid plenty.

For its grounded empirical enrichment of the discourse and novel theoretical explications, this book represents essential reading not only for academic researchers but for policymakers, development institutions, and industry leaders keen to get to grips with the 'hydropolitics' of energy insecurity. All have integral roles to play in dissolving rather than tightening the 'Gordian knots' of risk. Indeed, objective diagnosis here of the underlying societal malaise points the compass for how remedial interventions ought to be reoriented toward actualising comprehensive seaport, rail, and road infrastructure modernisation for Niger Delta region and its infrastructure-deprived population. This blueprint articulated at the community level serves as a microcosm for the urgency of reforms

from the highest levels of political leadership down to multinational oil conglomerates and even small-scale illegal bunkering entrepreneurs. What is clear in this book is how technical pipeline security solutions or rhetorical amnesty gestures alone cannot hope to sustainably redress accelerating pressures without a holistic understanding of their root sociological and environmental drivers.

The clarity of the book leads me to conclude that it contributes long overdue enlightened perspectives toward solving the notoriously complex security problems that have bedevilled the Niger Delta region of Nigeria for decades. Additionally, the transferable insights the book provides are of critical relevance from Latin America's resource-rich Amazon to the Caspian's hydrocarbon hotspots anywhere vulnerable populations perceive pipeline corridor protection initiatives as instruments of exclusion and socio-ecological subjugation. This is a book for state and non-state actors contending with local, national, regional, and global environmental degradation and attendant socio-economic and political effects.

Prof. Obas John Ebohon
Dean of the Academy for
Sustainable Futures
Canterbury Christ Church
University
Canterbury, Kent, UK

PREFACE

This book explored the causes of onshore oil and gas pipeline infrastructure insecurity in Bayelsa state as a lens to understand the oil and gas infrastructure insecurity problems in the Niger Delta and the Global South. Its aim focused on the critical analysis of the vandalism of the Nembe Creek Trunk Line which has also experienced several operational blowouts. Although oil and gas infrastructure insecurity and pipeline vandalism in the Niger Delta has fascinated many scholars who have focused on the political and economic perspectives, and socio-economic dimensions of the problem. Most scholars have shielded away from exploring a range of underlying socio-economic issues, poor governance, environmental conditions, and politics that are responsible for the vandalism of the NCTL. This book explored the borderline areas. It drew on inferences from both political socio-economic, and environmental factors and linked them to structural issues to reveal the causes of onshore pipeline vandalism, and oil and gas infrastructure insecurity in Nembe Bayelsa and most petrostates in the Global South. Many works of literature, documentary, and regulatory framework policies were reviewed, scrutinised, and analysed to have a broader understanding of oil and gas operations, and the dynamics of the insecurity problems in the sector. The book applied the frustration-aggression displacement theory to explain how various regulatory policy frameworks implemented by the oil and gas operators, the regulators, and the government represent the

instrumental triggers that lead to anger and frustration resulting in aggression and vandalism. FADT is supported by a theoretical model called Community Neglect Aggression Displacement Theory. The proposed CNADT explains that the collective neglect to resolve the underlying socio-economic and environmental issues in communities led to poverty, unemployment, and a decrease in household incomes provoking anger and aggression that led to vandalism. FADT and CNADT established that a person, group, or community that has experienced extreme depravity, marginalisation, and obstruction to their source of wellbeing, happiness, and livelihood will be frustrated, angry, and turn to aggression. This book found that the heightened cases of pipeline vandalism and oil and gas insecurity problems in Nembe-Bayelsa, and most local communities across petrostates in the Global South are due to decades of collective neglect of many issues that concern local communities, poor governance, corruption, and environmental devastation.

January 2024

Dr. Abdul L. Abraham Jatto,
Ph.D., FHEA
AdvanceHE Teaching Fellow
in Politics & International
Relations, Political Security/
Resilient Oil and Gas Security,
Nigeria, Sub-Sahara Africa &
Global South, UK

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I acknowledge the School of Social and Political Sciences ethics committee at the University of Lincoln, UK, for their rigorous ethical approval processes. It formed the basis for the doctoral fieldwork from where a substantial part of the data that formed this book was obtained. I appreciate the contributions of the book editor, Dr. Anietie Isong, an international oil and gas professional, a scholar, and an award-winning British author. He leveraged over 10 years of professional experience with world-leading multinational oil and gas corporations, to edit this book. Particularly, for integrating his wealth of practical knowledge in writing reports on the oil and gas industry and participating in many cross-sectoral and international oil and gas conferences. Editing this book demonstrates his unrelenting desire to contribute to the body of knowledge. As an author, Dr. Anietie Isong has been a guest speaker at the London Book Fair, the Ake Arts and Book Festival, the Henley Literary Festival, Marlborough Literature Festival, among other literary festivals across the world. He has also been a judge of the Society of Authors' Awards in the UK.

Also, I am extremely humbled by the unflinching support of my family, my wife, and my children, for being consistent, and persistent in their prayers, faith, loving care, kindness, and belief in me throughout my never-ending search for advanced knowledge. I express my gratitude to Professor Pat Utomi, Political Economist, at Lagos Business School and Management, Fellow of the Institute of Management Consultants

of Nigeria. Scholar-in-residence at the Harvard Business School and the American University in Washington D.C., and currently the Chairman, of United Niger Delta Energy Development Security Strategy for his gate-keeping role. He used his vast contact network to introduce and link me with vital professional independent civil society organisations representatives and environmental activists in Bayelsa and the wider historic Niger Delta region. I thank all the professional participants, Senior oil and gas executives, Directors of oil and gas regulatory agencies, and Senior security officials from the Operation Delta Safe OPDS headquarters. I also want to appreciate all the community participants such as Kings, Paramount rulers, High chiefs, Youth leaders, and High-profile community leaders for volunteering their participation in the fieldwork. Their support, stories, and narrations gave the detailed insights needed to shine a new light into this dark area of onshore oil and gas pipeline vandalism, focusing on the NCTL and insecurity in Bayelsa-Nembe. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, to understand the complexities of the underlying issues of vandalism, threats, tensions, conflicts, and insecurity in the Niger Delta and perhaps the Global South through the lens of poor governance and socio-economic, political, and environmental challenges.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
	<i>Introductory Statement</i>	1
	<i>The Aim and Academic Contribution of the Book</i>	5
	<i>The Purpose of the Book</i>	8
	<i>Fieldwork and Data Collection Methodology</i>	11
	<i>The Book and its Background</i>	12
	<i>The Book Context</i>	22
	<i>The Book Structure</i>	24
	<i>References</i>	27
2	Oil and Gas Pipeline Infrastructure and Sustainable Development in the Global South	37
	<i>The Global South, Evasive and Problematic to Discuss Geopolitical Threats and Insecurity Affecting Oil and Gas Infrastructure</i>	37
	<i>Sustainable Development and Oil and Gas Infrastructure</i>	39
	<i>Conclusion</i>	43
	<i>References</i>	48
3	Impact of Oil and Gas Infrastructure in Bayelsa, Niger Delta	55
	<i>Niger Delta Geography</i>	55
	<i>History, Nembe Wars, and Colonialism</i>	57
	<i>Nembe Creek Trunk Line and Nembe-Ewelesuo Community</i>	63

<i>Oil and Gas Exploration in Nigeria</i>	65
<i>Oil and Gas Exploration Infrastructure in the Niger Delta</i>	67
<i>Impact of the NCTL on Nembe and Niger Delta Communities</i>	70
<i>Conclusion</i>	72
<i>References</i>	72
4 Impact of Oil and Gas Exploration and Infrastructure in Niger Delta on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals	81
<i>The Niger Delta Climate Problem</i>	81
<i>Impact of Unemployment on the Niger Delta</i>	84
<i>Oil and Gas Infrastructure Insecurity and how Pipelines can be Secured</i>	87
<i>Strategies Nigeria Uses in Preventing Pipeline Vandalism</i>	89
<i>Oil and Gas Regulatory Frameworks and Causes of Vandalism</i>	95
<i>The Troubling Phenomenon of Leadership “Curse” in Nigeria</i>	104
<i>Government and Operators’ Response to Oil Spillages</i>	106
<i>The Issues with Compensations</i>	111
<i>Corporate Social Responsibility to Environmental, Social, and Governance</i>	111
<i>Conclusion</i>	118
<i>References</i>	119
5 Security and Theoretical Explanation of Pipeline Vandalism in Bayelsa State, Nigeria	131
<i>Understanding Security Concepts</i>	131
<i>Human Security</i>	139
<i>Frustration-Aggression-Displacement Theory</i>	141
<i>Applying Frustration-Aggression-Displacement Theory to Nigeria Niger Delta</i>	148
<i>Applying Community-Neglect-Aggression-Displacement Theory</i>	152
<i>Militancy in the Niger Delta</i>	156
<i>Terrorism Question and Oil and Gas Pipeline Infrastructure Vandalism</i>	161
<i>Methodology and Fieldwork</i>	166
<i>Conclusion</i>	173
<i>References</i>	174

6	The Effect of Oil and Gas Activities on Pipeline Vandalism: The Perspectives of Professional Operators	187
	<i>Insight into the Data Presentation and Analysis Process</i>	187
	<i>The Impact of Corruption and Criminality</i>	188
	<i>Impact of Community Projects on Vandalism</i>	197
	<i>Impact of Environmental Pollution on Vandalism</i>	205
	<i>Impact of Pipeline Structural Integrity on Vandalism</i>	213
	<i>Impact of Community Compensation on Pipeline Vandalism</i>	221
	<i>Conclusion</i>	229
	<i>References</i>	230
7	Pipeline Vandalism and the Impact of Oil and Gas Activities on Communities: Community Stakeholders' Perspectives	239
	<i>Impact of Corruption and Criminality</i>	239
	<i>Lack of Socio-Economic and Political Resources</i>	248
	<i>Environmental Pollution</i>	257
	<i>Compensation and Social Injustice</i>	264
	<i>Conclusion</i>	271
	<i>References</i>	272
8	Discussion and Conclusion	279
	<i>Comparing Findings: Oil and Gas Professionals and Community Stakeholders</i>	279
	<i>Causes of Vandalism, Threats, Conflicts, and Insecurity in the Niger Delta</i>	284
	<i>Responding to Oil Spillages and Vandalism</i>	294
	<i>Impact of Security Strategies on Local Communities</i>	296
	<i>Impact of the NCTL Construction on Local Communities</i>	297
	<i>Solving the Problems. Is this Possible?</i>	298
	<i>Pipeline Operations and Community Development Life Cycle (POCDLC)</i>	302
	<i>Conclusion</i>	309
	<i>Recommendations</i>	314
	<i>References</i>	316
	Appendix A	323
	Appendix B	329
	Appendix C	333

Appendix D	335
Bibliography	339
Index	403

ABBREVIATIONS

AFC	Armed Forces Council
AOGR	Africa Oil and Gas Report
BANGOF	Bayelsa Non-Governmental Organisation Forum
BTCC	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Corporation
BWF	Bayelsa Women Forum
CCECC	China Civil Engineering Construction Company
CDS	Chief of Defence Staff
CJD	Criminal Justice Decree
CNADT	Community Neglect Aggression Displacement Theory
CPGC	Contemporary Poor Governance Cycle
CSPDM	Community Stakeholders' Policy Development Model
DDRD	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration, and Development
DMI	Directorate of Military Intelligence
DPR	Department of Petroleum Resources
DRMS	Downstream Remote Monitoring Systems
DSA	Development of Special Areas
DSS	Department of State Security
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
EM	Exxon Mobil
ERA	Environmental Rights Action
FADT	Frustration-Aggression-Displacement Theory
FAT	Frustration-Aggression-Displacement
FEDAL	Federation of Female Lawyers
FET	Forcados Export Terminal
FIIB	Federal Intelligence and Investigation Bureau

FME	Federal Ministry of Environment
FMPR	Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources
FPS	Floating Production Storage
GAM	General Aggression Model
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
GEIL	Green Energy International Limited
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
GMOU	General Memorandum of Understanding
GN	Global North
GPPAC	Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
GS	Global South
HCDT	Host Community Development Trust
HDI	Human Development Index
HNDR	Historic Niger Delta Region
HPS	Heads of the Paramilitary Services
ICC	Intelligence Coordinating Committees
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices Commission
ICR	International Centre for Reconciliation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MORETO	Movement for the Reparation to Ogbia
MOSIEN	Movement for the Survival of the Izon (Ijaw) Ethnic Nationality
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSSL	Maritime Support Services Limited
NA	Nigeria Army
NB	National Budget
NBC	National Bureau of Statistics
NC	Nigeria Customs
NCHRE	National Committee on Human Research Ethics
NCTL	Nembe Creek Trunk Line
ND	Niger Delta
NDA	Niger Delta Avengers
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDLEA	Nigeria Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NDM	Niger Delta Militants
NDPVF	Niger Delta People Volunteer Force
NEITI	Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
NFEPA	Nigeria Federal Environmental Protection Agency

NG	Nigeria Government
NIA	Nigeria Intelligence Agency
NIS	Nigerian Immigration Service
NMDPA	Nigerian Midstream and Downstream Petroleum Authority
NN	Nigeria Navy
NNPC	Nigeria National Petroleum Company
NOA	National Orientation Agency
NOSDRA	Nigeria Oil Spill Detection and Response Agency
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NPSCL	Nigerian Pipeline Storage Company Limited
NSA	National Security Adviser
NSC	National Security Council
NSCDC	Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps
NUPRC	Nigerian Upstream Petroleum Regulatory Commission
NURC	Nigeria Upstream Regulatory Commission
OGHC	Oil and Gas Host Communities
OGMNC	Oil and Gas Multinational Corporations
OML	Oil Mining Lease
OMPADEC	Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission
OOGIIN	Onshore Oil and Gas Infrastructure Insecurity Nexus
OPDS	Operation Delta Safe
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OV	Offloading Vessels
PHCD	Petroleum Host Community Development
PIA	Petroleum Industry Act
PICD	Pipeline Implementation and Community Development
POCD	Pipeline Operation and Community Development
POCDLC	Pipeline Operations and Community Development Life Cycle
PPCD	Pipeline Planning and Community Development
PPDA	Petroleum Production and Distribution Act
PSSC	Pipeline Surveillance Security Contractors
QIT	Qua Iboe Terminal
SCP	State Commissioner of Police
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDNSA	State Directors of National Security Agencies
SPDC	Shell Petroleum Development Company
SPI	Social Performance Interface
SSR	Special Status Recognition
TNOG	Total Nigeria Oil and Gas Limited
TROMPCON	Traditional Rulers of Oil Mineral Producing Communities of Nigeria
UK	United Kingdom
UNDEDSS	United Niger Delta Energy Development and Security Strategy

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNHDR	United Nations Human Development Report
UNOCHA	United Nations Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSDG	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Aid for International Development

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	Stages in oil and gas infrastructure insecurity problems (<i>Source</i> Author [2023])	13
Fig. 1.2	Graphic design and layout of book chapters and titles (<i>Source</i> Author [2023])	25
Fig. 4.1	Oil spillage in Nembe-Ewelesuo communities (<i>Source</i> Photographed and Compiled by Author [2019])	108
Fig. 5.1	Community neglect-aggression displacement theory (<i>Source</i> Designed by Author)	154
Fig. 8.1	Onshore oil and gas infrastructure insecurity nexus (<i>Source</i> Designed by Author (2023))	286
Fig. 8.2	Community stakeholders' policy development model (CSPDM) (<i>Source</i> Author (2023))	288
Fig. 8.3	Contemporary poor governance cycle (CPGC) (<i>Source</i> Designed by Author (2023))	292
Fig. 8.4	Pipeline planning and community development (<i>Source</i> Compiled by Author (2023))	303
Fig. 8.5	Pipeline implementation and community development (<i>Source</i> Compiled by Author (2023))	304
Fig. 8.6	Pipeline operation and community development (<i>Source</i> Compiled by Author (2023))	305



Introduction

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The novelty of this book is the 41 face-to-face professional and community stakeholder interviews that validate the use of the Frustration-Aggression Displacement Theory (FADT). Other scholars before now have neither interviewed this nature of population samples nor interrogated a combination of this type of stakeholders, CSO, villagers, policymakers, or operators. Oil and gas exploration and production have led to many disparities in trickle-down socio-economic benefits between the privileged few and many host communities in Nigeria (Collier, 2007; Hammond, 2011: 348; Okonofua, 2016). An additional novelty of this book is its structured and systematic outlining of underlying root causes that trigger socio-economic, corruption, and organised crime, and cursed leadership factors that cause vandalism and insecurity of the NCTL onshore pipelines and oil and gas infrastructure. There is no isolated factor(s) that cause oil and gas pipeline vandalism. The problem is a combination of factor(s) that are reinforced by a combination of underlying issues as alluded to by Umar and Othman (2017). Evidence shows that other petrostates in the Global South such as Venezuela, Myanmar, and Angola to name a few experiences the same problems leading to tensions). Oil and gas and other extractive activities are responsible for the devastating environmental and negative human development incidents

ravaging many host communities in Nigeria and across many other countries in the Global South (Dodd & Merwe, 2019; Loft & Brien, 2023; Olawuyi, 2012; Onuoha, 2007, 2008; UNEP, 2012; UNSDG, 2016).

This chapter provides a synopsis summary of onshore oil and gas pipeline vandalism and infrastructure insecurity problems in Bayelsa, Niger Delta region of Nigeria; threats, tensions; and conflicts which are problems also found in the Global South (Alagoa, 2005; Dollard et al., 1939; Hammond, 2011; Igbinovia, 2014; Okumagba, 2013; Onuoha, 2007, 2008). It discussed historical changes and challenges that occurred in the decades leading up to 2021 in the Nigeria petroleum industry. This is followed by an introductory search of some literature and a range of conceptual perspectives that herald many oil and gas exploration, and infrastructure security policies. The purpose, scope, and originality of this book are outlined across all sections of the book as demonstrated by the chosen research design strategy and data collection methods. This is followed by the concluding section which details a breakdown of the chapters and a summary of their content.

The book uses Bayelsa Nembe Creek Trunk Line (NCTL), in Nigeria, as a lens to understand the various issues of vandalism, threats, tensions, and varying degrees of insecurity problems in most petrostates in the Global South. It deconstructs the “resource curse” hypothesis advanced by Collier (2007) and Ross (2012, 2015). It argues that the issues of socio-economic stagnation and conflicts in many Global South countries are not due to the natural resources under the soil that these countries are endowed with, far from it. The evidence presented throughout the book supports the conclusion that the cyclical nature with which incompetent political leaders emerge in the Global South, which has assumed a “leadership curse”, is the problem. The “curse” is the inability to break away from the negative trend of cases of incompetent political leaders in the Global South, like Myanmar. Who constantly create the impression of degrading the socio-economic opportunities for their citizens. This “curse” phenomenon also suggests that there is a supernatural power preventing the majority of citizens in Nigeria from comprehending the harm that the recycling of incompetent political leaders inflicts tensions, conflicts, and insecurity problems on them (Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 8). This book interrogates the views of different stakeholders to gauge their views, and those of professional civil society representatives working with the host communities, on the impact of collective neglect by the government and oil firms. This is to find out the underlying reasons for vandalism

of the onshore NCTL oil and gas pipeline infrastructure in the Nembe case study area as well as explain reasons for other tensions leading to insecurity in Bayelsa state.

The book is structured around two distinctive areas: (1) it starts with an analysis of oil and gas infrastructure insecurity in Nigeria and the Global South, its midstream and downstream petroleum regulatory policies and operational activities of oil and gas multinational organisations coupled with the security architecture deployed drawing on professional civil society organisations, partly discussed in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and throughout Chapter 6; and (2) a study of the impact of oil and gas regulatory policies and activities of multinational oil and gas operators on host communities, by interrogating representatives of local NGOs, discussed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. It draws on this structure to advance three main arguments which are (1) the instrumental policies of the government and their implementation; (2) along with the non-adoption of best international practices and some unethical behaviours, by oil and gas multinationals and; (3) on top the devastating impact of oil activities on the environment, suffered by the communities, caused tensions between individuals, communities, oil companies, and the government which cascades to varying degree of insecurity problems. These tensions and their wider socio-economic impact on host communities are not isolated to Nigeria and Africa, but are also prevalent in many countries in the Global South (Collier, 2007; Hammond, 2011).

The aims, objectives, and questions the book addresses are a reflection of the above two broad areas and the three arguments. Throughout the whole book chapters, the nexus between petroleum regulatory policies, security architecture, and the onshore pipeline structural resilience as well as the impact of oil and gas operations is considered. This book established that the failure to address underlying causes of socio-economic, environmental, political, and poor governance issues makes resolving the insecurity problems difficult. Scholars have always focused on the symptoms, random and sometimes reactive government regulatory policy frameworks, and the operationalisation of the regulations by oil and gas multinational corporations. They neglect the views of different community stakeholders and therefore fail to identify the underlying root causes of onshore pipeline vandalism in the Niger Delta. Reports, gazettes, and published statistical data in this area have neglected to undertake empirical interviews with the stakeholders to gauge their perspectives on the impact of oil and gas activities and government policies on their lives and

collective communities. Therefore, creating a substantial gap in the literature around the empirical data that highlights the underlying reasons that motivate communities to aggress against onshore oil and gas pipeline infrastructure in Nigeria's Niger Delta, and other oil-producing countries in the Global South (Ross, 2012).

The context for this book is thus set based on observed and identified gaps in the literature which is the neglect of the views of different stakeholders, particularly the Bayelsa community stakeholders. The book filled the gap in the literature by undertaking empirical fieldwork and engaging in face-to-face semi-structured interviews to gather data from 41 different oil and gas and community stakeholders including professional civil society, security, and oil and gas executives. It draws on a variety of 41 respondents with representatives of oil and gas companies, security agencies, climate change and civil society/NGO professional representatives, community leaders, high-profile community members, and local environmental activists. It used the thematic analysis technique to analyse the patterns and themes that emerged from the qualitative data reduction, coding, and categorisation processes. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was also used throughout the study as an analytical tool to explain the relationship between power, language, and social conflicts, as explained in detail in Chapter 5. The triangulation of thematic and critical discourse analysis enriched the outcome of the book, giving the student and reader a comprehensive understanding. Using both techniques did not reduce the relevance of any but corroborated the significance of the result.

The data gathered supported the richness of this book and the argument made. The Frustration-Aggression-Displacement Theory (FADT) provides the theoretical and explanatory framework for the book (Dollard et al., 1939). Applying FADT theory to the data gathered illuminates a deeper understanding of the reasons and mechanisms by which the underlying causes of discontent and resentment are understood. Whether they be socio-economic, environmental, or political, and highlighting how this led some individuals and local communities to support violent aggression and vandalism of the NCTL pipelines. The book builds on and complements FADT by proposing the Community Neglect Aggression Displacement Theory-CNADT model (Bergstresser, 2017; Coleman, 2015; Etemire, 2016; Etefe, 2017; Okonta, 2016). Applying CNADT reveals deeper insight into why the aggressive reactions of some individuals and local communities are predicated upon frustration and anger due

to collective neglect and poor human development index that has been suffered in the case study area and the Global South for many decades. In short, the arguments put forward are that the negative impact of oil and gas extraction combined with the other underlying causes mentioned above leads to frustration and displacement of aggression against onshore oil and gas pipeline infrastructure. In other words, creates tensions and exposes the infrastructure to poor resilience. This violence has serious socio-economic, security, and environmental implications thus, triggering a vicious cycle of violence and insecurity problems that is difficult to break.

THE AIM AND ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTION OF THE BOOK

The book aims to explore the oil and gas pipeline infrastructure insecurity in Bayelsa state focusing on the vandalism of the NCTL pipeline in Nembe, threats, and conflicts in the historic Niger Delta area within the broader context of the Global South. Many underlying issues are the root causes of the vandalism of the onshore oil and gas pipeline infrastructure in the case study area. This book highlights that there are many innovative instrumental policies in the oil and gas sector as found in the recent Petroleum Industry Act 2022. But this Act, like many other policy instruments, contains inherent policy and organisational tensions and conflicts that are problematic to disentangle and resolve. These tensions and conflicts directly impact the host community's perceptions leading to resistance and thus the potential success of oil activities in Bayelsa host communities. Scholars argue that these tensions and insecurity issues in the Niger Delta have wider contextual implications across resource-rich host communities in the Global South (Rutten & Mwangi, 2014: 52–55). Some of these issues are socio-economic disparity and resource exploitation, land and fishing water displacement and loss of legitimate sources of livelihood, cultural and socio-cultural displacement, and inequitable distribution of benefits amongst others (Collier, 2007; Okumagba, 2012, 2013).

Although there have been research and papers written on pipeline vandalism in Bayelsa and the Niger Delta (Igbinovia, 2014; Mathias, 2015; Onuoha, 2007, 2008, 2016). None has used FADT to explain how oil and gas pipeline infrastructure vandalism and insecurity problems occur or interviewed different stakeholders on why they aggress against onshore and offshore oil and gas pipelines (Anderson & Dill, 1995: 365; Dollard et al., 1939; Krueger, 1996; Lazarus, 1994). Their tension and

anger lead to a transfer of frustration against the oil and gas pipeline infrastructure (Berkowitz, 2011; Okumagba, 2013; Sanderson, 2010). Bayelsa was chosen for this research because it has one of the largest onshore oil fields, producing oil wells, and pipeline networks while the NCTL in Nembe is the most expensive and ironically the most vandalised onshore pipeline in Nigeria, which is the largest producer of crude oil and gas in Africa. Natural resources, especially, hydrocarbon minerals placed the historic Niger Delta at the forefront of political, economic, and environmental tensions in Nigeria for many decades (Alagoa, 2005; Alamieyeseigha, 2008a, 2008b; Douglas & Okonta, 2003; Ibaba, 2012; Igbinovia, 2014; Mathias, 2015; Onuoha, 2016). This book fills the gap in the academic literature through the professional and community stakeholders' interviews and analysed data. Previous studies have not done this before but mainly focused on the symptomatic outcome of oil and gas activities in Nigeria's Niger Delta. However, some reports have reviewed the inhuman environmental disaster and destruction in the Niger Delta area for over 63 years.

A study by Buzan (1984a, 1984b) and Waever (1998) provides a critical and vital insight into human/political security that focuses on the citizen as the central referent, which is a nonconventional approach to studying security. Thus, contributing to international security and international relations. This book examined some of the policymaking documentary evidence, its impacts, and processes, and the undercurrent dynamics that interact to instigate the factors that lead to tensions, threats, conflicts, and vandalism. Security seamlessly serves social, economic, climatic, environmental, moral, political, human, and religious justice to all citizens (Emmers, 2016; Hudson, 2010; Irvine, 2018; Neocleous, 2007; Schwegler, 2017; see Chapter 2). Suggesting that security should be practiced as a "process" rather than as an "assumption".

This study defines security as the effectiveness of established structures and instruments that are created to transparently address internal threats and conflicts between citizens and resolve environmental tensions. At the same time, protecting the state from external aggressions, and attacks. Unlike other oil and gas literature, this book explores the inherent tensions, and underlying background issues that interact with policies and procedures to impact host communities leading to tensions, oil theft, and vandalism. This book is more comprehensive because it analyses the entire spectrum of oil and gas issues from policy agenda setting, formulation, and implementation to its impact on host communities, the national

budget, and defense security. This book, rather than focus on the underlying causes of onshore oil and gas pipelines alone, drills deeper and broadens its analytical scrutiny into the policymaking processes and how the tensions, resistance, and aggressive reactions from host communities have affected the implementation of various oil and gas policy regimes. Interrogating different community stakeholders is an additional contribution that this book makes to this field. Other areas of contributions made by this book are:

Political Security: A new perspective was introduced to the causes of pipeline vandalism and the onshore oil and gas infrastructure insecurity debate. By focusing on the vandalism of the NCTL this research contributes to the body of knowledge on political security.

Security and Insecurity Debate: The Community Neglect Aggression Displacement theoretical model contributes to the nonconventional approach to security debates that focuses on the rights of the citizens. The nonconventional—Copenhagen security approach ties security to the socio-economic, human, environmental, and climate rights of citizens (Haq, 1995; Owen, 2004). This agrees with Cordesman's assertion that the individual is the irreducible unit for discussing security (2016). This has relevance to human security which Haq described as the freedom of the citizens from fear and wants (1994). To the United Nations Human Development Report (UNHDR), human security is a people's safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the patterns of their daily lives (1994). This study contributes to the insecurity debate by proposing a Community Neglect Aggression Displacement theoretical model. The factors that define CNADT lean towards factors identified by Haq, Owen, UNHDR, and Codesman's postulations on (in)security. CNADT theoretical model explains that the failure of the private sector and the government's negligence in providing basic human needs leads to frustration. The failure to address food scarcity, shelter, employment, and health, halt environmental degradation impoverishing local communities. As well as addressing the consequences of climate change is responsible for the aggression, vandalism, and insecurity problems across the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework: This study uses the frustration-aggression-displacement theory to explain the vandalism of the NCTL pipelines. By explaining that when people are prevented from achieving their goals and set objectives they are bound to be frustrated and angry and in turn

aggressively react overtly or non-overtly against the source of their frustration (Dollard et al., 1939; Okumagba, 2012; Sanderson, 2010). This study contributes to the body of knowledge by proposing CNADT to support the FADT hypothesis. While FADT points out that people reactively when prevented from achieving their set objectives. CNADT notes that people will react aggressively when displaced from sources of their socio-economic independence and issues are neglected and unresolved by the government and private oil firms. When local communities suffer more hunger, decreased income, unemployment, and impoverishment they will become reactive. This provokes them to displace aggression against oil firms and the government by vandalising pipelines.

Pipeline Vandalism and Oil and Gas Infrastructure Insecurity: There is an inherent correlation between the factors and actions of the actors in the Niger Delta's insecurity problems (Umar & Othman, 2017). This study asserts that the factors that cause onshore oil and gas pipeline vandalism and infrastructure insecurity problems, such as poor governance and politics; environmental degradation; leadership curse; socio-economic issues; and corruption and organised crimes highlighted and discussed throughout this book, and the micro-foundational variables that trigger those factors are found in the micro-foundational variables that underpin CNADT.

Structural Integrity of the Pipeline: Timashev and Bushinskaya (2016a, 2016b) say materiality, design code, as well as technology, are major determinants that ensure the structural integrity of oil and gas pipelines (see Chapter 5). This study contributes to knowledge by highlighting the dark spot underlying the structural weaknesses of pipelines.

THE PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

The purpose ties in with the rationale for this book which draws on the “Bottom Billion” hypothesis proposed by Paul Collier (2007). He outlined reasons why natural resource wealth has neither percolated to the grassroots nor translated into socio-economic growth and critical infrastructure development in poorer countries in the Global South as observed in Bayelsa state. The assertions of Collier are reflective of the present-day realities in the historic Niger Delta region of Nigeria and some other natural resource-rich poor countries in the Global South (Moyo, 2011; Rodney, 2012). This book further highlights ways of approaching pipeline security in Nigeria that could be mirrored by countries in