THE NIGERIAN STATE AND OIL THEFT IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA.

Goddey Wilson

Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Nigeria.

ABSTRACT

This study is on oil theft in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Oil theft involves illegal siphoning of crude oil from oil facilities by individuals and groups at detriment of the state development. Oil theft is on the increase due to the prevailing environment in the Niger Delta region, with its attendant implications on the state. The study is aimed at examining the causes, operators, and effects of oil theft on the state development activities. The study was timed within the period of 2000-2013 with the Niger Delta region as location of the study. Secondary data were generated for the study, while content analysis was used for data interpretation. The study findings proved that security lapses, state negligence for Niger Delta development, quest for personal riches, criminal tendencies of the international oil traders, among others, were responsible for oil theft in the region. Also noted are the significant impacts of the oil theft on Nigeria’s development, which includes loss of human and material resources, fall in oil revenue, increase in state insecurity etc. This prompts the study to proffer the necessary steps to over-come oil theft in the region to enhance socio-economic development of Nigeria.

Keywords: Oil Theft, Nigerian State, Crude Oil, Production Capacity, Actors
INTRODUCTION

Crude oil production in commercial quantities in the Niger Delta region, and its subsequent export accounts for the emergence of oil economy in Nigeria, with its attendant challenges to the state. The proceeds from crude oil products - oil and gas - from the Niger Delta region have been the major source of financing Nigerian development activities. The oil and gas industry is the single largest industry in the production sector and the main source of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Nigeria. Ekuerhare (2002) states that the oil and gas resources from Niger Delta region accounts for over 90% of Nigerian export and foreign exchange earnings, and over 70% of total Nigerian revenue. Grateful to natural resources deposit in the region, as Table 2 below shows that the oil and gas production has been at the increase ever since crude oil was discovered in the region in 1956, and subsequently in commercial quantities in 1958. This informs Wilson (2012:55) to state that the increase or otherwise in crude oil production affects directly the revenue base and development programmes of Nigerian state.

Although the crude oil production activities kept increasing as noted in Akinlo (2012:165), Udo (2013) however argues that the increase in oil production activities is not commiserate with the oil export and revenue accruing to the government account, and attributed the disparity to peculiar challenges in the oil industry. The disparity in the figure proves that not all the crude oil produced in the Niger Delta region are utilized and accounted for by the Nigerian state. Katsouris and Sayne (2013:viii) attributed the inaccuracy in the oil figure and revenue to oil theft activities in the region, stating that illegal oil bunkering has been the main source of stealing crude oil in the region for both domestic and export consumptions. The illegal oil bunkering is carried out in the region by both indigenous and foreign personnel. According to Ayanruoh (2013:2) illegal oil bunkering is the “process through which crude oil or refined petroleum products are illegally siphoned from pipelines and sold to interested dealers waiting on the high sea or the unscrupulous individuals.” Asuni (2009) sees oil theft as the act of stealing crude oil from the pipelines or flow stations, as well as extra crude oil added to legitimate cargos that are not accounted for.

More worrisome is the fact that this oil theft is on the increase. The crude oil is stolen in large quantities with few consumed locally, while the greater proportion is either sold overseas or exchanged for arms. Davis (2009) estimated the stolen figure at over 50,869,300 and 264,322,734 barrels in 2000 and 2001 respectively. Asuni (2009) adds that the stolen oil figure varies, but puts the estimated figure at 30,000 to 300,000 barrels per day (bpd) and valued at over $100 billion between 2003 and 2008. Similarly, Ayanruoh (2013) states that Nigeria losses over $3.65 million annually to oil theft. Oil theft is carried out at several levels, namely the small-scale level for the local markets involving only the local entrepreneurs; the larger-scale level involving international marketers; and excess lifting of the crude oil level beyond the licensed amount. One fact is obvious in all of these and that is at what ever rate or means the crude oil theft is carried out in the region; it has significant impact on socio-economic development of the state. The oil theft leads to loss of resources, insecurity, fall in oil revenue, poor financing of development projects etc, thereby affecting Nigerian development programmes.
IMPERATIVE AND AIM OF THE STUDY

Obasi (2000) holds that the value of any research is determined by its contributions to the existing body of knowledge in the field of the study. This study is on oil theft and Nigerian state. The study will make contributions to, and advance knowledge on oil theft issues and its effects on the state. The study will guide both members of the academia, state functionaries, oil multinational operators, international communities, and the Nigerian public on the activities of oil theft in the Niger Delta region and its implications, as well proffer solutions to the oil theft menace in the region. To achieve the above, the study is aimed at;

• examining the causes of oil theft in the Niger Delta region;
• identifying the operators of the oil theft in the region; and
• examining the significant impacts of oil theft on Nigerian state.

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

This study is focused on the activities of oil theft in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria and its challenges on the Nigerian state, within the period of 2000-2013. The study will discuss the causes, operators of oil theft in the region, and its development implications on the state. To achieve the objectives, the study will generate secondary data and apply content analysis for the data interpretation.

NIGER DELTA REGION: A BACKGROUND

Niger Delta is a geo-political region with the highest oil and gas production capacity in Nigeria. It is the world’s third largest wet land and largest in Africa, with an area of about 70,000sq kilometer, an ecological zone of large rivers, coastal areas, mangroves, and fresh and salt water swamp forest. It is close to the Atlantic Ocean and witnesses a regular heavy rainfall. It has a population of about 31,244,587 people (FGN, 2006). The region is made up of 9 political states with different ethnic groups. The states are Rivers, Imo, Abia, Akwa Ibom, Ondo, Edo, and Cross River, as shown in the figure 1 in appendix. The states are the oil producing states in Nigeria. The people are predominantly farmers; however, with the advent of western education, some have embraced white-collar jobs. The area is blessed with several natural resources, including huge crude oil deposit. It has been the main crude oil production base of Nigeria. Ezeoba (2013) in Akpomera (2013:288) states that the region as an oil producing area has 5,700 oil well, 112 flow stations, 16 gas plants, 126 production platforms, 6 floating production storage offloading (FPSO) platforms, 13 oil terminals, and 6,000 kilometers of pipelines. The region has a FPSO in BONGA, a deep offshore production platform with a production capacity of over 200, 000 bpd, valued at over $4billion.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The causes of oil theft in the Niger delta region of Nigeria

Oil theft strives in an environment of poverty, violence and insecurity as characterized in the Niger Delta region. The enabling environments gave rise to the oil theft and are classified as the causes of oil theft in the region as thus:
Weak Nigerian legal framework and prosecution process

Osaneku (2013:2) stated that the inabilities in the Nigerian legal framework create enabling opportunities for oil theft in the region to function. The weakness is observed in the lacunas in arrest and prosecution processes of the oil theft suspects. In most cases, arrested oil theft suspects by the Joint Task Force and/or Nigeria Civil and Security Defense (NSDC) are released by either the police or the judiciary on intervention of their political masters, without adequate prosecution, even when the state security agents are armed with adequate evidence. And their release without adequate prosecution has multiplier effects of attracting more participants and continuity in the oil theft in the state.

Poverty

Wilson (2011: 67) and Omoyibo (2013) argue that poverty is a general condition of deprivation of needs, social inferiority, isolation, physical weakness, vulnerability, powerlessness and economic inequality in the state, and these are prevalent in the Niger Delta region. The National Bureau for Statistics declares 112.519 million out of the estimated Nigerian population of 163 million Nigerians as poor people, particularly those living at the rural area, including the Niger Delta people (Jeo, 2012). This poverty in the region is not divine, rather can be traced to the activities of oil and gas exploration and exploitation activities in the region. In the quest for survival and achieving their means of livelihood, the Niger Delta people resort to violence and attack on oil and gas installations (pipeline vandalisation), which gives them the opportunity to access the crude oil illegally at will, with the basic interest of using the financial proceeds from the stolen oil to alleviate their poverty.

High unemployment rate among the youths

The Niger Delta youths are not adequately engaged in the production activities in the region. Human Rights Watch (2004) and Ejibunu (2007:16) attest to the fact that the number of unemployed youths is increasing in the region (among whom are the university graduates), despite the numerous oil multinationals in the region. Most worrisome is the fact that some of the oil multinationals operating in the region hire the services of their high manpower personnel from outside the region, while the few that are hired from the region are forcefully disengaged, thereby increasing the number of unemployed youths. The unemployed youths among whom are the disengaged staff of the oil multinationals with technical knowledge on how to manipulate the oil facilities, resort to pipeline vandalisation and oil theft as a means of engaging themselves economically and providing means of livelihood. This heightens the oil theft activities in the region.

The quest for participation in sharing the petroleum resources of the state

The indices of inadequate social and economic development in the region, as shown in the scarcity of good road facility, drinking water, health facility, electricity etc stimulates oil theft activities. The oil producing communities accuse the oil multinationals of exploiting their natural resources without adequate rewards. The poor social and physical infrastructure in the area, and inability of the people to access oil resources, prompts the youths to resort to oil theft and all forms of criminalities in the region as a means to access and participate in sharing of oil resources, without the youths considering the implications of their actions on the state.
The influence of arms and gang groups in the region

We observed that the presence of arms and gang groups in the region encouraged oil theft in the region. The politics of arms struggle and resource control for survival in the region gave rise to oil pipes vandalism and oil theft. With the heavy arms in the possession of the youths, they use same to attack the oil company security personnel and state security agents to enable them invade oil installations and carry out their desired oil theft and this account for incessant kidnapping activities in the region. See Table 3 in appendix

International markets for stolen oils from Niger Delta

The presence of some international communities and illegal foreign crude oil traders along the Nigerian high waterways provide available markets for the stolen oil from Niger Delta. Today, many institutions from different countries such as Liberia, U.S.A, China, Europe etc are parading Nigeria high seas with the prospect of buying stolen oil from Nigeria, thereby providing markets for the stolen oil and encouraging the oil theft in the region. The presence of illegal international crude oil marketers provide opportunity for large-scale oil theft at the fields and export terminals. This is established in Asuni (2009).

The collaboration between the security agents, government and oil multinational officials

Oil theft is not a business of a single individual in the region. It involves different parties at different time. The collaboration between the state security agents responsible for the security of oil installations and personnel, the government officials involved in the sales and export of crude oil at the Nigerian export terminals, and oil multinational personnel who posses the technical capacity to manipulate oil installations contribute to oil theft in Nigeria. These groups collaborate with the common interest to facilitate oil theft and enrich themselves at the detriment of the state. They encourage large-scale illegal oil bunkering at the export terminals.

THE OIL THEFT ACTORS IN NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA

In our discussion, we shall consider the oil theft actors alongside the types of oil theft carried in Nigeria. For clarification, the oil theft actors are all those who are involved in and or aid successfully, the activities of oil theft in Nigeria. Katsouris and Sayne (2013) hold that Nigerian crude oil products are stolen in large scale, and exchanged for heavy arms or exported illegally to overseas, with few of the quantities consumed locally. Oil theft is carried out at different levels and quantities. The study further identified three types of oil theft in Nigeria, with different persons and groups (actors) involved in the exercise.

Small-scale pilfering and illegal local refining

This type of oil theft is the oldest in the history of oil theft in Nigeria and of least significant to the state. It involves the small scale pilfering of condensate and petroleum products billed for local markets. The operators refine the stolen crude oil using local technology, and the products are consumed locally (Asuni, 2009). Stakeholder Democracy Network (2013) opines that the stolen oil at this level is marketed along Nigerian streets as cooking fuel, gasoline, and diesel. Kuku ( 2013) in Udo (2013) added that oil theft at this level is possible due to the location of oil pipelines and other installations at the interior
areas, making it difficult for both the oil multinational and state security personnel to provide adequate security for the oil facilities, thereby providing leverage for the militants and natives of the host communities to carry out the oil theft. We observed that the actors at this point are the local gang groups, militants, host community youths and the security agents who collaborate with other actors due to the prevailing environments. These actors vandalize oil facilities; install illegal taps and siphons on oil wellheads and manifolds from where they steal the oil at will. Regrettably, these actors flourish in the activity basically due to available local patronage.

Large –scale illegal bunkering in the field

This is another form of oil theft in Nigeria, where the thieves go to oil wells and oil pipelines, and siphon oil directly in large quantities with their tankers, canoes, and barges and transport same to the high sea, where they transfer the oil to bigger vessels already waiting. The vessels and barges are owned by foreign oil traders and communities. At this level, there is a serious collaboration between the actors, which includes the youths of the host communities and militants, who provide the local manpower; the oil company personnel, who provide the technology on how to open the oil wells and pipes; the security agents, who provide security for the success of the activities; and the foreign partners, who provide the markets.

Large –scale oil theft at the oil export terminals

This type of oil theft is the most complex and digital, carried out at the oil export terminals, involving excess crude oil loading into oil tankers and vessels beyond the licensed and approved amount, through the manipulation of the oil meters and falsification of shipping documents, such as the bill of lading. Table 1 proves that there is a significant difference between the quantity of oil produced, quantity exported and quantity received for, with the figure exported higher than the figure receipted for, resulting to huge financial resources loss to the state. At this point of the oil theft, it is quite challenging to establish a definite figure of the oil that is involved per day due to the constant manipulation of records and oil meters at the terminals by the oil export officers. The oil theft actors are the oil company staff, top government personnel, state security agents at the export terminals, and the foreign partners at the export terminals.

THE IMPACT OF OIL THEFT ON NIGERIAN STATE

The impact of oil theft shall be discussed using the following sub-heads:

Loss of human and material resources

Some people benefit from the activities and proceeds of the oil theft in the region, including the actors and non – actors, but many (including individuals and the state) suffer losses from the oil theft. Both the actors and non-actors loss their lives and properties worth billions of naira to oil theft activities, either during a gun battle between the host community youths, militants and state security agents while siphoning the crude oil from the oil pipelines and well heads, or in a fire disaster during the local refinery work by the local oil criminals. In the process, Nigeria records severe loss of lives and properties, as the casualties include the militants, the youths, the properties of the natives of the host communities, security agents, and oil company personnel and installations, as was observed in Rumuekpe, Bele, Ohele-Ibaa, Ogbakiri etc communities of Rivers state. Table 3 in appendix shows that there are records of dead people arising from oil theft activities and estimate the death
Insecurity in the Niger Delta Region

Katsouris and Sayne (2013) opine that oil theft has been the major cause of violent conflict in the Niger Delta. Most of the oil theft actors exchange the crude oil for heavy arms at the high sea, while others use the proceeds to import arms into the region, with the principal aim of using the arms to secure their illegal activities in the region. The arms are used for attacks and counter attacks from different gang groups and security agents, as every group is bound to have adequate arms and be gun-battle ready to enable them remain in the business. This has resulted in proliferation of small and heavy arms in the region, leading to constant attacks and counter attacks by different groups, and insecurity of lives and properties in the region. The insecurity provides the enabling ground for kidnapping activities of expatriates, oil and top government workers for financial ransom in the region.

Threat to national and regional peace and security

The violence and crisis occasioned by the oil theft activities in the Niger Delta region is spreading speedily to other parts of Nigeria and beyond. Firstly, with the heavy arms in the possession of the youths and the constant attacks on oil and non oil facilities for economic benefits of the actors, youths from other geo-political regions see the oil theft activities as very lucrative and are recruited into oil theft activities as a means of economic empowerment. The same youths irrespective of geo-political region of origin are empowered with heavy arms and they use same to cause violence in different parts of the country, they are also sometimes used by the politicians to either attack political opponents or rig elections, thereby increasing the insecurity challenge of the nation. Secondly, larger part of the oil theft is carried out in the high seas and oil export terminals, thereby increasing the activities of the sea pirates in the sub-region. The sea pirates serve dual purposes, as they are on one hand used as non – state security agents to secure oil vessels carrying illegal crude oil, and on the other hand used as agent to offshore oil workers and attack oil vessels carrying legitimate crude oil along the high sea with the aim of stealing the oil. The sea pirates also benefit from the oil theft, thereby resulting to the escalation of sea pirate activities in the waterways, and bridging free movement of goods and services in the sub-region. The pirates attack oil investors and their investments, while the state security agents give counter attack to the pirates, thereby leading to constant violence and attacks in the West African waterways. This violence perpetuated by the oil theft actors and sea pirates is threatening the peace and security of the West African States, particularly those along the coastal areas, where the oil vessels pass through to Europe, America and Asia.

Declaration of force majeure by oil multinationals in Niger Delta Region

Crude oil theft activities have resulted in low production capacity of pipelines and oil wells operated by different oil companies in the Niger Delta and sometimes forced the oil multinationals to halt oil production activities in the region. On the 10th of October, 2013, Bonny Light Exports declared force majeure due to pipelines vandalism in Trans Niger Pipelines (TNP) at B Dere, Nonwa-Tai and Bodo West communities of Rivers State. Similarly, Shell Nigeria witnessed the same pipelines vandalism at Bonny and Forcados Terminals, resulting in loss of over 150,000 bpd. This loss led to the
declaration of force majeure by the Shell. The gross implications of this are firstly, Nigerian crude oil production and export capacity was reduced within the period due to force majeure thereby resulting in fall in oil export revenue to the state as established in Tables 1 and 2 in the appendix; secondly, increase in unemployment in the state as the companies laid – off some of their staff due to under production capacity; and thirdly, most of the oil multinationals threaten to quite the region for another country.

Environmental Pollution

Pipeline vandalism and operations of local refineries, which are indices of oil theft account for the massive crude oil spillages and pollutions in the region, destroying host communities farm lands, vegetation, polluting the rivers and thus destroying the people’s means of livelihood. Table 3 in the appendix shows that pipeline vandalisation and activities of local refineries were responsible for significant oil spillage and environmental pollution in the region, with the farm lands and rivers polluted, depriving the people access to means of livelihood. While communities suffer the challenges of the poor means of livelihood arising from the environmental pollution, both the government and oil multinationals waste resources in an attempt to clean-up the environment.

Waste of financial resources

Nigerian minister of Petroleum Resources, Diezani Allison-Madueke in her press release captured in Mernyi (2014) stated that Nigeria losses 180,000 barrels of crude oil per day valued at over $7 billion yearly due to oil theft activities in the region. Similarly, Public Affairs Manager, PPMC, Nasir Imodage stated that Nigeria has lost over N8billion on providing security for oil personnel and installations, and environmental clean-up arising from oil theft activities in Niger Delta region between 2009 and 2012. While Table 3 in the appendix proves that NNPC spent $2.3billion on repair of broken oil pipelines and wells by oil theft actors, and providing security for oil installations. Both the oil multinationals and government at all levels in the state waste a lot of financial resources to equip the state security agents in securing oil facilities and personnel against the activities of oil pipeline vandals and kidnappers. The implication is that the wasted tax payer’s money and the time anticipated in security would have been used to facilitate the development of social and physical infrastructure in the state.

Fall in oil revenue to Nigerian state.

The force majeure declaration has resulted in a fall in oil production capacity in Nigeria, with its basic effect on fall in oil export revenue to the state, while a significant proportion of the generated oil revenue is spent on security and environmental pollution challenges in the region, thereby reducing the revenue base of the state. In 2013 alone, Tumini Green (2013) states that daily crude oil production suffered a set-back and staggered between 2.1million bpd and 2.3million bpd as against the oil production estimate of 2.48million bpd, with its implication on the fall of crude oil revenue in the first quarter of the year, 2013 to $1.23billion. Table 3 in the appendix shows that the estimated annual value of stolen oil from the region is put at between $3billion and $8billion. Also see Table 2 between 2005 and 2009. This trend has continues with its attendant effects on the state, as the Federal Accounts and Allocation Committee (FAAC) has severally faced the difficulty of inadequate funds to share to various tiers of the government during her allocation meetings, resulting in the inability of the various tiers
to pay staff salaries as at when due and pursue other development agenda. Bello (2013) adds that due to the short fall in oil revenue, government finds it difficult to fulfill some of her basic responsibilities to the citizens.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Upon the research findings above, we proffer the following modalities to curtail oil theft in Nigeria to achieve better development activities in the state.

- Nigerian government in collaboration with the oil multinationals should provide adequate surveillance mechanism at the rural and interior areas where oil pipelines and other oil facilities are sited to monitor the activities oil vandals and bunkerers.
- Nigerian government in collaboration with other African countries within the Gulf of Guinea should provide new satellite technology to show and monitor all cargo and crude oil vessels operating within the sub-region. This will assist to monitor and dictate oil vessels and tankers carrying out illegal bunkering within the high seas for necessary prosecution.
- In addition to the satellite technology, there should be a formal finger print mechanism to identify the source of loading and country of origin of every crude oil in the international market. The objective is to checkmate illegal oil bunkering at the international market.
- Nigerian government should improve on her legal frame work to provide for adequate trial and punishment for oil theft offenders in the state. Also, the legal system should empower all the state security agents (and not Nigeria Police Force alone) involved in oil installation surveillances to prosecute oil theft offenders, with a special law court established for the prosecution. While improving on her legal framework, Nigeria should seek for collaboration with other countries and international communities suspected to be patronizing her stolen oil on new international laws to regulate the oil movement from one country to the other.
- There should be re-orientation for the state security agents on the need for adequate security for state properties, as against the orientation for security of personal pockets and riches among the security agents. This is aimed at reducing the bribery and corruption celebrated among the security agents at the instance of the state development.
- There should be improved and defined monitoring mechanism at the various export terminals to check the excessive crude oil loading to the oil ship, forging of loading documents, and manipulation of oil meters. This will stop the over loading activities and illegal oil bunkering at the export terminals.
- Both Nigeria government officials and oil company personnel responsible for the oil loading activities should be trained and re-trained to meet the best international practices at the terminals, while technical experts should be engaged at the terminals to check and supervise oil loading activities at the export terminals.
- F. Upon the adequate application of the above recommendations, Nigeria will curb the menace of oil theft in the Niger Delta region and achieve her objects on crude oil production in the state.
CONCLUSION

Oil theft which has been as old as the oil exploration and exploitation activities in Niger Delta region of Nigeria, however, became alarming since 1970s to date. It has been the major source of violence and criminal tendencies in the region. Today, it is carried out in large scale and in various ways, with various actors applying different methodology to achieve their objectives. It is carried out at three major levels, involving different participants. It is caused by state negligence of her basic responsibilities to the people of the oil producing communities, poor supervision of crude oil sales at the export terminals, inadequate security and monitoring of oil facilities, weak legal framework and international illegal oil traders. Oil theft has several implications on Nigerian State, among which are loss of human and material resources, waste of economic resources, fall in oil revenue leading to inability to finance development projects in Nigeria and irregular payment of government workers salaries. Others are emergence of cult groups, increase in criminal activities, and state insecurity leading to withdrawal of oil multinationals from Nigerian territory. Significantly, oil theft has negative implications on socio-economic development of Nigerian State. However, the study made some practical recommendations on how to stop oil theft in the Niger Delta Region with view of achieving effective socio-economic development of Nigeria.

REFERENCES


**ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

**Dr. Goddey Wilson** is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Port Harcourt, Nigeria.
APPENDIX

Table 1: Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation Refinery Supply vs Receipt, 2010-Q2-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Supply (bbl)</th>
<th>Receipt (bbl)</th>
<th>Loss (%)</th>
<th>Loss (b/d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>34,700,973</td>
<td>32,929,092</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>45,393,392</td>
<td>38,926,370</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>17,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 Q1</td>
<td>8,331,354</td>
<td>7,351,397</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>10,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 Q2</td>
<td>8,926,915</td>
<td>6,870,804</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>22,846</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2: Oil output, exports and revenue in Nigeria, 1960-2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production (bm)</th>
<th>Oil Revenue</th>
<th>Oil/Total revenue (%)</th>
<th>Oil GDP (%)</th>
<th>Oil export(#m)</th>
<th>Oil Export/Total Export (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>16.80</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>6.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>150.3</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>136.2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>166.4</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>9.27</td>
<td>509.6</td>
<td>57.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>660.1</td>
<td>4271.5</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>19.37</td>
<td>4563.1</td>
<td>92.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>760.1</td>
<td>12353.2</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>28.48</td>
<td>13632.1</td>
<td>96.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>507.5</td>
<td>10923.7</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>16.75</td>
<td>11223.7</td>
<td>95.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>660.6</td>
<td>71887.6</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>37.46</td>
<td>106623.5</td>
<td>97.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>712.3</td>
<td>324547.6</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>39.65</td>
<td>927565.3</td>
<td>97.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>797.9</td>
<td>1591675.8</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>47.72</td>
<td>1920900.4</td>
<td>98.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>919.3</td>
<td>4762400</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>38.87</td>
<td>7140578.9</td>
<td>98.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>759.2</td>
<td>3191938</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>37.44</td>
<td>8543261.2</td>
<td>96.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, Statistical bulletin, various years.
Table 3: The Cost of Nigerian oil theft

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nigerian oil theft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Value of the oil theft</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The estimated annual value of oil stolen from Nigeria is between $3 billion and $8 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public costs of the oil theft</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 2011, the Nigerian government is estimated to have lost revenue worth several billion dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 2010 to 2012, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation spent $2.3 billion on pipeline security and repairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct casualties</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the height of conflict in the Niger Delta, there were an estimated 1,000 deaths each year - although not all of these would be directly related to oil theft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is an increased risk of kidnapping linked to oil theft in Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental costs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Nigeria, significant oil spills are linked to crude oil theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollution of water and soil due to leaks from stolen oil have secondary impacts on human health, livelihoods, food and fuel stocks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Katsouris, C. and Sayne, A. (2013)

Fig. 1: Map of States of the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria

Source: Field work, 2014