

CIÊNCIAS SOCIALMENTE APLICÁVEIS:

INTEGRANDO SABERES E
ABRINDO CAMINHOS

JORGE JOSÉ MARTINS RODRIGUES
MARIA AMÉLIA MARQUES

(Organizadores)

VOL IX



EDITORA
ARTEMIS

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APRESENTAÇÃO

O nono volume desta colecção segue a lógica dos livros anteriores. Procura apresentar ao leitor uma coletânea de artigos sobre problemáticas que são transversais ao campo das ciências sociais aplicadas.

Sendo discutível, na metodologia seguida na organização dos vários volumes procurou-se privilegiar artigos que abordassem novas tendências e/ou problemáticas transversais relevantes, adotassem metodologias mais holísticas e/ou modelos de investigação aplicada, apresentassem estudos de caso nacionais e/ou internacionais e procurassem ser reflexivos. Nesse contexto, o nono volume está organizado em quatro grandes eixos – Planeamento e informação, Turismo, Saúde e ergonomia, Direito.

Na construção da estrutura de cada eixo procurou-se seguir uma lógica em que cada artigo possa contribuir para uma melhor compreensão do artigo seguinte, gerando-se um fluxo de conhecimento acumulado que se pretende fluido e em espiral crescente.

Assim, o eixo Planeamento e informação, é constituído por um conjunto de quatro artigos. O planeamento dos territórios urbanos influencia a arquitectura das cidades e os seus equipamentos. Assim, o recurso aos sistemas de informação geográficos e cadastrais, enquanto sistemas geradores de informação e conhecimento, poderão ser bons preditores e auxiliares de gestão do risco, quer das cidades quer dos seus equipamentos.

O eixo Turismo junta um conjunto de sete artigos que, em comum, contribuem para otimizar os serviços e melhorar a imagem do turismo e do património cultural. A afectação ágil de recursos às actividades que mais deles necessitam, em cada momento, é um bom indicador de eficiência e de qualidade do serviço prestado. Esta flexibilidade permite redireccionar os diferentes imaginários e expectativas culturais e espaciais dos turistas, nas diferentes épocas do ano.

No eixo Saúde e ergonomia, composto por seis artigos, subjaz que uma política de avaliação de serviços de saúde necessita da medição dos seus efeitos, da comparação com outros indicadores e de incentivos. Este pressuposto contraria a falácia de quanto mais idade se tem mais se sabe sobre sexualidade e reprodução. Os riscos associados a tal ideia induzem à forte necessidade de formação contínua e treino de competências para a prevenção e promoção da saúde, onde se incluem os métodos ergonómicos, por forma a poupar energia.

O eixo Direito é composto por quatro artigos. Os normativos legais, em geral, obedecem a princípios éticos universais. Contudo, ainda há muitas lacunas a superar, nomeadamente quanto aos direitos femininos, com a ganância e a corrupção sempre à espreita.

Com a disponibilização deste livro e seus artigos esperamos que os mesmos gerem inquietude intelectual e curiosidade científica, procurando a satisfação de novas necessidades e descobertas, motor de todas as fontes de inovação.

Jorge Rodrigues, ISCAL/IPL, Portugal

Maria Amélia Marques, IPS/ESCE, Portugal

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THE NAKED OPTION, DELTA BOYS AND BIG MEN: AN ANALYSIS OF CORRUPTION IN THE NIGER DELTA

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ABSTRACT: The oil-rich Niger Delta region in Western Africa is in crisis. Economic disparity and corruption are the main features of the nation that is constantly ranked as one of the most corrupt in the world. Global capital, manifested as powerful and all-encompassing transnational corporations play out a struggle for national power in an increasingly poverty-stricken and disaster-prone country on the brink of a civil war. This results in a widening gap between the rich and the poor. This gap has attracted the international attention of news media and of several art house filmmakers who are eager to shed light on the shady oil business operating in one of the most polluted nations on earth. In this context, resistance takes centre stage, thus enabling political and environmental activism to contest the capitalist ideology driving the

nation into the abyss of hatred, violence and killing. Besides exploring the complexities of enduring conflict, the documentaries *The Naked Option*, *Delta Boys* and *Big Men* explore the human face of work in Nigeria revealing the spirit of cooperation, caring and fellowship that supports the Niger Delta people's desire to catch a glimpse of a better future. This paper analyses said documentaries as evidence that in the intolerable political and economic environment in the age of the Anthropocene, the Niger Delta's people experience a social connection that transcends their desperate circumstances.

KEYWORDS: Anthropocene. Economic disparity. Corruption. Transnational corporations. Resistance.

1 INTRODUCTION

Our twenty-first century global societies face the era of the Anthropocene, an era characterized by the brutal impact of human-induced climate change and the extinction of wildlife. We do so with uncertainty and much unaware of the terrific impact that maximizing profits will have on our lives in the long run. Greed plays a key role in the field of Energy Humanities. In his defense of capitalism and its core tenets,

the influential American economist Milton Friedman recognizes so when he questions “(t)ell me, is there some society that you know that doesn’t run on greed?... What is greed? Of course, none of us are greedy, it’s only the other fellow that’s greedy. The world runs on individuals pursuing their separate interests” (M. Friedman, personal communication, 1979). This sweeping statement endorses a justification of the global capital to act irresponsibly in contrast to the recent neoliberal policies held by the so popular currents Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR). ‘Storying’ the Niger Delta ecocide opens a window into the complex realities of the oil-rich region within the frame of unequal power relations. In connection therewith, corruption takes centre stage in this geographical area where entanglements of ethic and economic interest dictate the mandate of the regional politics.

The exercise of sovereignty plays a pivotal role in this enduring conflict. Mbembe (2003) states that “to exercise sovereignty is to exercise control over mortality and to define life as its deployment and manifestation of power” (p.12). This illustrates oil international companies’ understanding of power, as its deployment is the major source of deep moral, social and economic distress in the oil-producing region. Pro-indigenous filmmaking addresses the resultant grievances in local ethnic communities that stem from state and corporate corruption over the environment. This alternative representation of the Niger Delta defies the predatory working dynamics of capitalism and reaches an international audience. Additionally, it also deals with the constraints that continue to limit the potential for development in the area.

In so doing, filmmakers put customary indigenous claims such as the need for resource control and ownership, good governance, the reversal of environmental degradation and/or the lack of compensation for loss of livelihood at the forefront of the debate. These accounts show evidence of the fact that the Niger Delta people experience a social connection that goes beyond their desperate circumstances. Their daily struggles to “thrive” in life, despite the government’s and multinationals’ policy-making, locate the audience in a sensitive environment. This, in turn, is the breeding ground for the development of social movements centered on the role of the environment. According to Ojo-Ade (1999), many of these cultural agents draw inspiration from the former Ogoni leader and intellectual Ken Saro-Wiwa. Their claims are of critical importance in order to frame the struggle for sovereignty and power in a poverty-stricken and disaster-prone region, where the widening gap between the rich and the poor is an immediate consequence of widespread oil despoilment and mismanagement of oil revenues.

2 KEN SARO-WIWA

The crisis of Ogoni people mirrors the crisis of post-independent Nigeria, particularly when it comes to managing ethnic diversity. Nixon (2011) found “unelected officials from the three largest ethnic groups –the Yoruba, the Igbo, and the Hausa-Fulani– have totally dominated national politics” (p.106). This institutional and ethnic crisis provides a clear evidence of the failure of nation-building policies in a country deeply influenced by ethnic bias and designed to cater to the interests of the largest and dominant ethnic groups. Such a scenario in which the welfare of the privileged elites, regardless of whether they are ethnic or politic, is built upon the enslavement of minority groups and the destruction of the Niger Delta ecosystem.

This context constitutes a watershed for the further exploration of the role of oil multinationals in the oil-rich region. The increasing influence of oil multinationals in the domestic economy and policy-making of the African country led the deceased intellectual, Ken Saro-Wiwa, to mobilize his people and speak up against (Ejeke, 2000) “the economic, social, political, and environmental degradation encouraged and perpetuated by the Federal Government of Nigeria and the oil prospecting and exploring companies” (p.19). This remark shows the growing concern about the neocolonial and neoliberal policies that would give continuity to the former colonial pillage in the shape of economic suffocation and the evils of ecocide, affecting to traditional culture and ethnic identities, too. In line with this view, Saro-Wiwa (as cited in Ejeke, 2000, p.18) stated that as

keepers of the conscience of the nation and custodians of its culture, we owe ourselves and the nation the responsibility not only to protect the rot and shame but also to immerse ourselves actively in stopping it and restoring sanity to the land.

These insightful remarks push in the direction of good governance and the restoration of land and of indigenous rights over resources as the axis of regional development and equality. To some extent, political institutions and oil multinationals have constantly denied over the last decades the rot in the exploitative productive system of the African powerhouse. Therefore, critical responses to stop the rot of crime and corruption endorsed by state and corporate violence against minority ethnic groups and the environment seek to promote awareness on the need to tackle the perpetuation of abuses, on one hand, and on the importance of the constitution of a political movement echoed by grassroots support, on the other. This effort is aimed at ensuring the active involvement of indigenous communities in shaping decision-making processes. The latter remains a central question in order to guarantee an atmosphere conducive to mutual confidence in the midst of chaos.

For this purpose, it is necessary to understand –and navigate through– the complexities surrounding the current Niger Delta's sociopolitical arena by approaching Saro-Wiwa's political struggle for minority and ethnic rights. His untimely death has certainly come to signify the sheer nonsense of making politics in a country that, according to International Transparency's Corruption Perception Index 2017, constantly ranks among the most corrupt nations on earth. Much to the chagrin of Nigerians, the military regime of the West African nation under General Abacha's iron fist rule achieved an international dimension when Saro-Wiwa's questionable judicial murder showed the entire world the far-reaching consequences of political dissent in Nigeria.

Saro-Wiwa's failed attempt to negotiate a peaceful and decent solution to decades of gradual impoverishment and ongoing exploitation of the Ogoni people at the hands of the Anglo-Dutch oil multinational Shell paved the way for subsequent human rights activists and environmentalists to work together in search of (political) visibility and recognition. Then, Saro-Wiwa's death, though tragic, was not in vain, as his humbleness and kind-hearted nature stand, still today, as a model for minority ethnic groups and young people to fight for indigenous rights over resource control and land ownership.

The figure of Ken Saro-Wiwa is significant to the analysis of corruption in the Niger Delta and a guiding thread to the work of filmmakers Andrew Berends, Rachel Boynton and Candace Schermerhorn in support of the claims of ethnic groups, militants and organized women in Rivers State. The Ogoni revolution under Saro-Wiwa's leadership advocated for resource control and the protection of the Niger Delta environment from oil multinationals (Orage, 1998, p.46). The documentary films under analysis, namely *Big Men*, *Delta Boys* and *The Naked Option*, give prominence, to a greater or lesser extent, to the relentless work carried out by the Ogoni leader, intellectual and writer in unmasking the existing connections between the body politic and organized crime, and the resultant poverty in the area. Saro-Wiwa's efforts towards closing the widening gap between Nigerian and corporate elites and local communities have thus attracted the international attention of art-house filmmakers. With cameras in hand, these socially committed filmmakers shed light on the shady side of oil industries and on the goings-on of greedy and corrupt politicians in what is often known these days as petro-cultures.

3 CORRUPTION AND STRATEGIES FOR RESISTANCE

Sustained corruption over the last decades has originated complex webs of petro-violence, compelling Niger Deltans to flee from hunger, poverty and war, join the armed struggle or actively engage in political activism. The latter compels the audience to

explore the sometimes-blurred boundaries between terrorism and militancy. A distinction between crime and activism is very much needed in order to facilitate the understanding of the complex nature of an enduring conflict where the control over land and resources fuels insurgencies of all sorts ranging from hostage-taking for ransom to oil theft, mugging, armed confrontations with Nigerian security forces or mass peaceful protests at the gates of oil production stations. Moreover, the broad consensus of institutions, oil multinationals and mainstream pro-global capital media tends to criminalize the feeling of resentment, regardless of whether it is legitimate or not, in their bid to justify the increasing militarization of the oil-producing region and the violent actions attached to the ever-threatening presence of armed soldiers patrolling the creeks. The ongoing denial of the debate on the politics of dispossession and displacement that are driving the region into the abyss of hatred, violence and killing manifests itself in outbreaks of violence and global tensions, endangering the stability necessary for progress and development.

The Niger Delta is a region of global strategic importance in the energy market and violent threats in the creeks affect oil price and economic growth. Despite this fact, oil multinationals and institutions have systematically failed in securing basic amenities to improve the livelihoods of the local communities. This is a central claim of the groups concerned and the core reason to organize responses against the economic plundering of the region. The documentaries produced about the area discuss the dispossession of lands through the enactment of different laws. According to Obi and Aas Rustad (2011), the 1969 Petroleum Act, and its subsequent regular updates, or the Land Use Act 1978, have eroded relations between institutions and citizens. In this context, possibilities for pacification and peaceful cohabitation, as the case study documentaries attest, will only come through the restoration of indigenous rights, the enforcement of good governance and development.

The conflict largely stems from the considerable mismatch between the level of wealth accumulated by the global capital in/from the oil-rich region and the stark contrast in terms of the level of welfare enjoyed by Niger Deltans, which is non-existent at large. This issue furthers moral and socioeconomic distress because, as Onuoha (2005) and Obi (2009) found, with the advent of oil industries Niger Deltans dreamt of world-class infrastructures, high wages and escaping from the poverty trap often associated with, for example, some of the traditional low-productivity occupations such as cocoa or yam growing in Nigerian soil. Nothing could be further from the truth, considering that declining opportunities for gainful employment, especially among the youth, turn out to be the dismal reality of the struggle for survival in the once fruitful creeks and productive

farmlands of the Niger Delta. Furthermore, federal institutions that are not accountable to the communities they seek to serve along with corporate neoliberal attacks in the shape of environmental disasters have laid the ground for present-day petro-violence in a region where most of the population incomprehensibly lives below the poverty threshold.

These formulations are the backbone of the stories displayed in *Big Men*, *Delta Boys* and *The Naked Option*. All taken together form a set of narratives about the successful coming-together of alienated and marginalized members of society that subvert the notions of catastrophe and collective helplessness in varying degrees. The documentary films thus offer a restorative image of the Niger Delta's social fabric through the articulation of indigenous responses to counter the threat of predatory oil-fuelled corporate development –and the passivity of its joint institutional partners in the local plunder. In their bid to combat the all-encompassing role of oil multinationals in the sociopolitical realm of the Niger Delta, the coming-together of diverse ethnic groups, often confronted in the past for land disputes, is most welcome as it lays the foundation stone of peaceful cohabitation and mutual understanding to develop joint actions against corporate and state abuse.

As an example, consider the tremendous success of an organized group of women in *The Naked Option*. Only apparently, these “vulnerable” women, unarmed and naked, stopped the production of oil in Chevron's oil station for nearly two weeks. A landmark achievement and a clear demonstration of indigenous power disrupting Chevron's procedures and, more importantly, forcing the multinational to sit at a negotiating table and to engage in discussions with the up to then very much neglected indigenous female representatives. Niger Delta women, wary and wily, and weary of greed, exploitation and economic repression take action against Chevron's failure to build an oven that ensures their economic survival. Other protests of similar nature against the wielding influence of multinationals on the lives of Niger Deltans followed suit and have centered on environmental restoration and the need to develop key partnerships with global capital, willing to transform the current unbalanced relation between oil multinationals and local communities into one of mutual benefits. As Richard Peet and Michael Watts (1996) put it, “environmental problems in the Third World (...) are less a problem of poor management, overpopulation, or ignorance, as of social action and political-economic constraints” (p.4). These words provide serious insights into the Achilles heel of Niger Delta people as their fate largely depended on their confidence in the skills of politicians of dubious reputation, who had barely shown any interest in population's concerns, to exert pressure on oil corporations to provide solutions to their practical everyday problems.

According to these courageous women, oil multinationals have not been fair to the community they represent. It is precisely because of the lack of commitment on the part of oil corporations with the nearby communities that women decided to organize themselves as a pressure group actively reporting the daily polluting activities of oil industries. These actions set in their agenda also demonstrate the ineffectiveness of political leaders to enforce regulations, thus showing the mutually supportive relationship between oil multinationals and authorities. This aspect arouses the distrust of these women, who enter the political struggle not only as subjects staking a claim on their rights as citizens but also from the standpoint of gender as battered and often neglected subjects relegated to the outer spheres of decision-making in their communities, too. The long-term relationship between economic and political power breaches local sensibilities and reinforces the well-founded idea of local communities to take a leap towards political participation as a means for progress and real development in the region. Watching over Nigeria's flawed democracy is then an essential task of these women edging towards a corruption-free society through both the politics of representation and the representation of women in politics.

Art-house filmmakers come to terms with indigenous sensibilities, most notably Andrew Berends in *Delta Boys*. The filmmaker engages the audience in the daily routines of a group of militants and tells the story not only of political disappointment but also of decades of ongoing exploitation, alienation and dispossession from the standpoint of young –and educated– militants. Their real motivations to fight back against economic and political elites see light, but more importantly, the human face of militants reveals a profound desire to catch a glimpse of a better future for generations to come. In *Delta Boys*, the audience gets to know in greater depth Tom Ateke, the chief of a group of militants operating in the creeks, who argues convincingly to justify both their presence in the creeks and their demands for protection of their lands rights to prevent further squalor and abandonment of Niger Deltans.

Fighting the abuses of the global capital and political authorities through what some voices consider illegal means is, according to these freedom fighters, as they label themselves, the only way to bring back part of what they consider legitimately to be theirs. Within the frame of institutional abandonment, and bearing in mind the failure of the so-called corporate social responsibility policy, militants regard themselves as social agents carrying out welfare work that enhances somehow social assistance in favor of the dispossessed, nurturing stories of hope and promoting the enactment of Niger Deltans' sense of agency. The non-fulfillment of the promises made by oil corporations in terms

of reinvestment in the area, and again with the endorsement of local authorities, provides grounds for the suspicion of the militants that the stifling situation in the Niger Delta might not come to an end unless they see signals coming from corporations and political institutions. These signals of change ought to come in the form of basic infrastructures and access to work by encouraging skills acquisition and the participation of local communities in the oil business.

In much the same fashion, *Big Men*, *Delta Boys* and *The Naked Option* explore the reasons why popular unrest, escalating violence and criminal activities in the lawlessness Niger Delta grow relentlessly. In the first place, it is important to consider the large-scale implications the shift from agriculture to oil industry entailed in the decades to come after the commercial find was discovered in the year 1956 in Oloibiri. This change in the production model put thousands of locals out of work, impoverishing the area gradually. In connection to the implementation of oil industries, Ukiwo (2017) observes that “the hallmark of the entire process of exploration, concession and exploitation is the non-involvement of [local] people” and that these “are made to understand that they lack the skills to be employed in the highly technical industry” (p.20). Therefore, loss of jobs in traditional occupations along with the terrific environmental consequences of oil spillages have resulted in the loss of livelihood for farmers and fishermen. Their claims, nonetheless, play second fiddle to other priorities set in the political agenda.

The ecocide in the Niger Delta, besides causing serious environmental damage and maximizing oil companies' profits, affects the indigenous perception of identity. In the midst of a dystopic context, indigenous ties to land, places and cultural practices have loosened, too. The influence of neocolonial practices over land has threatened the poorest members of society, who in many cases have lost their roots through either displacement or the abandonment of their traditional homelands in search of opportunities in the overcrowded Nigerian urban settings. On this last point, sound management of oil revenues could have prevented local peoples from massive internal migration. However, corruption, mismanagement of resources and environmental disasters run rampant, compelling civilians to rely on luck alone.

The estrangement of civilians from the body politic and growing feelings of alienation lead grassroots to raise their voices against the forcible imposition of poverty on them. So far, there is no economic compensation, provided that foreigners take up a high percentage of the jobs in the oil industry, which is a common demand in all films. Instead, the greed of some of the agents and the deviance from the law of some others gain ground at a time of mutual distrust. In the wake of this desperate situation, foreign

oil workers and business tycoons have become the target of criminal gangs and militias operating in the area, kidnapping oil workers for ransom so as to earn a living, on one hand, and to fund a whole range of activities, on the other. To top it all, considering that Niger Deltans' labor force remains largely excluded from oil benefits, federal and local government inactivity and deficiencies add extra fuel to an already stifling atmosphere. This situation is further aggravated by the illegal theft of oil and activities associated with oil bunkering, in which politicians are suspicious of being involved. On this last point, Paul Williams (2016) contends that "extractable oil makes control of the government more attractive because of the large revenues at stake" (p.100).

This political-economic control mainly boosted by neocolonial practices and neoliberal policies is conducive to building webs of corruption. In these well-orchestrated webs oil multinationals and politicians appear to be in cahoots with one another, and, eventually, sovereignty over oil determines power, ensures access to commodities and denies the possibility of a democratic and more egalitarian society. Instead, devastation and impoverishment gain ground substantially in the Niger Delta, partly because in this way corrupt politicians can take part in oil-related activities such as, for example, oil bunkering and go thus unnoticed for the vast majority of civilians. This exercise of greed on the part of politicians lays at the core of most of the indigenous claims, seeing that the perpetuation of power structures inherited from the colonial state consolidate the status-quo of political and economic elites, and jeopardize the future of the Niger Delta in all regards.

4 CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, allow me to compliment the strong determination of certain social groups confronting in political terms the dreadful and untimely tragedies of corporate and state abuse. Likewise, national elites enjoy from the endorsement of supranational institutions and international leaders, whose opportunities to reap a profit out of a shameful context call into question the role of democracy in such a developing country, as is Nigeria.

The capacity of emerging activist groups such as MEND (Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta) or MOSOP (Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People) to strike at the weaknesses of the global capital and political institutions determines whether or not all the parties involved in the scramble for natural resources decide to open up a new front of reflection. A new time in which greed gives way to all-inclusive policies for the betterment of the country instead of becoming embroiled in internal

tensions that condemn the Niger Delta as a whole to a blood-stained future. In line with the previous statement, Carlson, Szeman and Wilson (2017) invite modern societies to start out exploring new sources of energy that require new modes of making politics:

Oil transformed life over the century in which we came to depend on it; the looming threat of its absence from our lives means that it will transform us again, from people who are at home and comfortable in the petrocultures we have devised for ourselves to people who will have to shape ourselves to fit contexts and landscapes we can barely imagine, even if we need to do so – and quickly. (p.4)

What is clear from the above statement is that our twenty-first century increasingly globalized societies can no longer turn a blind eye to environmental degradation, especially in developing countries, as is the case of Nigeria, that act as one of the global energy suppliers. The so-called developed world will have to reconsider its behavior as consumers and take on a radical shift towards energy transformation.

This transition from the use of fuels to the use of environmentally friendly and renewable energies must also bring to a halt the abuses of the global capital in the energy market through a rights-based system of distribution. As discussed in this article, the Anthropocene is causing profound and significant changes of economic, cultural, social and political nature, urging society to reassess its relationship with the environment for its own survival in the long run. Who knows if, perhaps, ‘storying’ the Niger Delta ecocide equals to the narration of the beginning of the end of mankind.

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