Reflections on the natural-resource development paradox in the Bakassi Area (Ndian Division) of Cameroon

Jude Ndzifon KIMENGSI1* and Cornelius Mbifung LAMBI2

1Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Catholic University of Cameroon P.O. Box, 782 Bamenda, Cameroon.
2Department of Geography, University of Buea Box, 63 Buea, Cameroon.

The Bakassi Area (Ndian Division) exhibits all aspects of the natural resource controversy. Blessed with a horde of natural resources which are supposed to serve as an engine of development, it would seem from an outside observation that this division is one of the most developed in Cameroon. Ironically, the presence of these natural resources has not, in any way been reflected in the much needed socio-economic take off of the division. Put succinctly, the division is roasting in abject poverty in the midst of plenty. As the population continues to groan because of this unwanted state of affair, it is germane to suggest that the government and other stakeholders take all necessary measures to identify this missing link between natural resource abundance and crunching poverty. This is even more crucial because concerns have already been expressed on the nursing revolutionary tendencies of the people of the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula in Ndian Division. This paper makes use of field observations, interviews of inhabitants of the Bakassi Area, and the consultation of related literature to give an appraisal of the natural resource potentials of the Bakassi Area; it examines the drivers of the persistence of this resource paradox and suggests possible escape routes from the resource curse. Identifying the root causes of such a paradox is necessary for effective policy and decision making which would be geared towards reversing the curse into a blessing. The study concludes that the poor state of development of the Bakassi Area rests largely on two main factors; they include, the failure of the authorities to give the division a fair share of her proceeds and the failure by the population to make use of other resources other than the conventional ones which they continue to groan about. This study therefore portrays such a situation and shares the view that to avoid the harnessing of a potentially violent political volcano, rigorous government intervention is needed to reverse the paradox.

Key words: Natural resources, development, Paradox, Bakassi Area.

INTRODUCTION

The qualitative and quantitative mutation of socio-economic variables, otherwise referred to as development witnessed in any defined geographical region, is to a very great extent, a function of the economic value of the region which is measured in terms of the available resources (Kimengsi, 2011). The above statement implies that the availability of natural resources, ceteris paribus, determines the level of development witnessed in any region. Since there is a strong correlation between resources and development, it could be concluded that
where resources abound (natural and human), we should expect development. While research findings have revealed a strong correlation between natural resources and economic development (World Development Report, WDR, 2009; Barbier, 2009; Auty, 2000), it is important to note that further findings have brought to light a contrary view - the paradox of plenty (or the natural resource – development paradox). The natural resource - development paradox opined that regions with an abundance of natural resources, specifically point-source non-renewable resources like minerals and fuels, tend to have less economic growth and worse development outcomes than those with fewer natural resources (Same, 2009; Barbier, 2009; Auty, 2000).

The resource curse refers to the notion that regions with an abundance of natural resources, specifically point-source non-renewable resources like minerals and fuels, tend to have less economic growth and worse development outcomes than countries with fewer natural resources. This line of thinking is very important today because resource rich but economically tottering regions have been noted for prolonged conflicts which only go further to thwart the development drive of such regions. The implication of such a state of affair is the upsurge of the feeling of resentment which results in conflicts. As noted by Collier (2007), natural resources can, and often do, provoke conflicts within societies as different groups and factions fight for their share. Sometimes, these emerge openly as separatist conflicts in regions where the resources are produced (such as in Angola's oil-rich Cabinda Province) but often the conflicts occur in more hidden forms, such as fights between different government ministries or departments for access to budgetary allocations. This tends to erode governments' abilities to function effectively. There are several main types of relationships between natural resources and armed conflicts (Collier, 2007): first, resource curse effects can undermine the quality of governance and economic performances, thereby increasing the vulnerability of countries to conflicts (the 'resource curse' argument); second, conflicts can occur over the control and exploitation of resources and the allocation of their revenues (the 'resource war' argument); third, access to resource revenues by belligerents can prolong conflicts (the 'conflict resource' argument). No matter what form these conflicts take, the bottom line remains that these conflicts thwart the development drive of the region in question.

The Bakassi Area exhibits situations of a paradox in which despite a host of resources, it has very little development to show for. An implication of the paradox presents itself in two faces; first, the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula has been the bone of contention between Cameroon and Nigeria and prior to the signing of the “Green Tree Accord”, the peace, which is a necessary ingredient for development, had been compromised. In addition, even after the signing of the accord, fears still linger in the minds of investors and economic operators as to whether further clashes will not ensue. These fears were proved right in February 2011 when the Divisional Officer and Mayor for Kumbo Abedimo were kidnapped and some gendarme officers killed (Kimengsi, 2011). Secondly, the mere fact that the Bakassi Area lacks basic developmental amenities even with their huge resource potentials (Esoko Magazine, 2008; SOWEDA, 2006) generates feelings of resentment and raises a number of unanswered questions which logically should be directed to the government. This paper makes use of field observations, interviews of inhabitants of the Bakassi Area, and the consultation of related literature to give an appraisal of the natural resource potentials of the Bakassi Area; it examines the drivers of the persistence of this resource paradox and suggests possible escape routes from the resource curse.

THE STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODS

The Bakassi Area (Ndian Division) is located between latitude 4°17' and 5°26' N and latitude 8°35' and 9°28' E. It has a surface area of 6165km² and a population of 122579 persons (BUCREP, 2010). It is bounded to the north by the east by Kupe Muanenguba, to the east by Meme, to the south by the Atlantic Ocean and Fako Division and to the west by Nigeria (Figure 1). The division consists of nine sub divisions with the headquarters in Mundemba. Field observations and 80 interviews of inhabitants of the Bakassi Area (Table 1) were done. The data obtained from interviews were further buttressed through a study of related literature on the natural resource potentials of the Bakassi Area. These methods were judged to further elicit aspects of the paradox.

Based on the interactions through interviews, complemented by secondary sources, the researcher heavily employed the content analysis approach to appraise the resource paradox. This saw the transcription and examination of participant’s diverse opinions. One of the key challenges in this method employed is the fact that it does not show in quantitative terms the degree to which these challenges exist. Furthermore, no simulation model was developed to project future developmental scenarios should the enhancement mechanisms be instituted. However, the study preferred the use of content analysis in order to clearly analyse without eliminating or suppressing the views expressed through interviews.

RESULTS

Ndian as a resource haven

The border position of the Bakassi Area makes it an

*Corresponding author. E-mail: ukjubypro2@yahoo.com, jude.kimengsi@catuc.org.

Author agree that this article remain permanently open access under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 International License
economic corridor through Nigeria. In addition, the division is replete with natural resources such as the oil rich Bakassi Peninsula, the enormous fisheries resources of her coastal stretch in Rio-Del Rey which are comparable only to major fishing grounds in New Foundland and Norway, the huge forest potentials of the Korup and Rumpi, and the presence of the third largest palm oil producing company in Cameroon – Pamol, and other natural resource potentials (Kimengsi, 2011; Esoko Magazine, 2008; SOWEDA, 2006). This can transform the division in no distant time. Though agriculture is the life wire of the Cameroonian economy, crude oil has also made very significant contributions to the country’s gross national product (GNP). Ever since the discovery of crude oil as a great energy provider, this precious liquid (also known as the black gold) has continued to dictate the pace of development of most regions of the world except in areas were the paradox of plenty operates. Since August 1959 when the American Colonel Drake drilled the first successful oil well in Titusville, oil has remained both big business and politics. Cameroon can boast of its greatest crude oil reserve which is found in the Bakassi Peninsula (Figure 2). Reserves of oil have been noted along the littoral stretch of the South West Region spanning all through the Rio-Del Rey area and are being exploited by major companies.

Water /marine and fisheries resources

The Bakassi Area has water resources which can support the supply of potable water and the generation of hydro-
electricity power (HEP). The different streams and springs in the region take their rise from the radial drainage pattern of the Rumpi Hills (Figure 3). The Bakassi Area has good spring sources which could also be harnessed and bottled for consumption and sale to other parts of the country. Marine resources are also enormous. The creeks, the onshore and inland waters provide good fishing grounds while the deep natural bays provide potential sea-port sites, the coastal stacks, arches, beaches and crater lakes are potential tourist attractions. The division has a coastal stretch with the Atlantic Ocean which makes navigation very easy to other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. The Atlantic Ocean could also be very important in the development of the salt industry in the country. Here, the topographic-hypographic mechanism could be used to trap sea water which is then evaporated and salt obtained for consumption (like what obtains in Abu Dhabi and parts of East Africa). Of major importance too are the fisheries resources of the region.

The Bakassi Peninsula provides very good offshore fishing potentials and accounts for the presence of foreign fish exploitation companies around this peninsula. The Peninsula holds enormous fishery potentials. Bakassi (Figure 2) is situated at the extreme eastern end of the Gulf of Guinea, where the warm east-flowing Guinea Current (called Aya Efita in Efik) meets the cold north-flowing Benguela Current (called Aya Ubenekang in Efik). These two great ocean currents interact creating huge foamy breakers which constantly advance towards the shore, and building submarine shoals rich in fish, shrimps, and an amazing variety of other marine life forms.

This makes the area a very fertile fishing ground, comparable only to Newfoundland and Scandinavia in Western Europe. The Bakassi Area (Ndian) has a total fishing population of 3708, accounting for about 32.8% of the total fishing population of the South West Region (SOWEDA, 2006). Estimate of fish catch in this area goes up to 6603206kg which accounts for 49.5% of the total fish catch for the South West Region (Table 2 and Figure 4).

It is important to note that, fishing is mostly done at local and relatively small scale with the absence of

Figure 2. Map of the Bakassi Peninsula. Source: Map No 4247, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations Cartographic Section, May 2005 cited in Kimengsi, 2011.
advanced technology of harvesting, storage, packaging and sales. This too, is accounted for by the absence of the development of fish transformation industries in these areas. If the industry is given such a processing and proper storage sector, and the stakeholders are sensitized on the need for discriminate fish catch, then it could be very instrumental in generating income and ensuring development for the present and future generations of the Bakassi Area. Some countries in the world have enjoyed economic development thanks to their proper development of the fisheries sector, but this is still inapplicable in the Bakassi Area.

**Forest resources**

The Bakassi Area has a forest rich area as proven by the presence of a number of forest reserves such as the Korup National Park which is one of the oldest rainforest ecosystems in the world (Esoko Magazine, 2008), and the Rumpi Hills which are all biodiversity havens as well as other Community and Council Forests (Figure 5).
Figure 4. A divisional presentation of fish output (kgs) for the South west Region. Source: SOWEDA, 2006.

Figure 5. The distribution of forest resources in the Bakassi Area (PSMNR, 2009).
Table 3. Natural resource potentials of the Bakassi Area (Ndian Division).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agro Potentials</td>
<td>Favourable Tropical Climate, Relatively Fertile Soils, Extensive Oil Palm</td>
<td>Ndian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plantations (Pamol and Small Holder Schemes), Gentle Undulating terrain</td>
<td>Ekondo-Titi and Mundemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Korup National Park, The Rumpi Forest, Most of Ndian</td>
<td>Mundemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest resources</td>
<td>Mundemba Council Forest, Mokoko Forest Reserve, Bakassi Reserve</td>
<td>Most of Ndian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral Resources</td>
<td>Not yet disclosed, Bakassi Peninsula</td>
<td>Bakassi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum and Crude Oil</td>
<td>Huge Chunks at the Bakassi Peninsula</td>
<td>Bakassi Peninsula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>Bakassi Peninsula, Illor, Ngeringe and Kote waterfall, Meme waterfall,</td>
<td>Ekondo-Titi and Mundemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border Position</td>
<td>Rich in Exchange or Economic Activities, Illor,</td>
<td>Mundemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mofako Balue, Betenge Balue, Dikome Balue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Falls</td>
<td>Befake waterfall, Mana Waterfall, Mundemba Waterfall</td>
<td>Mundemba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MINEPAT (2007) and Field work (2010).

for carbon storage and given Cameroon’s position as part of the Congo Basin Forest Ecosystem, it is clear that with the new shift in climate change mitigation (carbon credit), if it were anything to by, the region could fare well economically by receiving compensation for conserving the forest base. Table 3 shows the main resource potentials of the Bakassi Area.

The natural resources/development paradox

The importance in highlighting this aspect is that, such controversies have, in some regions, resulted in conflicts as the regions struggle to gain a fair share of “what belongs to them”. While the Bakassi Area is generally very peaceful and continues to grumble silently, such silent dissatisfaction could degenerate into conflict situations. It is better to avoid a future of such a situation which will only further worsen the development picture of the area.

The paradox

Given the enormous natural resource potentials of the Bakassi Area, it is possible from an outside view, to conclude that such a division enjoys the warm arms of development. However, the region still witnesses a very high degree of backwardness. It is lagging behind in terms of socio-economic and infrastructural development which has therefore kept it in the doldrums of underdevelopment. The division is virtually cut off from other parts of the region and the entire nation since the roads are highly seasonal and it does not receive communication signals (CRTV radio and TV) without satellite dishes.

The Bakassi Area serves as an economic corridor between neighbouring Nigeria and Cameroon. The economic potentials are enormous and this has earned it the title of an “economically vibrant” part of the South West but access to the consumer centres and markets remains problematic. This has reduced the economic livewire of the division to a standstill. It has become “perilous” and must be given due consideration. An economy that is suffering from backwardness still faces a deplorable road situation (Figure 6) which further worsens the state of affairs as exemplified by the rise in the prices of basic commodities (Table 4) in the area due to the poor state of the roads, especially in the rainy season. To buttress the further impoverishment of these enclaved areas, it will be necessary to mention that, while the transport fare from Mile 17 (Buea) to Kumba which is over 69km is just 1500, that of Kumba to Ekondo-Titi which is just 50 km moves from 4000frs right up to 10.000frs in the heart of the wet season.

The poor communication network has acted against the much needed development of these regions, thus, accounting for the spatial disparity scenario of the regions. Esoko Magazine (2008) summarised the development challenges of the Bakassi Area as follows:
Figure 6. Bad state of roads leading to the the Bakassi Area: An indication of the paradox of plenty (cited in Kimengsi, 2011).

Table 4. Average prices (FCFA) for basic commodities in the Bakassi Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Price (Kumba)</th>
<th>Price Ekondo-Titi</th>
<th>% increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Kg</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>Kg</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canned Tomato</td>
<td>Can</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk (Peak)</td>
<td>Can</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar cubes</td>
<td>Kg</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1 cup</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savon (400g)</td>
<td>1 Tablet</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>1 litre</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackerel</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking Gas</td>
<td>1 bottle (13kg)</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise Books</td>
<td>80 leaves</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pen (Beifa)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer (Export)</td>
<td>65cl Bottle</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kimengsi, 2011.

“... there is no single kilometre of tarred road in Ndian Division,... the available earth roads, due to the soil texture, easily give way under heavy and continuous downpour during the rainy season; CRTV Radio and TV signals do not get through in Ndian Division without satellite dishes...”

In addition, despite its oil rich Bakassi Peninsula, the division is still grappling with the problem of epileptic power supply which has hindered the development of modern industries. Agricultural production losses for the Bakassi Area was estimated at about 40%, while the division has good maritime resources (transport and fishing) which are still poorly developed (Soweda, 2006). More specifically in the domain of fisheries, the BAC-PARUDEP is expected to develop this sector so that the proceeds from fishing should be increased. The strategy was geared towards the virtual phasing out of foreign exploiters who have, over the years, gained monopoly of this sector through the provision of loans, formation of Common Initiative Groups and assisting in some fishing inputs.

DISCUSSION

The Bakassi Area is a resource rich area which is still facing a high degree of backwardness. The Bakassi area which had been conflict ridden for more that a decade exhibits a clear incidence of the devil’s excrement. In addition, the population is yet to witness oil oriented development. Collier and Hoeffler (2000) argue that
conflict may be explained either by greed or by grievances, such as feelings of ethnic or political marginalization. In this case, a potential source of conflict emanating from grievance could be noted since concerns have already been expressed on the nursing of revolutionary tendencies of the people of the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula who have been described as capricious, hungry and jobless youths who are fast developing the rebellious attitude of the Niger Delta Militants (cited in Kimengsi, 2011).

Perhaps, at this juncture, it will be necessary to make allusion to the Niger Delta Crisis which has rocked the international scene of conflict resolution for over four decades. According to Ojakorotu (2008), the long nursed grievances of the inhabitants of this oil rich area escalated into civil strife because of certain fundamental issues, namely, their exclusion or marginalization in terms of access to oil revenue; their struggle for greater access to resource sharing (known in Nigerian parlance as resource control); environmental degradation; and egregious human rights violations. This crisis assumed horrendous dimensions in the early 1990s with the emergence of social movements and militant youth groups that began to challenge not only the Nigerian state but also the policies, attitudes, and activities of the multinational oil companies (MNOCs) in the region (Ojakorotu, 2008). Whittington (2001, cited in Ejibunu, 2007) aptly described the economic dilemma of the Niger Delta Region when he stated that “the oil region in Nigeria seems to be stuck in a time warp, with little real change since oil was discovered 45 years ago. Away from the main towns, there is no real development, no roads, no electricity, no running water and no telephone”.

Underdevelopment in this region is so severe that the youths of the region are the hardest hit by the lack of development. This is why many of them have resorted to militancy in an effort to focus national and international attention to their plight. These, among other factors have made this region famous in discussions on international conflict resolution (Ejibunu, 2007). Of significance is the fact that it has paved the way for the involvement of a number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) in different aspects of ‘environmental politics’ in the region such as Amnesty International, the Green Peace Movement, the Un-represented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), among others.

While we acknowledge the role of natural resources (the geography of the areas) as an important factor accounting for every pace of development, it is necessary to point out that the role of the government, the manager of these resources, is also primordial. The lethargy of regions with sound resource base and very little development to show for may be found in politics and not in resource level implications (Fogwe and Mbaha, 2008).

This situation agrees with the present scenario in the Bakassi Area where it would seem that some groups of people are either too comfortable or too insensitive to do what is right to developing the area. If such a division continues to stay in the doldrums of underdevelopment and crunching poverty amidst riches, then there is a need to suggest pathways through which the livelihoods of these groups of people who have been described as “fast developing the Niger Delta tendencies” should be improved upon. The goose that lays the golden eggs should not be neglected because it could provide the root cause of regional instability in the future when the indigenous people stand up for their own rights in much the same way as their brothers of the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. Newspaper tabloids continue to carry messages about the plight of the people of Bakassi. Their anguish is reflected in some of the voices of the Bakassi Area who note that;

“Ndian inhabitants say it is unacceptable that government has exploited oil in the area for close to four decades without tarring the road to the divisional headquarters, Mundemba, at least” (cited in The Post Weeekender N’01201, Friday November 19, 2010, pp4).

In another dimension, the notion of conflict which presents itself both as a tragedy and as an impediment to development has a greater burden on the poor segments of society (Collier and Hoeffler, 2007). Therefore, if the present stakeholders have the people at heart, it will be unwise to keep them where they are. Rather, they should mobilize the available resources now to improve on the situation of the population instead of allowing their patience to run out.

The way forward

The Bakassi Area, by virtue of her rich Peninsula which has been a bone of contention between Cameroon and Nigeria for many years should be disenclaved within the shortest possible time. While we acknowledge the vision of the government in placing Bakassi as a project priority area, it is necessary to mention that the pace at which development is going seems not to tally with what observers previewed for the area, given the highly sensitive nature of the area. A major drawback to the eventual development of the Bakassi Area remains the absence of a good road network. So, to encourage Cameroonian presence, it does not suffice only to build schools and health centres, without developing a good transport network that will initiate a conducive investment climate and encourage Cameroonians to move and settle there. This accounts for the high dominance of Nigerians in the area even after the official handing over of Bakassi to Cameroon. Also, the poorly developed port facilities of the Bakassi Area should be taken into consideration. These port facilities, if well developed, will stimulate trade some socio-economic takeoff.
In some oil rich nations such as Nigeria where the paradox of plenty is glaring, the government opted for the derivation principle. For instance, in Nigeria, where petroleum rights are in the hands of the Federal Government, there is a provision based on the derivation principle whereby not less than 13% of the revenues accruing to the Federal Government from the exploitation of natural resources should be allocated to the states from which the revenues are derived. The Federal Government of Nigeria is using the derivation principle in the Niger Delta. Going by the tenets of the derivation principle, redressing the imbalance in this oil rich division requires the adoption of the derivation principle, that is, a certain percentage of the oil resources tapped from the area should be used to develop the area.

In addition, except for some technical and highly skilled operations, the local population should be included as much as possible in the employment opportunities that these companies offer and they should, in all instances, be consulted in the event of the initiation and implementation of any development project. It should be clearly stated that before exploiting companies are allowed to install in Bakassi, they should contribute to socio-economic takeoff by carrying out development projects for the Bakassi Area.

Projects earmarked for this area should incorporate issues of rural electrification through the development of micro HEP systems using the water resources which are abundantly present in most of these rural communities and the development of latent resources. While participatory rural development has been the creed, the hitherto top-bottom approach seems to have continuously prevailed and this acted as a drawback to community-driven development in most of these enclaved areas.

Conclusion

The paradox of plenty which has been described as the “Dutch Disease” is an epitome of inequality which is very much alive in the Bakassi Area. The area could be described as a developed area if we take into consideration its natural resource endowments. However, this information can only be consumed by an outside viewer who is not well informed about the situation on the ground. Accessibility to this area has been a major factor that hinders the exposure and proper development of these resources to ameliorate the living conditions of the areas. It seems to have given some highly placed persons (minority) a lion’s share of the resource while the local population (majority) continues to languish in abject poverty. This predicament, it should be noted, is not mandated to occur automatically in all natural resource endowed regions, but it is largely predicated on failed political, economic and social institutions especially in the realm of effective policy implementation. The effect of the resource curse is not felt in the same proportion in a country with sound institutions as in those with poor and failed institutions (Same, 2009). In the case of the Bakassi Area, the ailing economic situation in the midst of resource abundance can be handled by the institution of a sound policy and effective implementation of such policies. Bakassi, in the recent years has been placed under the government’s top priority list of development as a number of projects have been earmarked for this area.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

REFERENCES


Esoko Magazine (February 2008). Ndian: Heartbeat of the Nation. Published by Ndian Divisional Chiefs Conference (NDICCO).


Ojakorutu V (2008). The Internationalization of Oil Violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. Alternatives, Turkish J. Int. Rel. 7:1


1 Bureau Centrale De Recensement et D’études de la Population (BUCREP) is the institution that is charged with conducting and publishing census results in Cameroon.