AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CEDING BAKASSI PENINSULAR TO CAMEROON

By

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the implications and consequences of ceding Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon on the original inhabitants of Bakassi using Bakassi Local Government Area of Cross River State as a case study. However, 300 respondents were sampled using a stratified random sampling technique. Data for this study were collected using a well-structured questionnaire and were analyzed using OLS regression analysis. The result provided clear evidence that International Court of Justice ruling over Bakassi had a negative impact on the income of Bakassi residents, health status of Bakassi residents, housing status as well as employment status respectively. Based on the findings, the study recommended that the international organizations as well as the government of Nigeria should empower the Bakassi residents of Cross River State by offering them a substitutable and befitting source of livelihood, free medical check-ups, reconstruction of suitable accommodations, and better job offer, to suppress incidences of depression and militancy.

Keywords: Income-status, Health-status, housing-status, Employment-status, Ceding-Bakassi peninsular

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

On the 12th day of June 2006, a significant international document known as the Green tree agreement was endorsed by the former president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and his Cameroonian counterpart President Paul Biya in New York USA. This document deals with the transfer of Bakassi peninsula to the Republic of Cameroon and how Nigeria would vacate the region following the October 10, 2002 verdict of the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

However, the peninsula is located in an area of 1000 square kilometers of the mangrove swamp and half-submerged Islands protruding into the bright of bonny previously known as the bright of Biafra. The Bakassi peninsula has been a subject of great debate for decades as well as resulting to economic strife between the Nigerian government and the republic of Cameroon. Before now, Bakassi had been inhabited by the Ibibios, Ijaws and the Efiks (Idise and Idisi, 1996:158); as of May 6, 1996, diplomats reported that over Fifty Nigerian soldiers had been killed and a number taken as prisoners. There was no information available for Cameroonian casualties (New York Times, 1996)

Notably, history was made on Thursday August 14, 2008 in Calabar the State Capital of Cross River State as Nigeria clearly demonstrated her leadership position as the true giant of Africa by handing her sovereignty over the oil-rich peninsula to the Republic of Cameroon. From the Nigerian perspective, the decision was to put a stop to her long lasting economic and political strife with her sister nation the Republic of Cameroon and also to display some level of civility and contentment to few other resources domiciled in...
Nigeria. Interestingly, Bakassi is an oil rich peninsula that have been believed that the long struggle for sovereignty over the peninsula was not for the benefit of her original inhabitants, but for the mining and sucking of the resources earlier discovered.

On Friday, July 17 2015, Sen. Ben Ayade, the executive Governor of Cross River State lampooned the United Nations and the Federal Government of Nigeria for ceding the oil-rich peninsula to Cameroon without seeking the consent of the people through a plebiscite. This is an indication that the ruling of International Court of Justice in collaboration with the federal government of Nigeria was without consideration of the opinions of person domiciled in Bakassi, which for Eke and Eke (2007) was a conspiracy. Eke and Eke (2007) explained the court ruling as a neo-colonial conspiracy, hatched to sustain the claimed superiority and influence of the western powers over their former colonies. The truth remains that the indigenes of Bakassi LGA were yet to settle down, and get acclimatize with their new location and are yet to secure habitable accommodation. The verdict required Nigeria to transfer possession and sovereignty over the territory to Cameroon without granting self-determination rights to the Bakassi indigenes (Omoigui, 2002). Consequently, Nigeria lost 35 communities to Cameroon while the indigenes were displaced (Omoigui, 2002; Yusuf, 2003).

Similarly, the oil well within the region ceded to Cameroon was one reason Cross River State was de-listed among the oil producing states in Nigeria. With the ceding of this region another battle ensued between AkwaIbom State and Cross River State government on the ownership of the oil wells within the offshore and this resulted in the withdrawal of the accruing oil revenue to Cross River State.

Despite the laudable truce and verdict of the International Court of Justice to eradicate militancy in the region as well as promote peaceful co-existence, it totally failed to provide palliative measures to the residents and original inhabitants of Bakassi. It had been widely acclaimed that the verdict of the international court of justice on the disputed territory will go a long way to settling boundary disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon but the truth remains that Bakassi residents are still in disarray. This shows that no proper plan was drawn up to relocate the original inhabitants of the Island; Abana and Atabong to a well-planned area where they will continue their lives, and no proper plans were made for new means of livelihood. Most of the populace made their living through fishing (Mbuh 2004) but this would have to change to perhaps crop and animal production against their will.

However, this research is geared towards the exposition and implication of ceding Bakassi to Cameroon as well as strategies to be adopted for efficient policy implementation in this region, hence figuring Bakassi local government as a case study.

1.2 Objective of the study

The overriding objective of this research is to appraise the economic implication of ceding Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon

The specific objectives are as follows:
1. To examine the effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the income/ output of the Bakassi citizens
2. To examine the effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the health status of Bakassi citizens
3. To examine the effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the housing status of Bakassi citizens
4. To examine the effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the level of unemployment of Bakassisicizens

1.3 Definition of terms

1. **Peninsula**: according to the Cambridge advanced leaners dictionary of English, “peninsula is a long piece of land which strikes out from a larger area of land into the sea or into a lake.

2. **Verdict**: according to the Cambridge advanced learners dictionary; a verdict is an opinion or decision made after judging the facts that are given, especially one made at the end of a trial.
3. **Sovereignty**: according to Oxford mini dictionary of English, Sovereignty is the state of making laws and controlling resources without the coercion of other nations.

4. **Court**: according to the Oxford mini dictionary, a court is a hall, chamber, or place where justice is administered.

5. **Plebiscite**: the Cambridge advanced learner’s dictionary defines a plebiscite as a referendum.

6. **Strife**: According to the Cambridge dictionary of English, strife is a violent or angry disagreement.

### 2.0 Theoretical framework and literature review

#### 2.1 Literature review

The critical issue which has remained a puzzle to the researcher is why the Nigerian government, despite her resolve not to cede an inch of the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon in the name of national interest, later enforced the verdict, and evacuated the Bakassi people from their ancestral homeland against the popular opinions of Nigerians (Odoh Samuel, Nwogbaga, David 2015). It should be noted that whereas the national assembly kicked against the enforcement of the verdict because the Green Tree Agreement which facilitated the ceding was not ratified by the legislature as provided in section 12 (1) of the 1999 constitution (Ameh, 2012).

Similarly, the federal high court ruled that the enforcement process should be delayed until all resettlement accommodation for the displaced Bakassians are properly put in place (Yusufu, 2003). While the Nigerian Bar association (NBA) declared the ceding as illegal and unconstitutional (NBA, 2012). The Bakassi people on their part opposed being transferred to Cameroon and threatened to secede if Nigeria renounced its sovereignty over their subjects (Soni 2012). Regardless of all these submissions, the federal government went ahead to enforce the ruling and formally transferred sovereignty over Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon on 14th August, 2008.

According to Akinjide Richards (2002). We must accept that (ICJ) judgment was 50% international law and 50% politics. He buttressed that as far as the case between Nigerian and Cameroon was concerned the dispute was really between Nigeria and France. (Akinjide News watch November 4, 2002). According to him “the judgment of the ICJ on Bakassi was a travesty of justice, it was a great injustice which started in 1913 and which is being perpetrated now under the guise of ICJ. After the peace process and the return of Bakassi to the Cameroonians, the people of Bakassi were always complaining of harassment by the Cameroonians gendarmes. Nigerians continue to flee Bakassi every day because of these harassment. Punch newspaper reported that the camp in EkprilKang Cross River State has swelled to 1500 refugees. A camp initially meant for 400 people. (Punch newspaper, 30 March 2009).

Mores, apart from the harassment of the indigenes, various activities have been going on in the Bakassi peninsula like the hijacking of a Nigeria cargo ship. Two weeks before that time, a group calling itself the African marine commands hijacked a Chinese fishing vessels in the area with seven man crew on board. (Punch newspaper, 30 March, 2010)

Tomwarri, (2015). Investigated international law boundary dispute and territorial redistribution between Nigeria and Cameroon on Bakassi peninsula; limits and possibilities for Nigeria. The study used qualitative/descriptive statistical analysis. The findings proved that the verdict of the court in Nigeria-Cameroon boarder dispute indicates the weakness and utility of international law in maintaining global peace and security especially when it impinges on individuals. The study also showed that for the public to condemn the ruling and also pointing out the gray areas on both the international law and the ICJ is an indication that the judgment is unacceptable to the Nigerian domestic population.

Ambily and Etekpe, (2013). Studied “ICJ Judgment on Bakassi Peninsula and Lake Chad: Litmus Test For Peace And Integration in Africa”. The study adopted the doctrine of collective security and peaceful settlement framework, and applies secondary data collection method. The method, was complemented by interviews of the affected indigenous communities and stakeholders, and finds that ICJ was not the appropriate forum to resolve such a political issue. It then recommended a diplomatic negotiation paradigm to prevent an imminent Nigeria and Cameroon war.
In a purely descriptive statistic finding, Odoh and Nwogbaga, (2015) examined the theoretical perspective on Nigeria’s enforcement of the international court of justices’ verdict over Bakassi peninsula. The study showed that Nigeria’s enforcement of the ICJ’s verdict was propelled more by the implication and consequences of flouting the judgement in order to avoid the anticipated consequence and explore the benefits, the actions that were directly involved conspired and ceded the area without involving the affected populace.

Ikenna and Umahi (2008). In their research examined tensions in Bakassi after handover. The study was purely qualitative. Their findings showed that Nigeria is in a mournful state.

Shaibu, (2015), in his study: “an appraisal of the dominant causes of boundary conflict between Nigerian and Cameroon; the Bakassi peninsula perspective. The realist theory was used as a framework of analysis, data were derived from secondary sources and content analysis based on logical deduction and analysis of documents was adopted. The study found that the dominant causes of the conflict included geographical and constitutional positions; colonial-legal sources, demographic, politico-strategic and economic issues. It further revealed that the court’s resolutions on the conflict in favor of the Republic of Cameroun was informed by the colonial-legal sources, as such, it provoked reactions from various segments of the Nigerian public including Bakassi indigenous populace, their paramount ruler, the Cross River State Youths Assembly and Nigerian Senate.

Nicholas, Tarlebbea and Baroni (2010)in their research, the Cameroon and Nigeria Negotiation Process over the Contested Oil rich Bakassi Peninsula adopted a qualitative statistic for analysis, their study concluded that the Bakassi peninsula, ruling was a great lesson to the world. That peace could still be attained through diplomatic negotiation and a sign that the UN could still be looked upon as a world unifier and promoter of peace among nations.

Ariye (2015)conducted a study onNigeria, Cameroon and the Bakassi Territorial Dispute Settlement: The Triumph of Bilateralism. The study was purely qualitative, in his findings, he maintained that what we saw was the application of diplomatic mechanisms for final resolution based on the ruling of the ICJ, a ruling which in itself could not yield instant settlement.

Similarly, Okonkwo (2009) on “towards the actualization of perpetual peace”; an inter-state boundary dispute between Nigerian and Cameroon adopted the deductive method, qualitative method and case study. The findings showed that there was need to form a community of states where differences could be resolved amicably. The amicability here could be possible if all the states were republican states, hence with rational leaders who put common interest of peace and security of humankind above peculiar interest of individual state.

Again, Babatolaand Jadesola, (2012) on a study, Nigeria-Cameroon Boundary Dispute: The Quest for Bakassi Peninsular adopted a historical approach, which took cognizance of existing scholarly works and the use of simple descriptive analysis of historical data to authenticate their accuracy in the advancement of knowledge. The findings revealed that the area in dispute was an integral part of the British possession having been noted in theBritish Admiralty chart as Rio Del Rey. Hence, definite demarcations were not marked.

2.2 Theoretical framework

2.2.1 Democratic state theorists perspective

The democratic state theorists advanced four main propositions anchored on the ethic and values of democracy as being responsible for Nigeria’s decision to cede Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon. The democratic state propositions derived from the view of Orji (2012), Dayo (2012) Gadzama (2008). They argued as follows first that the international democratic order of which Nigeria and other African states have accepted, compelled the Nigerian government to pursue the international norms of peace and non-violent resolution of interstate disputes (Orji 2012).
Secondly, that a rejection of the (ICJ) ruling would have contradicted Nigeria’s posture as a leading
democratic nation and credibility as a vanguard of peace in Africa (Orji, 2012); thirdly that noncompliance
could call into question Nigerian’s acclaimed commitment to the rule of law, which is a vital condition for the
superlative performance of democracy (Dayo, 2012); fourthly that noncompliance to the verdict and retorting
to full scale war with Cameroon would further truncate Nigeria’s nascent democracy given the propensity for
military takeover under the guise of the civilians incompetence to prosecute war (Dayo, 2012).

These postulations sound very true to some extents but are not reflected in the realities of Nigerians
internal democracy. For instance, if there were objectivity in the argument for Nigeria’s pursuit of
international norm of peace and nonviolent resolution of inter-state dispute being a leading democratic nation
and a vanguard of peace in Africa, commitment to the rule of law and the survival of the nascent democracy
against military takeover there should have been more serious efforts to truncate the anomalies bedeviling the
country’s internal democracy.

2.2.2 The consequence theorists perspective
The consequence theory postulated that Nigeria rescinded its decision to reject the verdict of ICJ and
ceded Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon because of the anticipated negative consequences in the international
system. In line with this argument, first it is contended that non-compliance with the verdict could incur the
wrath of the UN security council under article 94 (2) of the UN charter, if any party may have recourse to the
Security Council (Dayo, 2012). If the Security Council deems it necessary, it may make recommendations or
decide measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment. Under article 25 of the charter. The member of the
UN agreed to accept and carryout the decision of the Security Council and still in chapter II of the charter, the
Security Council can impose sanctions and where necessary authorize enforcement against a state whose
actions or omission threaten or lead to breaches of international peace and security.

However, in seeking the intervention of the Security Council, Cameroon could easily court on the
support and influence of France which is a permanent member of the council. Secondly, if Nigeria had failed
to comply it would have risked being shut out should it seek to involve the jurisdiction of the court in
subsequent cases as no court would readily grant audience to a country that flouts the ICJs orders (Dayo,
2012). Third, non-compliance on the part of Nigeria could undermine her contributions and impact at other
international law bodies such as the international criminal court (ICC), and the international criminal tribunal
(ICT), where Justice Adolphus Karibiwhyte of Nigeria had once served as a judge with respect to an issue that
affected Yugoslavia. Fourthly, non-compliance to the verdict could jeopardize the chances of Nigerian
candidate for the judgship of the court where distinguished Nigerians like T.O. Elias, Daddy Onyeama, and
Bola Ajibola had served meritoriously on the court’s Bench (Dayo, 2012).

It is therefore notable that even though the national assembly may decline to implement the Green
Tree Agreement under section 12 of the constitution thereby depriving it of any force of law domestically, this
does not in any way void the international obligation of Nigeria firstly under the ICJ ruling of October 2002
and secondly under the Green Tree agreement. It is noted that the ICJ judgment imposed an international
obligation upon Nigeria to comply with them as a member of the united nations, and a party to the united
Nations charter as well as the statute of the ICJ (an integral part of the charter) (Egede; 2008). Under article
94(1) of the united nation charter and article 59 of the statute of the ICJ “each member of the UN undertakes
to comply with the decision of the international court of justice in any case to which it is a party.

2.2.3 The economic aid theory
The economic aid theory argues that Nigeria ceded Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroon because of other
economic interest perceived to be higher and consequential for the country in the international community. As
Agbu (2008) Eke (2009), and Aja (2009). Nigeria’s economic interests largely revolve around (a) national
economic recovery and diversified development (b) improved economic well-being of the Nigerian citizens
(c) ensuring conducive economic conditions in African and the world to foster Nigeria’s national self-reliance
(d) promoting sustainable trade and investment (e) maintaining stable financial system and debt crisis management (f) job creation and poverty alleviation.

However, in pursuing these national economic interests, the Nigerian government anchored their efforts on economic diplomacy defined as the management of international relations in such a manner as to give topmost priority to the economic objectives of a nation through the application of economic measures or instruments in negotiating and bargaining with other countries either to control distribute, or redistribute scarce resources (Asobie, 2002; Ogwu, 2002; Eke 2009). In this light, security debt relief from the international monetary Fund was seen as part of major efforts to achieve the identified economic interests which would be difficult if Nigeria were to flout the judgment of the ICJ. This is because most of the external creditors especially the Paris club of France have significant roles and influence to wield in the debt relief debates and the world bodies.

Thus, given the entire declaration of the then president Olusegun Obasajo that Nigeria needs to take the center globe and canvass her economic interests in the international community attention was focused more on pleasing the structures mechanisms, and institutions that allocate world resources. Consequently such institutions as the World Bank IMF, the G-77 the creditor club (London and Paris) as well as multinational institutions like the UN, World Trade Organization (WTO) and international court of justice (ICJ) became essential determinants of Nigeria’s foreign policy in order to secure the debt relief which some belief would salvage the Nation’s economy from distress (Alli, 2007, Orji 2012). The rational for this presumed paradigm shift was to utilize the identified international structures, mechanisms and institutions to advance Nigeria’s national economic interest parceled in the quest for equity social justice and national development (Eke 2009).

2.2.4 The deterrence theorist’s perspective

The deterrence theory postulated that Nigeria ceded Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon out of fear that the latter military pact with France would give them undue strategic advantage if they go into confrontation. Within the context of international relations, deterrence means the possession and demonstration of military powers to discourage an actual or potential enemy from nursing any intent of aggression for fear of losing rather than gaining or prevailing in the pursuit of national interests (Karen, 1999). The deterrence theorists postulated that Nigeria was discouraged from going into confrontation with Cameroon because it was conscious of the fact that any aggressive action would be encountered by a damaging reaction with the help of France.

It is worthy of note that Nigeria’s national security is under serious threats in the west African sub-region because it is surrounded by Franco phone countries that are politically loyal economically subservient and militarily linked France, the former colonialist (Nwankwo, 2007; Shindi 2007). Given Nigerian’s international border dispute, with each of the four neighboring francophone countries (Benin Republic, Cameroon, Chad and Niger republic), it would not be difficult for France to mobilize the military alliance and supports of these countries against Nigeria as they did during Nigerian civil war (Biafran war) (Eke and Eke, 2007). This fear was manifested in the earlier struggle to outmaneuver opponents in which France dispatched 30 paratroopers armed with light machine guns, combat helicopters, as well as mounted surface to air missiles surface to surface artillery pieces battery and radar stations to monitor sea and air movement of Nigerian troops in south western Cameroon and Bakassi (Eke and Eke 2007).

Furthermore, this was a rapid mission to assist its former colony in the deepening crisis France argued that it was deeply concerned about the tension surrounding the conflicting claims to Bakassi peninsula. This fear is further increased by porosity of the Gulf of Guinea which is only 750 kilometers away from Nigeria’s shoreline, harbors our coastal waters stretching from the contiguous zone to the exclusive economic zone but detested with high degree of piracy leading to notorious arms proliferation (Akinyemi, 2004). In order to douse the effects of these threats on national security the Nigerian government was compelled to employ various foreign policy measures to ensure its safety. Part of these safety measures arguably includes Nigeria’s foreign policy decisions to spearhead the formation of (ECOWAS) as well as promote good neighborliness, part of which is the decision to cede Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon instead of going to war (Ngang 2007).
The assertion of the deterrence theorists holds sway to the content of France support for Cameroon because Nigeria appears to have more power resources than the former. Nevertheless, even if France backs Cameroon the regional strategic relevance of Nigeria to the western powers could have been advantageous for her to mobilize some international support as well.

2.2.5 The regime type theory

The regime type theory shares the postulation that the government ceded Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon due to the character of Nigeria’s ruling elite during the Obasanjo administration most of whom perceived the ICJ ruling as the most civilized means of dealing with the Bakassi issue (Orji 2012). In this line of argument two types of regimes were identified; responsible regime and radical regime (Waltz 1981). While the responsible regimes acknowledge the consequence of war and as such, seek peaceful resolution of conflicts through dialogue, negotiation and legal means; a radical regime is bent on achieving its stated national interests by all possible means including war with little or no regards for stability in international peace and security (Waltz, 1981). The regime type theorists therefore hold that Nigeria ceded Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon because the ruling elites have a sense of responsibility to maintain stability, peace and security at both the domestic and international environments (Akinyemi, 2012). It was noted that even though the legal suit was filed in 1994, the radical military regime of late General Sam Abacha did not give way for peaceful resolution of the conflict, but in the presence of responsible democratic regimes, it behooved on the ruling elites to uphold the verdict of ICJ as the most civilized approach to resolving the conflict (Dayo 2012).

Similarly this theoretical postulation goes further to explain why Olusegun Obasanjo who vehemently opposed Cameroon’s claim over Bakassi as a military head of state eventually ceded the area as a civilian president. In a sense, as a military head of state in a radical regime, Olusegun Obasanjo was under serious obligation to protect the nation’s territorial integrity against all odds; but he thought it was worthwhile to behave as a responsible regime of a civilized nation in contemporary period. Hence, though the national assembly declined to implement the green tree agreement under section 12 of the constitution thereby depriving it of any force of law domestically, this does not in any way void the international obligation of a responsible regime to obey the verdict first under the ICJ judgment of October 2002, and second under the Green Tree Agreement (Egede, 2008).

2.2.6 Conspiracy theorists perspective

The conspiracy theory was first used in 1909 in “the American review”. The major proponents include pipes (1992), Geortzel (1994), Barkun (2003, Knight (2003) Walker (2013), West and Sanders (2003), fenster, (2008) and Young (2010). The conspiracy theory is an explanatory proposition that accuses two or more persons, a group or an organization of having caused or covered up through secret planning and deliberate action an illegal or harmful event or situation (Goertzel 1994, knight, 2003). Sharing similar view Bankun (2003), postulates that a conspiracy theory is a belief which explains an event as the result of a secret plot by exceptionally powerful and cunning conspirators to achieve a malevolent end. While expanding the details of the conspiracy theory young (2010); asserted “every real conspiracy has had at least four characteristic features. Groups not isolated individuals; Illegal or sinister aims not ones that would benefit society as a whole orchestrated acts, not as series of spontaneous and haphazard ones; and secret planning not public discussion”. The views of these scholars suggests that in conspiracy some groups are included while others are excluded in the secret plan as such there is an ulterior motive unknown as not to be known to the general public and that is why public opinion won’t be sought; also the benefits of the plan won’t reach all but the core plotters. The proponents contend that for conspiracy to be successful, there must be external enemies and internal agents to perfect the secret plan.

Similarly, Eke and Eke (2004) adopted the conspiracy theory to explain the verdict of the ICJ over Bakassi peninsula and Nigeria’s enforcement of the judgment. Eke and Eke (2007) explained the verdict as a neo colonial conspiracy hatched to sustain the claimed superiority and influence of the western powers over their former colonies. In efforts to maintain their neo-colonial Anglo-German agreement reached in 1913 as the basis for judgment in 2002 thereby ignoring the principles of effective occupation and ancestral heritage
recognized in the UN charter. The conspiracy did not end with the neo-colonial powers (external enemies), they also collaborated with the internal agents (some Nigerian political elites) who have vested international capitalist interests to protect. Thus, the neo-colonial powers and international capitalist elites conspired with the internal capitalist oriented political elites to dispossess the Bakassi people of their economic resources in their own common interests. Meanwhile, the argument of the conspiracy theorists is that first the western powers sought to maintain their claims of superiority over their former colonies; second in order to perfect the intention, they collaborated with the national political elites on the platform of shared international capitalist interest to be protected in the course of exploiting the oil resources in the Bakassi peninsula respectively.

3.0 Research methodology

3.1 Research design
The design used in this study is the survey design. Ndiyo (2005) defined a survey as a scientific experiment conducted on a large scale of a defined population to determine some desirable characteristics of a desired population. For the purpose of this study the sample survey adopted is aimed at collecting sample from the population in order to examine the implication of ceding Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon on the original inhabitants of Bakassi Local Government of Cross River State.

3.2 Area of study
On December 12, 1996, the Bakassi local government area was created out of what used to be known as Akpabuyo local government area with this creation Bakassi continued to be an integral part of Cross River State bringing the number of local government areas to 18. There are ten council wards in the local government area; Abana, AkpaNkaga, Akwa, AmbaiEkpa, Amoto, Archibong, Atiaema, Efut/inwang, EkpotAbia, and Odiong. Bakassi local government, which as internationally known remains one of Nigeria’s richest gulfs. She is bounded in the east by the Republic of Cameroon, Guinea in the south and the big of Bonny in the west by the Cross River Estuary and North by Akpabuyo local government Area.
Bakassi is located between latitude 40 43 and 40 55 North of the equator and 80 260 and 80 38 east of the Greenwich meridian. The entire area is underpin by one major geological formation i.e., the sedimentary basin also bounded by volcanic intrusions of the Cameroon. Similarly Bakassi local government is the lifeline of Cross River State in terms of crude oil and aquatic food such as crayfish, fishes, and Shrimps periwinkle in commercial and exportable quantities virtually, all parts of Bakassi lies within the coastlines. However, the composition of the people is predominantly the Efiks and the Ibibios who stay and do business together, the major occupation of the people is fishing and trans-atlantic trading.

3.3 Population of the study
According to the ICJ report, (2002), the population of Bakassi is the subject of some dispute but is generally put between 150,000 and 300,000 people. The required population for this study is taken from a sample of the displaced persons of Bakassi i.e. the original inhabitants of Bakassi who were transferred from their place of birth to some part of Akpabuyo Local Government of Cross River State.

3.4 Sample of the study
300 respondents were selected based on the stratified random sampling method used by the researcher picking 30 from each of the 10 council wards. The sample population included various camps meant for the displaced persons of Bakassi selected by the researcher. The above sample is a representation of the entire population of Bakassi whose opinion are used as a representation of a wider view.

3.5 Instrumentation
The measuring instrument used by the researcher for this research study is a four point Likert scale-type questionnaire. The questionnaire will be divided into two sections. Section one contains information regarding respondents personal details. Sections two contains information pertaining to our subject of study based on the hypothesis to be tested.

Each response will be given a degree of scores which range from one to four as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>4Points</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3Points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>2Points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1Point</td>
</tr>
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3.6 Techniques of data analysis

Descriptive statistics was used to analyze the collected data. The aim was to show trends and comparison of responses by the respondents. Techniques such as simple frequencies and percentages were initially employed in most of the analysis.

Data collected will also be estimated using OLS regression analysis with the aid of STATA. However, the regression equation will assume the form:

\[ OTC_i = f(IMPL) \] \[(3.1)\]

For \( i = 1, 2, 3, \) and \( 4 \)

Where \( OTC \), the outcome/consequences is symbolic for income status of residents, health status of residents, housing status of residents, and employment status of residents; and \( IMPL \) is symbolic for implications of ceding Bakassi Peninsular to Cameroon.

In linear form we obtain,

\[ OTC_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 IMPL + \epsilon_i \] \[(3.2)\]

Where,

For \( i = 1, 2, 3, \) and \( 4 \)

\( OTC_1 \) = Income status of residents
\( OTC_2 \) = Health status of residents
\( OTC_3 \) = Housing status of residents
\( OTC_4 \) = Employment status of residents
\( \epsilon \) = Stochastic error term
\( \beta_0, \beta_1 \) = Parameter estimates.

The data collected were thereafter subjected to test of hypotheses based on hypothesis by hypothesis testing procedure.

4.1 Presentation of result by ordinary least squares technique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1: Presentation of regression results</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEPENDENT VAR.</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>INCOM</td>
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<tr>
<td>-4789.84*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.1 Analysis of regression results on implications/reactions of ceding Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon on the income status of Bakassi residents

The empirical results of the estimated income function above will be analyzed using two criteria, namely: the economic a priori criteria, and the statistical criteria.

**Economic a priori Criteria**

The estimated regression line shows a negative relationship between income and implications (impl1). This is consistent with the relevant a priori expectation, indicating that a 1 unit rate increase in implications (impl1) will result to a decrease in income of Bakassi residents by 4789.83%, all things being equal. The outcome of this study complements the findings of (Mbuh 2004, Yusufu, 2003). “most of the populace made their living through fishing”, a change in their sources of revenue have indeed had a change in their income status.

**Statistical Criteria (First-Order Test)**

The probability test is employed to test for the statistical significance of the estimates in the model. The probability at 1% level of significance is 0.01.

The decision rule requires that the probability value for each variable must be less than or equal to (0.01) at 1% level of significance, hence, we conclude that the particular parameter estimate is statistically significant and vice-versa.

However, probability tests conducted on implications (impl1) shows that the parameter estimate was statistically significant. This is because, the probability value calculated (0.000)is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance.

Adjusted R-squared of 0.8351 indicate that about 83.51% of the total variations in the dependent variable () have been explained by the independent variables (impl1). About 16.49% of the total variation is left unexplained and attributed to other variables not captured by the model but represented by the error term (). The model therefore has a good fit on the data and also has a high predictability power.

The F-statistics value of 1519.99 shows that the overall model is statistically significant. This is indicated by the F-statistics probability value of 0.0000 being less than 0.01 (critical value) and thus implies that the explanatory variable was able to explain short-run changes in income () of Bakassi residents. The result also confirms the existence of a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the explanatory variable in the model.

**Test of hypothesis**

Here we test the earlier formulated hypothesis in chapter one. The probability test of significance earlier employed will be used for the test. However, the following decision rule is formulated.

**Decision Rule:**

If the probability value calculated is less than the critical value 0.01 at 1% level of significance, we reject the null hypothesis (H₀) and accept the alternative hypothesis (H₁) and vice versa.

H₀: There is no significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the income/output of the Bakassi citizen.
There is significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the income/output of the Bakassi citizen.

From the results obtained, the probability value calculated of implication (impl1) (0.000) is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance. Therefore, we accept the alternative hypothesis and reject the null hypothesis; thus, there is a significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the income/output of the Bakassi citizen.

4.1.2 Analysis of regression results on implications/reactions of ceding Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon on the health status of Bakassi residents

The empirical results of the estimated health function above will be analyzed using two criteria, namely: the economic a priori criteria, and the statistical criteria.

Economic a priori Criteria

The estimated regression line shows a negative relationship between health and implications (impl1). This is consistent with the relevant a priori expectation, indicating that a 1 unit increase in implications (impl1) will result to a decrease in health of Bakassi residents by 8163.936%, all things being equal.

Statistical Criteria (First-Order Test)

The probability test is employed to test for the statistical significance of the estimates in the model. The probability at 5% level of significance is 0.05.

The decision rule requires that the probability value for each variable must be less than or equal to (0.01) at 1% level of significance, hence, we conclude that the particular parameter estimate is statistically significant and vice-versa.

However, probability tests conducted on implications (impl1) shows that the parameter estimate was statistically significant. This is because, the probability value calculated (0.000) is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance.

Adjusted R-squared of 0.8268 indicate that about 82.68% of the total variations in the dependent variable health have been explained by the independent variables (impl1). About 17.32% of the total variation is left unexplained and attributed to other variables not captured by the model but represented by the error term. The model therefore has a good fit on the data and also has a high predictability power.

The F-statistics value of 1433.43 shows that the overall model is statistically significant. This is indicated by the F-statistics probability value of 0.0000 being less than 0.01 (critical value) and thus implies that the explanatory variable was able to explain short-run changes in health of Bakassi residents. The result also confirms the existence of a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the explanatory variable in the model.

Test of hypothesis

Here we test the earlier formulated hypothesis in chapter one. The probability test of significance earlier employed will be used for the test. However, the following decision rule is formulated.

Decision Rule:

If the probability value calculated is less than the critical value 0.01 at 1% level of significance, we reject the null hypothesis ($H_0$) and accept the alternative hypothesis ($H_1$) and vice versa.

$H_0$: There is no significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the health status of Bakassi citizens.

$H_1$: There is a significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the health status of Bakassi citizens.

From the results obtained, the probability value calculated of implication (impl1) (0.000) is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance. Therefore, we accept the alternative hypothesis and reject
the null hypothesis; thus, there is a significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the health status of Bakassi citizens.

4.1.3 Analysis of regression results on implications/reactions of ceding Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon on the housing status of Bakassi residents

The empirical results of the estimated housing function above will be analyzed using two criteria, namely: the economic a priori criteria, and the statistical criteria.

Economic a priori Criteria

The estimated regression line shows a negative relationship between housing and implications (impl1), this agrees with the findings of (Omoigui, 2002, Yusufu, 2003). "As a consequent, Nigeria lost 35 communities to Cameroon while the indigenes displaced". However, this is consistent with the relevant a priori expectation, indicating that a 1 unit rate increase in implications (impl1) will result to a decrease in housing of Bakassi residents by 0864992%, all things being equal. In fear of this effect, the federal high court ruled that the enforcement process should be delayed until all resettlement accommodation for the displaced Bakassians are properly put in place (Yusufu, 2003).

Statistical Criteria (First-Order Test)

The probability test is employed to test for the statistical significance of the estimates in the model. The probability at 1% level of significance is 0.01.

The decision rule requires that the probability value for each variable must be less than or equal to (0.01) at 1% level of significance, hence, we conclude that the particular parameter estimate is statistically significant and vice-versa.

However, probability tests conducted on implications (impl1) shows that the parameter estimate was statistically significant. This is because, the probability value calculated (0.000)is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance.

Adjusted R-squared of 0.7693 indicate that about 76.93% of the total variations in the dependent variable housing have been explained by the independent variables (impl1). About 23.07% of the total variation is left unexplained and attributed to other variables not captured by the model but represented by the error term. The model therefore has a good fit on the data and also has a high predictability power.

The F-statistics value of 1001.13 shows that the overall model is statistically significant. This is indicated by the F-statistics probability value of 0.0000 being less than 0.01 (critical value) and thus implies that the explanatory variable was able to explain short-run changes in housing of Bakassi residents. The result also confirms the existence of a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the explanatory variable in the model.

Test of hypothesis

Here we test the earlier formulated hypothesis in chapter one. The probability test of significance earlier employed will be used for the test. However, the following decision rule is formulated.

Decision Rule:
If the probability value calculated is less than the critical value 0.01 at 1% level of significance, we reject the null hypothesis (H₀) and accept the alternative hypothesis (H₁) and vice versa.
H₀: There is no significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the housing status of Bakassi citizens.
H₁: There is a significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the housing status of Bakassi citizens.

From the results obtained, the probability value calculated of implication (impl1) (0.000) is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance. Therefore, we accept the alternative hypothesis and reject the null hypothesis; thus, there is a significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the housing status of Bakassi citizens.
4.1.4 Analysis of regression results on implications/reactions of ceding Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon on the employment status of Bakassi residents

Economic a priori Criteria
The estimated regression line shows a negative relationship between employment and implications (impl1). This is consistent with the relevant a priori expectation, indicating that a 1 unit rate increase in implications (impl1) will result to a decrease in employment of Bakassi residents by 0.763546%, all things being equal.

Statistical Criteria (First-Order Test)
The probability test is employed to test for the statistical significance of the estimates in the model. The probability at 5% level of significance is 0.05. The decision rule requires that the probability value for each variable must be less than or equal to (0.01) at 1% level of significance, hence, we conclude that the particular parameter estimate is statistically significant and vice-versa.

However, probability tests conducted on implications (impl1) shows that the parameter estimate was statistically significant. This is because, the probability value calculated (0.000) is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance.

Adjusted R-squared of 0.4962 indicate that about 49.62% of the total variations in the dependent variable employment have been explained by the independent variables (impl1). About 50.38% of the total variation is left unexplained and attributed to other variables not captured by the model but represented by the error term. The model therefore has no good fit.

The F-statistics value of 296.44 shows that the overall model is statistically significant. This is indicated by the F-statistics probability value of 0.0000 being less than 0.01 (critical value) and thus implies that the explanatory variable was able to explain short-run changes in employment of Bakassi residents. The result also confirms the existence of a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the explanatory variable in the model.

Test of hypothesis
Here we test the earlier formulated hypothesis in chapter one. The probability test of significance earlier employed will be used for the test. However, the following decision rule is formulated.

Decision Rule:
If the probability value calculated is less than the critical value 0.01 at 1% level of significance, we reject the null hypothesis (H₀) and accept the alternative hypothesis (H₁) and vice versa.

H₀: There is no significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the level of unemployment of Bakassi citizens.
H₁: There is a significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the level of unemployment of Bakassi citizens.

From the results obtained, the probability value calculated of implication (impl1) (0.000) is less than the critical value of 0.01 at 1% level of significance. Therefore, we accept the alternative hypothesis and reject the null hypothesis; thus, there is a significant effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the level of unemployment of Bakassi citizens.

5.1 Summary, Recommendation and Conclusion

5.1.1 Summary of findings
This finding was geared towards examining the implications and consequences of ceding Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon on the original inhabitants of Bakassi. They are as follows:
(i) There is a negative effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the income/output of Bakassi citizen.
There is a negative effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the health status of Bakassi citizen.

There is a negative effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the housing status of Bakassi citizen.

There is a negative effect of ceding Bakassi peninsula on the employment status of Bakassi citizen.

5.1.2 Policy recommendations

(i) The outcome of ceding Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon on the income/output of Bakassi residents is in line with the postulations of the consequence theory. The verdict required Nigeria to transfer possession and sovereignty over the territory to Cameroon without granting self-determination rights to the Bakassians (Omoigui, 2002; Eke and Eke, 2007). Consequences are that there is a drastic negative change in their standard of living. Hence, better sources of livelihood should be provided to better their lives so as to curb/prevent depression, suicide, social vices, and militancy as recorded recently in the region.

(ii) Empirical evidence have shown a negative effect of ceding Bakassi peninsular on the health status of Bakassi residents, hence government should shoulder the responsibilities of ensuring adequate health/free medical services on pre-Bakassi occupants. This will in a way reduce mortality rate, cases of mental/psychological depression and enhance productivity.

(iii) The worst thing that can befall a family is been rendered homeless. This study has shown a negative effect of ceding Bakassi peninsular on the housing status of pre Bakassi residents, accordingly, thousands of Nigeria now living on the peninsula were given opportunity to determine their citizenship and many remained Nigerian as they associated with Nigeria from time immemorial (Borzello Anna 2004). Hence, government should take it upon themselves to table their cases before the national assembly, thereby reconstructing befitting accommodations for this persons since they displayed a high spirit of patriotism by choosing to stay.

(v) It is evident that there is a negative effect of ceding Bakassi peninsular on the employment status of Bakassi residents, most of the populace made their living through fishing (Mbuh 2004). This will have to change to perhaps crop and animal production against their will and hence will definitely not be content with the outcome. The federal character commission which is saddled with the responsibility of allocating jobs to less privileged regions should incorporate Bakassi residents in various ministries and parastatals, this will be a plus to the GDP, GNP, and boost the economy by employing more able hands.

5.3 Conclusion

This study was undertaken to investigate the consequences and implication of ceding Bakassi Peninsular to Cameroon with special reference to Bakassi local government area, over time, there have been lots of unending court cases, international dispute between Nigeria and her sister nation the republic of Cameroon over the oil rich peninsular (Bakassi). The disputed area became an area of concern since findings proved that the region was well endowed with oil. Before now, this area was inhabited by Nigerians who had their diverse means of livelihood aside oil exploration.

Similarly, the disputed territory called for international verdict of which the International Court of Justice (ICJ) placed its ruling in favor of Cameroon. Hence, the original inhabitants are left with nothing to write home about. This study finally revealed that the verdict of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) had a negative effect on the output of Bakassi residents, health status of Bakassi residents, housing status, as well as their employment status, and hence a call for intervention from the Nigerian Government and international communities.
REFERENCES

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http://www.omoigui.com/file/the bakassi stody.pdf


Tomwarri, E (2009). The International Court of Justice Ruling on Bakassi Peninsula: An Analysis of Domestic Receptivity in International Law in Nigeria. Being a Research Thesis Presented At the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Benin, Benin City in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of M.Sc. Degree in International Relations.


APPENDIX 1
QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

1. Sex of respondents:
   Male
   Female

2. Age composition of respondents:
   Below 29 years
   30 – 39 years
   40 – 49 years
   50 – 59 years
   60 and above
3. Marital status:
   - Single
   - Married
   - Divorced
   Others (please specify) .................................................................

4. Educational qualification
   - First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC)
   - Senior School Certificate of Education (SSCE)
   - NCE/ND
   - B.Sc./HND
   - M.Sc./PhD
   Others (please specify) .................................................................

5. Occupation(s) of respondents:
   - Public servant
   - Clergyman
   - Traders
   - Student
   Others (specify) ..............................................................................

6. I often go for malaria treatment:
   - Once a year
   - Twice a year
   - Three times a year
   - Every month

7. I often go for typhoid treatment:
   - Once a year
   - Twice a year
   - Three times a year
   - Every month

8. I often go for Diarrhoea treatment:
   - Once a year
   - Twice a year
   - Three times a year
   - Every month

9. I often go for eye check-up:
   - Once a year
   - Twice a year
   - Three times a year
   - Every month

10. Other treatments:
    - Once a year
    - Twice a year
    - Three times a year
    - Every month
11. I generate this amount per annum:
- Below 5,000 Naira
- 6,000 – 20,000 Naira
- 21,000 – 40,000 Naira
- 41,000 – 60,000 Naira
- 61,000 and above Naira

SECTION B
Questionnaire on the Accessibility of Primary Health Care Services in Cross River State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Patients pay transport to complain about their health status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Health workers usually come to homes for immunization once in a while</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The drugs administered to patients by health workers are very effective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Patients are often attended to for treatments without delay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The nurses who attend to patients really know their jobs and patients always respond to treatment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Health workers often organize maternity, environmental, family planning and child health programmes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questionnaire on Housing facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>We live in a modern apartment made with cement and aluminum sheet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>We occupy more than one bedroom flat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>We are less than six occupants in our apartment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Our apartment is furnished with chairs, TV, radio, fan and AC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The road network from our houses to places of work is very accessible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>We have good water supply in our houses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>We use kerosene or gas to cook food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>We can access telecommunication networks from our houses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>We have steady electricity supply in our houses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>We sleep on mattresses with bedsheets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Questionnaire on implication/reaction of ceding Bakassi Peninsular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>We reject completely the handover of Bakassi Peninsula to the Republic of Cameroun because it lacked the consent and approval of the indigenous Bakassi people who are Nigerians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The handing over of the ancestral land of Bakassi people to a foreign country did not follow due process because it lacked the ratification of the National Assembly before the implementation by the presidency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Bakassi people refused to be transferred forcefully to a foreign country in the haste to obey a fraudulent world court judgment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Historically, other countries are known to have disobeyed the judgment of the world court including some Western Nations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The ceding of Bakassi Peninsula was done without a referendum of the Bakassi people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nigerians cannot have their ancestral home transferred to a foreign land in obedience to a politicized world court judgment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nigerians cannot have their ancestral home transferred to a foreign land in obedience to a politicized world court judgment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>We refused to be victims of neo-colonialist manipulations and machinations of the Western World all in obedience to the World Court judgment and unshakeably resolve to resist their relocation to Republic of Cameroun.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Relocation to Akpabuyo land is not our resolve and we want back our peninsular.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>