



THE IMPACT OF THE CHAD-CAMEROON PIPELINE PROJECT ON SMALL SCALE TRADE AND LIVELIHOODS IN KRIBI

Yang Edmond

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ABSTRACT

The Chad-Cameroon pipeline is a World Bank sponsored project. It is a \$US3.7 billion development project which facilitates the extraction and transportation of oil from some 300 oil wells in Doba, Southern Chad through the construction of a 1070 km long pipeline from the oil wells to the Atlantic Coast of Cameroon (Kribi). The goal of this World Bank project was to contribute to poverty alleviation in Chad and Cameroon, particularly in rural areas. The governments of Chad and Cameroon only hold a combined 3% monetary stake in the pipeline portion of the project while the rest is held by foreign investors (Gary et al, 2005). The pipeline passes across the Northern and Southern regions of Cameroon as well as, residential areas, farmlands and natural vegetation. The construction of the pipeline has displaced the pygmies of the Cameroon tropical rainforest as well as local inhabitants. In October 2003, the first Chadian oil was exported from Kribi in Cameroon for the international market.

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the impact of the pipeline project on small scale/petty trade and livelihoods in Kribi. Data used in this study included both primary and secondary data. The findings reveal that the construction of the pipeline in Kribi had major implications on livelihoods in the Kribi area. Fishing in the area and other primary sectors like agriculture because of the destruction of fishing grounds and agricultural infrastructure were affected. The reduction in fish which is the main source of livelihood of the local population had asymmetric effects on gender. While the men diverted to other businesses, the women still remained in the fish business for lack of diversification options. The restriction of access to natural resources has resulted not only in conflicts between individuals but also intercommunity conflicts. Environmental degradation especially due to the oil spillage of 2007 has caused persistent fear among the population of Kribi. In conclusion this project has limited the economic opportunities for most people, although a few feel that they have benefitted. This would appear to contradict the whole purpose of why the Chad-Cameroon pipeline was conceived in the first place. We conclude that for livelihoods in Kribi to improve, the nature of small-scale fishing as well as the fish breeding grounds are revisited and solutions identified and implemented with the involvement of communities. This would require policy research as well as policy analysis and implementation by all the stakeholders.

Key words: natural resources, small scale trade, livelihood, oil Pipeline. Chad, Cameroon, gender, Kribi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BEAC	Banque des Etats de L'Afrique Centrale
CAR	Central Africa Republic
CCSRP	<i>Collège</i> du Contrôle et de Surveillance des Ressources Pétrolières
CEMAC	Communauté Économique et Monétaire d'Afrique Centrale
CFA	<i>Coopération financière en Afrique centrale</i> ("Financial Coopération in Central Africa")
COTCO	Cameroon Oil Transportation Company.
EIB	European Investment Bank
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IRIC	The International Relations Institute of Cameroon
NAI	Nordic African Institute
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
PTA	Parents Teachers Association
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TOTCO	Tchad-Oil Transportation Campany
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
WB	World Bank

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my Father Hon Fai Mbuh Yang and Mother Mrs Juliana Yang for all those years of making sure that I acquire good education. Their words to me have always being that “there is no such thing as failing”!

TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT	3
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
DEDICATION	6
TABLE OF CONTENT	7
CHAPTER ONE	9
1.0 Introduction	9
1.2 The Chad-Cameroon Oil Pipeline Project	9
1.3 The Research Problem.	12
1.4 Aims and Objectives of Study	13
The aim of this study was to analyse the impact of the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline Project on the operation of small scale/petty business and livelihoods in the Kribi area.....	13
1.5 Specific objectives	13
1.6 Significance of the study	13
1.7 Scope and Delimitation of study	13
1.8 Structure of thesis	14
1.9 Methodology and Sources.....	14
CHAPTER TWO	15
2.1 Literature review	15
2.2 Literature on gender and Natural Resource Management under the project	15
2.3 Literature on livelihood and natural resources.....	18
2.4 Literature on Small Scale/petty Business Enterprise	19
CHAPTER THREE.....	21
3.1 The study Area, Methodology of study and Instruments of Analysis .	21
3.2 Geo-economic Potentials of Cameroon	21
3.3 Study Area	22
3.3.1 The Geographical Situation of Kribi.....	23
3.4 Methodology of Study and instruments of analysis.....	25
CHAPTER FOUR.....	29
4.1 Results.....	29
4.1.1 Effects of the Pipeline Project on Small Scale Business and Livelihoods in Kribi	29
4.1.2 Small Scale Business Enterprise in Kribi Before the Pipeline Project.	30
4.1.3 Effects of the pipeline on the fishing industry	31
4.1.4 The pipeline, community and inter-community Conflicts.....	34
4.1.5 The Pipeline and effects on Restaurant Business in Kribi	35
4.1.6 The Youth in the Motorbike Business	36
4.1.7 The Pipeline and Small Scale Provision Stores	36
4.1.8 The Pipeline Project, Migrant Labour and Operation of Beer Parlours	36
4.1.9 The Pipeline and Migration between Cameroon and Chad	38

4.1.10 The Pipeline and infrastructural Development in Kribi.....	38
CHAPTER FIVE.....	41
5.1 Discussion and Conclusion	41
5.1.1 Discussion	41
5.1.2 Conclusion	47
REFERENCES	48
APPENDICES	51
APPENDIX 1	51
APPENDIX 2.....	54
APPENDIX 3:.....	56

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Globalisation is not only spreading ideas and culture, but it is playing a great role in industrialisation and modernisation of many agrarian societies. The advancement in technology has greatly transformed these societies and new elements have been injected. Increasing trends of consumption and other aspects of technological advancement can lead to shortages in natural resources. According to scientific research, the exploitation of natural resources has a limit, which if exceeded the implications on human survival can be disastrous (Word press, 2006). A typical example is the recent talk on climate change and hot cities. Raw materials are not yet scarce but might become scarce if globalisation continues to modernise countries at a faster rate. This will mean that the demand for natural resources especially oil will be more than the supply since the world economy is dependent on oil (Word press, 2006).

With the influence of globalisation, the activities of Multinational Corporations have gone beyond national boundaries in terms of exploitation of natural resources and marketing policies (Nying' uro, 2005). One of such transnational projects with a wider implication is the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project. This project directly affects small scale/petty business and livelihoods in Kribi because of its impact on the natural environment.

1.2 The Chad-Cameroon Oil Pipeline Project

The Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline project is currently the largest US private sector investment in Sub Sahara Africa (Gary & Reisch 2005). The 3.7 billion US dollar project is projected to last for 25 years. The project involves numerous stakeholders with each having different roles to play. The stakeholders of the project include the governments of Chad and Cameroon, the World Bank Group, and some private firms, that constitute the consortium and of course the civil societies of Chad and Cameroon. The Chad Oil Transportation Company (TOTCO) and the Cameroon Oil Transportation Company (COTCO) were responsible for constructing the pipeline (Endeley & Sikod, 2007). These transportation companies also operate the pipeline on behalf of the oil consortium. The consortium is made up of three companies; 1) Exxon Mobile with a share of 40%, 2) Chevron Texaco with 25% share, 3) Malaysian company, PETRONAS with 35% share. The World Bank Group contributed the sum of US\$292.2 million and the European Investment Bank (EIB) 144 million Euros (Hobbs & Moreno, 2004) for the construction of the pipeline. The World Bank and the consortium accepted to sponsor the project because Chad

indicated her willingness to use the oil money to alleviate poverty (New York Times, 2005). The oil Consortium in executing the project had reached an agreement with the governments of Chad and Cameroon so as to minimise national influence in the control of the project (CIEL, 2009). With limited financial inputs, Chad and Cameroon were expected to make sacrifices to see this project a success by granting their forest and natural resources for the construction of the project. In the process local labour equally constituted an important contribution from the host nations. Before, during and after the construction, NGOs have continued to be instrumental in acting as watch dogs for the project.

The pipeline has the capacity to supply 250,000 barrels of oil per day to the loading terminal at Kribi (Endeley & Sikod, 2007). This project covers a total distance of 650 mile from the drilling points to Kribi and of this distance; 105 mile falls under the territorial control of Chad and 545 is within Cameroon territorial control. Cameroon's role in the project is central because of the landlocked nature of Chad which does not have a coast line that can permit exportation. Cameroon is expected to get an estimated \$US 500 million for the estimated 25 years of the project.

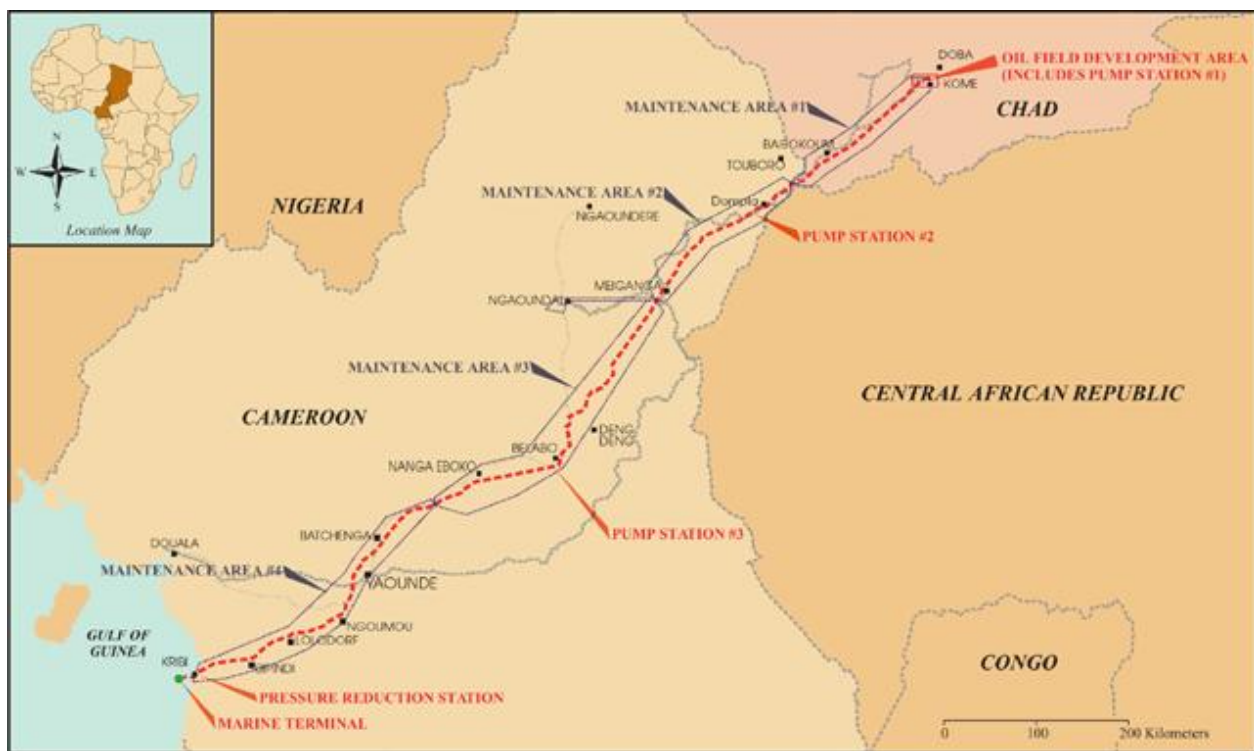


Fig 1: Pathway of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project. Source www.esso.com

Cameroon's role in the project of making the Chadian oil accessible to the international market has resulted to environmental degradation. Although the pipeline was originally conceived to run along existing road infrastructure and railway

lines, this did not work out as planned because in some areas it ran through the natural forest leading to deforestation and destruction of the natural environment (Hobbs et al, 2004). The pipeline also passes through the wooded Savannas of the Northern and Adamawa regions to the South Tropical Rain forest of Cameroon, which is famous for its rich biodiversity and endangered species of flora and fauna (Lekunze, 2007).

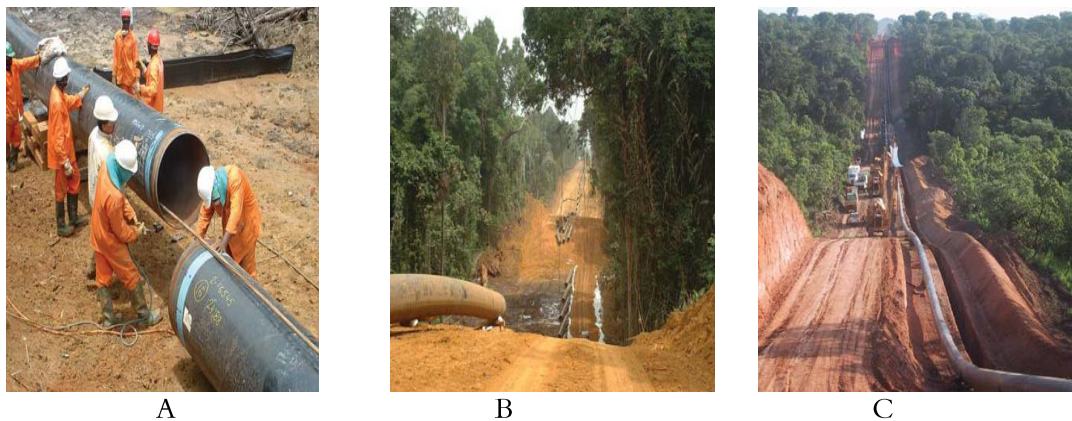


Fig 2A-C: The three stages of the construction of the pipeline showing the deforestation of the Atlantic Littoral Forest of Cameroon for the passage of the pipeline. Diameter of pipeline in 'A' about 76cm (30inches)
Source: IFC (World Bank Group)

The pipeline passes through the Campo-Ma'an and Mbam-Djerem National Parks, as well as the Deng Deng Forest Fall. (Hobbs et al, 2004). For this project to be accomplished, the rural population both in Chad and in Cameroon had to surrender land holdings where the pipeline actually passed. Remarkably, where the oil wells are located in Chad constitute one of the most fertile areas for agriculture and this area produces most of the food items that is circulated to other parts of the country and cotton for export. (Hobbs et al, 2004). Hence the pipeline project actually created land pressures and both Local and International NGOs had foreseen these problems even before the construction of the pipeline began, and pressure was mounted on the sponsors of the project to try and resolve some of these problems which they never did. The commencement of the project was delayed for three years before it finally started in the year 2000 as attempts were made to respond to international concerns about environmental, human rights and corruption issues (Friends of the Earth, 2002). Many NGOs protested against the project. The most outspoken critics were the Catholic Relief Services and the environmental group Friends of the Earth whose Campaign Director warned that "a potential environmental and social disaster is planned for Central Africa and it is going to be partly funded by the taxpayer" (Hobbs et al; 2004). This very NGO was not sure of the fact that Chad was going to manage the resources for the benefit of the common man (Hobbs et al; 2004).

1.3 The Research Problem.

The key problem intended to be addressed by this study is examining the impact of the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline Project on small scale/petty business and livelihood in the Kribi area. It is the view of this researcher and many others that the abundance of natural resources in Africa has been a source of conflict rather than an instrument for development. A good example is the occurrences in the Niger Delta Region in Nigeria where the local population, the oil companies and the Nigerian government are in conflict over revenue from oil exploitation (Obi, 2008). In other countries like Sudan and Angola, natural resources had fuelled conflict. In Angola the government got its finances from oil while the UNITA rebels were financed by money from the sales of diamonds during the civil war (Erikson & Hagstromer, 2005).

According to Collier (2007), most of the countries in Africa that are rich in natural resources suffer from poverty because of the misuse of these resources. In terms of the availability of natural resources, the states of CEMAC Zone are blessed because of their rich mineral resources. In the past two years, the GDP growth of these CEMAC countries has been boosted by increased oil production (Rodrigo, 2006). Members of the CEMAC region are Chad, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Central Africa Republic. In spite of this increase in oil production in the CEMAC Zone, the common man has not felt the impact because a very small percentage of the masses benefit from the oil revenue (Rodrigo, 2006). This explains why CEMAC countries are rank among the poorest states in the World in terms of per capital index. For instance in the rankings of Per Human Development Index (HDI) conducted in over 175 countries by UNDP (2006) Cameroon was ranked as 142 while Chad was ranked 165 (Bamou & Tchanou, 2006).

Despite the abundant oil in the region, the economic situation is far from good. Retrenchments, closure of companies and shrinking formal and informal sectors have characterised the economies of these states in Central Africa in the 1980s and 1990s. It is this poor economic situation that has made Small Scale/Petty Trade an important sector of the economy not only in Kribi but in other parts of the country (Niger-Thomas, 2000). In the context of depressed economic markets within Cameroon and the CEMAC region, small scale business appears to be the only viable sector that is used by state employees to supplement their meagre incomes (Niger-Thomas, 2000). In spite of the relevance of this sector, not much attention is paid to developing and encouraging small scale enterprise. This study thus focuses in trying to look at some of the problems confronted by small scale/petty business operators in Kribi area and how the Chad-Cameroon pipeline has contributed in alleviating or increasing these problems. The construction of the pipeline did not only affect the

natural environment but it equally had a significant impact on small scale business enterprise in Kribi.

1.4 Aims and Objectives of Study

The aim of this study was to analyse the impact of the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline Project on the operation of small scale/petty business and livelihoods in the Kribi area.

1.5 Specific objectives

- To explore the level of small scale/petty business enterprise in Kribi before the oil pipeline was constructed
- To analyse the pattern of small scale/petty trade during the construction of the oil pipeline
- To investigate the level of small scale/petty business after the construction of the oil pipeline
- To analyse the changes in livelihoods in Kribi with the construction of the pipeline.
- To examine the effect of movement between Chad and Cameroon as a result of the pipeline.

1.6 Significance of the study

Much has been written on the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline Project. However these studies have focused on the impact of the project on environmental degradation and changes in the ecosystem. Not much attention has been paid to the impact of this project on small scale/petty business enterprise and it is this lacuna that the current study intends to address. The current research thus complements existing literature on the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline and again it will instigate new dimensions of research in the area of project constructions and their impact on human settlements and livelihoods.

1.7 Scope and Delimitation of study

In terms of geographical delimitation, this study is limited to the Kribi area a major Coastal Town in the South Region of Cameroon. It has a deep sea port which has made it possible for the pipeline project to be executed. This research is not entirely on the impact of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline but it focuses on a small aspect, which is the impact of the project on small scale/petty business enterprise and livelihood. Thus the study concentrates on the positive and negative impact of the pipeline project on Small Scale/Petty Trade in the Kribi area and how this has directly or indirectly affected livelihoods in Kribi.

1.8 Structure of thesis

This thesis is organised into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction of the study which gives a brief description of the project area, the statement of the problem, aims of study, significance of study, scope and delimitation and the organisation of study. Chapter two focuses on Literature Review. Chapter three gives a detail account of the study area and the methodology and sources used in the study. Chapter Four constitute the main chapter of the work because it reveals the results of the study. Chapter five discusses the results and brings out the major findings in the conclusion.

1.9 Methodology and Sources

This research adopted the interdisciplinary approach because elements of environmental, geographical and human resource management were all involved. Therefore the study cuts across geography and economics in trying to analyse the impact of the pipeline project on Kribi. Both quantitative and qualitative tools were used. By adopting a multi-methodology strategy, it was useful in the interpretation and understanding of the key research issues. Qualitative data was used to generate some of the main themes of the research while quantitative data was used to pull figures and differentiate levels of small scale business enterprise before, during and after the pipeline project.

CHAPTER TWO

2. 1 Literature review

This chapter reviews literature on the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project and discusses some key concepts like the concepts of livelihood, gender and Small Scale/Petty Trade. Talking about small scale/petty business enterprise in Kribi which is the focus of this study, not much has been written on it. The bulk of literature that exists on the Chad-Cameroon pipeline is focused on the impact of this project on the natural environment and the ecosystem. For the sake of better understanding, existing literature on the subject is grouped under: literature on the pipeline project itself, literature on natural resources and livelihoods, literature on gender and natural resources and finally literature on small scale/petty trade.

2.2 Literature on gender and Natural Resource Management under the project

Gender according to WHO (2002) is used to describe those characteristics of women and men which are socially constructed, while sex refers to those characteristics which are biologically determined. People are born female or male and they grow up under different circumstances and involvements based on their gender qualities. The element of gender consideration is important in the current research because the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project had a direct impact on small scale businesses operated by both males and females. But from Endeley et al (2007), lekunze (2007) and (Hobbs et al; 2004), the women were more affected than the men. Again the ownership and access right to important assets such as land has a gender dimension and in most African societies women do not own landed property. It is of recent that these laws are gradually being modified in favour of the female class. Although there exist written laws protecting the women they are still greatly exposed to discriminatory acts by men especially in the ownership and access to land (FAO, 1998). Gender inequalities and gender differences also occur with respect to other assets such as financial assets. Due to lack of collateral security, women are more prone to poverty because it is difficult for them to acquire loans for small scale business enterprise (IFAD, 2001).

Norms, legal structure and power relations have shaped gender relation in such a way that there are several constraints on the attainment of gender equality. Laws pertaining to inheritance, divorce and property rights are often bias against the women (Pandolfelli et al 2005). In some societies, the change of previous Matrilineal customs and traditions to Patrimonial set ups has strongly restricted women's right to ownership (Ellis, 2000). These discriminatory acts may be due to women not

belonging to decision making bodies at various levels of the society (IFAD, 2001). Decentralization can help to change power structures by enhancing women's participation in public arena (Pandolfelli et al 2005). It is often assumed that decentralisation favours the women because of its participatory nature. This is not true in all cases because women's participation in some societies may depend on the local power structures and competition over natural resources (Pandolfelli et al 2005). When women and men are empowered they are able to take actions at personal, group, community and broader levels.

There is a dictum that he who has information controls power. Information and the ability to control land and other natural resources is an important aspect in gender issues (Pandolfelli et al 2005). Getting information is costly and spreads through a network. This suggests that it will play differently for women and men since their access to various types of capital differs (Ellis, 2000).

Due to lack of empowerment, the ability of women to respond to shocks differs in terms of gender considerations. Therefore women face certain vulnerabilities particular to their gender role they play in society. For instance Structural Adjustment Policies have adversely affected poor women because they have to work longer hours in their farms (Endeley et al 2007), they are more vulnerable to drought and declining landholding because of less access than men to credit. Widows are often vulnerable to land seizure after the death of their husbands (Pandolfelli et al 2005). These gender inequalities were expressed in the course of constructing the pipeline because only men were allowed to contribute in the process of decision making and again the benefits of the project were not equally divided in terms of gender consideration (Endeley et al, 2007).

Findings from Endeley et al (2007) show that in some communities, during the construction of the pipeline, the participation of women was restricted. Yet the irony is that women are more involved in small scale/petty business management in these areas than men and they are directly concerned with livelihood because of the important role they play as household managers (Ellis 2000). Also findings show that the quantity and quality of compensation received by men during the construction of the pipeline was superior to that of women but the effects were felt more by the women because with the destruction of their immediate geographical environment, they today are forced to move for long distances to fetch water and wood (Endeley et al 2007). The study of Endeley et al (2007) reveals that the construction of the project affected livelihoods both positively and negatively and that the women were most affected because the pipeline distorted their business enterprise. In terms of labour provision, the men were again favoured because they could provide the

needed labour for the construction of the pipeline, something that the women could not do. Lekunze (2007) on his part explains that the indigenous pygmies regarded the project initially as a remedy to their problems of neglect and several years of social exclusion and economic deprivation by the Cameroonian society. He revealed that the pygmies just like the Bantus had very high expectations that the project will transform their lives. Another issue from Lekunze (2007) is that the pipeline passed mainly through rural areas and one of its ugly effects was the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and HIV/AIDS by the workers that were involved in the construction. Some of the communities where the pipeline passes through complained that the project brought HIV/AIDS to their communities.

Oil is one of the major exports from the CEMAC region. This has made the economies of most of the CEMAC countries to be under the threat of what could be termed *Dutch disease* (Zafar & Kubota, 2003). By definition, “the *Dutch disease* was a phenomenon observed in the Netherlands in the 1970s in which a boom in one traded commodity sector led to a decline in other traded sectors due to a combination of real exchange rate appreciation and increased production costs” (Zafar et al, 2003). The initial stage of investing in oil infrastructure is usually labour intensive and therefore calls for a large number of workers. At the later stage of exploitation, only few skilful workers are needed. In fact the construction of the pipeline as argued by Lekunze (2007), made many skilled and semi-skilled workers to abandon their jobs in the public and private sectors to seek jobs in the oil construction company due to the high wages that were offered by the oil company. Unfortunately, these contracts lasted just for a short period of time and they were terminated since their services were no longer needed after the construction period. The long term consequences of the project and the negative economic impact could be likened to the Dutch disease.

Cameroon witnessed the Dutch disease from 1978 to 1986 (Zafar et al, 2003). After the discovery of oil in 1978, Cameroon experienced an economic boom and an increase in total export earnings (ibid). By the mid-1980s, declining prices of the main exports before oil discovery like coffee, cocoa, palm oil and rubber drastically dropped due to unstable market conditions in the world market. This resulted to the non-oil export sector experiencing a substantial contraction (Zafar et al, 2003). Pegg (2005) in the article *Can Policy intervention Beat the Resource Curse?*, argues that policy interventions from the World Bank to circumvent the resource curse that is likely to emanate from the oil in Chad are not working and that the Chad-Cameroon pipeline may not necessarily lead to poverty alleviation, despite the many rules and external

supervision accepted by Chad (Erikson et al, 2005). The worry now is that will Chad witness the same situation that was experienced by Cameroon from 1978 to 1986?

A major problem identified with the resource curse according to Collier (2008) is that it leads to disfigurement of democracy. This was observed in the first year of oil production in Chad when several of the Opposition Radio Stations were closed down and there was increased spending on military equipments, violation of human rights and governmental nepotism¹/patrimonialism reaching the independent Petroleum Revenue Oversight Committee (CCSRP₃)² (Erikson et al, 2005).

2. 3 Literature on livelihood and natural resources

This thesis adopts the concept of livelihood as a useful analytical term in the study of the impact of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline on Small Scale/Petty Trade and livelihoods in Kribi. The concept of livelihood is widely used in poverty and rural development studies but the exact meaning still appears elusive due to different definitions and perceptions of the concept (Ellis, 2000). For the purpose of this study I will adopt two definitions. Long (2001) defines livelihood as “practices by which individuals and groups strive to earn a living, meet their consumption necessities, cope with adversities and uncertainty and engage in new opportunities.” For Ellis, (2000) livelihood comprises of assets (natural, physical, financial and social capital), the activities involved in generating these assets and the access to these activities (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living conditions of individual or households. In other words, livelihood comprises assets, capabilities and activities that are needed for sustenance of life.

The ownership and control of assets constitutes a vital instrument for any household to engage in production for the sustenance of livelihood (Ellis, 2000). In Kribi, financial capital (money), physical capital (fishing boats, canoes and houses) and natural capital (sea, land and forest) determines directly the livelihood of the local population both individually and collectively. To gain access to these assets, the people of this area are expected to go through certain regulatory services and the institutions that regular these services play a major role in the determination of livelihoods in the Kribi area (Ellis, 2000). With the construction of the pipeline in Kribi, the communities around Kribi had to increase their social capital by forming strong networks of social forums that could be used to fight for the interest of the

¹ In June 2003 the Chadian President ended the twenty-five year tradition of naming a southern Christian as prime minister in favour of his own relative Moussa Faki Mahamat

² CCSRP stands for college de controle et de Surveillance des Ressources Petrolieres in French. Its terms of reference are: control and authorise any disbursement from the oil account and issue quarterly report of oil revenue

various communities and their inhabitants. In the absence of these social networks, the bargaining power of these communities would have drastically reduced likewise the supposed benefits of the project to the communities.

In the event of a shock, households adopt coping strategies which generate a means of survival. These strategies differ among individuals or households. In Kribi the survival portfolio after the construction of the pipeline depends on gender (culture which is considered as an institution prohibit women from certain activities), age (old people are not able to engage in a certain activity) and access to assets (depends on the type of assets one is exposed to). Therefore it can be said that households in Kribi vary not only on the profile of assets they have, but on the ability to substitute between assets with the shock they are confronted with as a result of the construction of the pipeline project (Ellis, 2000).

Understanding people's survival capabilities, one has to know the type of assets they own and control, or can depend on in good times or moments of crisis. Assets can be increased, temporary diminished or eroded gradually over time like the case in Kribi where due to the pipeline, water (fauna and flora) and land assets are gradually diminishing (Ellis, 2000). A successful rural livelihood strategy is one in which the quantity, quality and mix assets are such that shocks can be absorbed without jeopardizing future survival (Ellis, 2000). In this situation, diversification becomes very important even though it will not work out in all cases (Ellis, 2000).

2.4 Literature on Small Scale/petty Business Enterprise

Small scale/petty business enterprise constitutes an important sector of every economy particularly in developing countries where unemployment is a major problem. This sector involves the operation of small scale/petty businesses in the form of sole proprietor enterprise (Banda, 2007). Accordingly to Dongala (1993), small scale business enterprise in most African countries involves a cross section of the population and those in this sector include the young, the old and of course men and women. With the declining economic situation in Africa in the 1980s and 1990s, most civil servants or state employees were pushed into Petty Trade as a means to upgrade living standards. It should be mentioned that in Cameroon and many other countries, the governments have not been doing enough to promote this sector. In the case of Cameroon, the survival of this enterprise is even very problematic because of the government tax policy. The construction of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline stimulated small scale business in certain sectors and at the same time it retarded growth in other sectors (Lekunze 2007). In trying to characterise small scale business enterprise, Dongala, (1993) came up with the following parameters:

- 1) Small scale business is limited in scale and it involves limited capital investments.

- 2) The average scale of operation is smaller compared to large scale trade.
- 3) The requirement for registration is minimal, nonexistent, or evaded with complete freedom. It is also easy to enter and to exit small scale/petty trade.
- 4) Petty traders do not pay international taxes but they pay taxes and licences for operation to the local government jurisdiction.

One of the activities that characterises small scale/petty trade in Cameroon and other places is the involvement of women as key actors (Niger-Thomas, 2000). It is commonly carried out by women since it needs less capital to start-up with. Petty trading is commonly carried out in the market areas, along road sides, in open spaces, in front of certain homes and lastly it involves hawkers. The types of goods that are mostly exchanged in this type of trade are household needs and other basic commodities that are fundamental in the day to day management of households and the sustenance of livelihoods. The types of goods involved depend on the demand. Traders in this sector appear to be sensitive to changing trends and opportunities. This explains why most of the small scale/petty traders have different varieties of goods and can easily change from one good to the other depending on the demand and season. Goods traded with include new clothes, second-hand clothes (*okrika*), cosmetic, assorted food stuff and other provisions. For the purpose of this study this researcher has focused more on food stuff especially fish because fish resources provide livelihood, contribute to food security and is a source of employment to most of the local inhabitants of Kribi (World Bank, 2009). The fish is sold as fresh fish, smoked fish, dried fish, frozen fish or roasted fish.

From field observations, the trend is that women in both rural and urban areas are the main actors engaged in petty trade or small scale business but recently the men are gradually becoming dominant in this sector because of unemployment and poverty (Niger-Thomas, 2000). Some of the problems encountered by the traders involved in small scale/petty business enterprise are the low turnout, poor transport and communication facilities that make the circulation of goods difficult. Again the element of formal banking is a problem because the traders will prefer to operate with informal banking institutes (*Njangis* in Pidgin English and the *tontines* in French). The reason here is simple because they will always collect their money at any time they deem necessary.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 The study Area, Methodology of study and Instruments of Analysis

The first part of this chapter gives a description of the study area by describing some characteristics of Cameroon, and then elaborates on Kribi where the study was done. The second part of the chapter discusses methods and instruments of analysis.

3.2 Geo-economic Potentials of Cameroon

Cameroon is situated in Central West Africa at the Atlantic Coastline. (See fig 3 below). It is roughly triangular in shape and has a total area of 475,440sq.km with a land surface of 469,440 sq km and a coastline of 6000sq km (Noorduyn, 2005). The surface area stretches over a distance of more than 1,500km from the Humid Tropics in the South to the Sahel Region around Lake Chad in the North. Geographically, Cameroon is diverse because it has portions of the Equatorial Forest that occupies the Central, South, East, Littoral and the South West Regions. It also falls within the Savannah grassland, which extends from the Western Region to the Plateaus and mountainous landscape of the North West Region. Lastly the Sahel vegetation extends from the Adamawa to the Northern Provinces (Noorduyn, 2005). In this regard, Cameroon can be term Africa in miniature. The population of Cameroon is estimated at 18 million with a growth rate of 2% (WB, 2007). In terms of ethnic composition, the society is very diversified with about 250 different ethnic groups that fall under the Bantu, the Semi Bantu, the Chamba, the Muslims and of course the Pygmies. English and French are the official languages³. The life expectancy is 50 years with infant mortality rate of 87 per 1000. Under the age of 5, mortality is about 143 per 1000 and maternal mortality per 1000 births is 7.3. Child malnutrition (under 5) is 15%, HIV prevalence (ages 15-49) is 5.1% while literacy rate (age 15+) is 68% (WHO, 2008). The GDP for Cameroon for 2004 was estimated at US\$ 27.75 billion representing a per capita income of US \$ 1,800.00 (WB, 2007).

Cameroon's neighbours are Central Africa Republic, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Nigeria. Apart of Nigeria, all the other five neighbours of Cameroon are members of CEMAC. Cameroon ranks first in terms of economic diversification within the CEMAC region thanks to the relatively high number of export products⁴ and has one of the strongest agricultural sectors in Sub-Sahara Africa (BEAC, 2007). It is among the world's producers of Cash Crops like coffee, cocoa, banana, pineapple. Like in most African countries, a majority of the population in Cameroon live in rural areas with agriculture being the main source of livelihood and

³ 80% speak French while 20% speak English

⁴ Cameroon has about eight export products

sustenance. With the progressive exhaustion of the country's oil reserve, agricultural development is seen as a key source for future economic growth as well as the main instrument to fight poverty.

Politically and economically, Cameroon for now is the most stable country in West and Central Africa (Noorduyn, 2005). It is thanks to the peace and stability that reign in Cameroon that the country has acted as a transit for Chad's oil. Cameroon is CEMAC's largest economy and constitute close to 50% of the region's GDP (Gankou et al, (2008). Cameroon has 18 million of the 36 million inhabitants in the CEMAC region (ibid).



Fig 3 Africa map showing the location of Cameroon. (Source www.africaguide.com)

3.3 Study Area

Although the pipeline project involves two countries of the CEMAC region that is Chad and Cameroon, the study was conducted in Cameroon. The main reason why this researcher focused on Cameroon for his field analysis instead of Chad was because the country is political stable and secured compared to Chad and again Kribi where the study was conducted is the terminal point where oil is transported abroad from the coastline.

The oil pipeline passes through four Regions in Cameroon namely South, Centre, East and the Adamawa Regions. Kribi was selected for this study due to the following reasons:

- It is a centre for trade in local agricultural products and fish and a business centre for CEMAC countries (Cameroon, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea). From Kribi, one can travel to Gabon and Equatorial Guinea through the border towns of Ebolowa and Campo respectively.
- Kribi with its Atlantic coast serves as the extracting terminal of the oil. In the Ocean Division, Kribi has the longest length of the oil pipeline, which covers about 42.9km (Endeley et al, 2007).

3.3.1 The Geographical Situation of Kribi

Kribi is located in the South Region of Cameroon some 128km south of Douala and about three hours drive from Yaoundé the administrative capital of Cameroon. It has a population of about 48,800 inhabitants (2001 estimate). It is the administrative capital of the Ocean Division and economic capital of the South Region. This town was elevated to a city council with its first Government Delegate appointed⁵ in February 2009. The town is divided into three Sub-Divisions (Kribi I, Kribi II, and Kribi III subdivisions). Sub-Divisions are smaller administrative units headed by Sub-Prefects. The town lies at the edge of the Tropical Rainforest zone, on the Gulf of Guinea off the Atlantic Ocean with beautiful sandy beaches for relaxation and touristic attractions. The Campo Forest Reserve to the south of Kribi is famous for its touristic attractions. Kribi is well known nationally and internationally for its touristic potentials. With the closeness of Kribi to the Atlantic Ocean, it is a major touristic site attracting visitors from all over the world. Most top Government Officials in Cameroon spent their weekends in this coastal city.

Like most Divisional Headquarters in Cameroon, it has schools both private and public from nursery through high schools to professional schools. It also has health services with the presence of a Divisional Hospital. The predominating religions are Roman Catholic⁶ and Neo-Apostolic

Most of the streets in Kribi town are tarred and have street lights as opposed to many other towns in Cameroon. Transportation within the town is possible by either taxi or motorbike (motorcycle), though many prefer motorbike for it is time serving and is able to access narrow and bad roads. Transport agencies like Kribienne, Alliance and Central Voyage are the main agencies involved in transportation of

⁵ In Cameroon Government Delegates are appointed by Presidential decree

⁶ Kribi was raised to a Diocese followed with the appointment of the first Bishop by His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI in 2008.

people and goods from Kribi to Douala, Kribi to Yaoundé and vice versa. Kribi has an airfield not well developed and hardly used. It is connected by road to Edea and Douala to the North and Ebolowa to the East. (For details on the geographical location of Kribi, see map (fig 4) below)

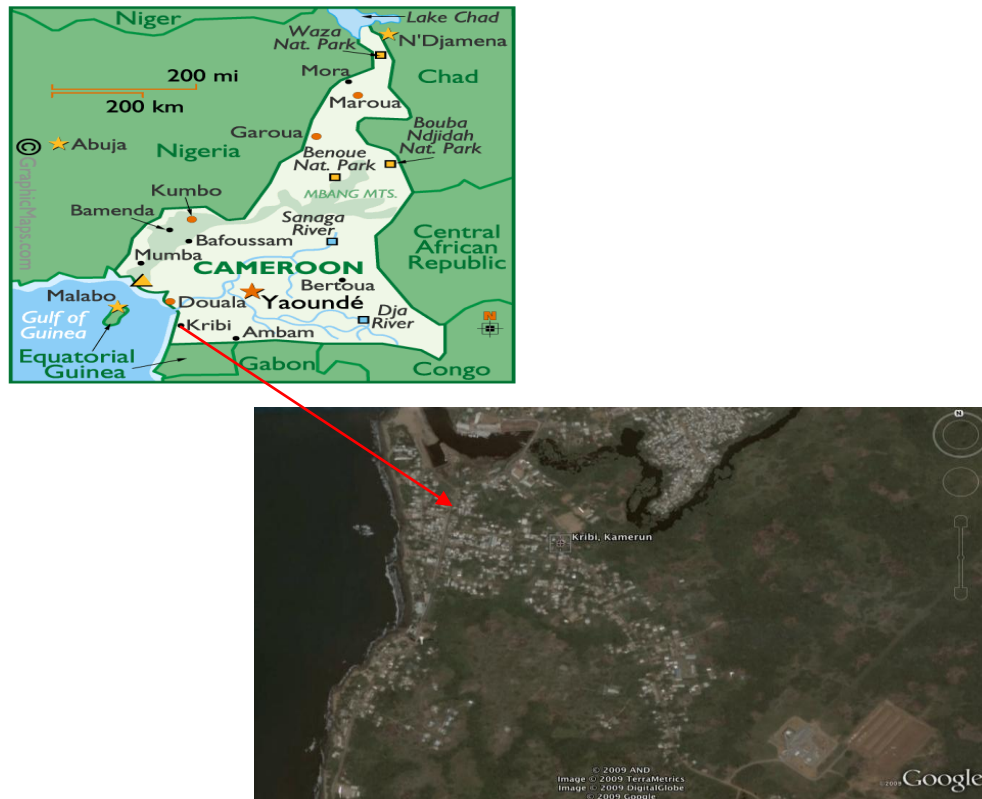


Fig 4: Kribi town (Source: Google earth)

The coastal location of this town makes it a major fishing centre and, fishing constitutes a major occupation of a cross section of the inhabitants. Both youths and adults engage in fishing as a means of livelihood. The fishing industry also offers employment to many women who trade in fish. In this category you have local dealers and women who travel distances to buy fish from Kribi and transport to other urban centres. With unemployment and increasing levels of poverty, men are gradually getting involved in the buying and selling of fish and this of course has expanded the market. The city is well known for its numerous comfortable hotels with restaurants serving delicious dishes. Worth mentioning is the fact that some Europeans have settled in Kribi and established businesses like hotel services, restaurants and beer parlours like “Black and White” and “Eldorado” to receive international clients.

Another very important activity that is performed by the inhabitants of this area is hunting. The dense Equatorial Rainforest provides hunting grounds for the men in this area. At times this activity is performed contrary to the forest and wildlife laws instituted by the state. Although hunting is not one of the major occupations of the

people, it is vital for some of the households as it is the main source of their livelihood. Farming, which is very common in most parts of Cameroon, is rare here. Most of the foodstuffs that is consumed in this area and even exported to neighbouring countries are brought in from other urban centres like Douala and Yaoundé.

3.4 Methodology of Study and instruments of analysis

As earlier mentioned, this study adopted an inter-disciplinary approach in order to examine the aspects of geography, environmental science, social science, economics, and history involved in the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project with particular reference to its impact on small scale trade and livelihoods. In applying this approach a quantitative and qualitative method of data collection was used. In utilising this system, both primary and secondary sources were consulted using different instruments of analysis. Under primary sources, the scarcity of documented materials on the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project and aspects related to livelihood made oral interviews very important. In conducting the interviews, the key instruments used were questionnaires for structured interviews and checklist for key informant interviews. In some instances oral interviews became imperative depending on literacy levels (For example see figure 5).

The questionnaire was made up of twenty six questions and was designed to have both open-ended and closed-ended formant of questions. The reasons for including both formants in the questionnaire was because certain questions were better measured through open-ended formant while other questions were better measured through the closed-ended formant (Otite, 1994). Questionnaire interviews lasted for 45-60 minutes. (For details on the questionnaire that were administered, see appendix 1)

A check list was designed and used during the discussions with key informants. Most of the key informant interviews lasted averagely for an hour. Almost all of the discussions with the key informants started with open questions, and followed up by specific questions of interest then opening again to general questions at the end. The essence for starting and ending with open questions during the interviews was to allow those interviewed to contribute new ideas for the study. During interviews, notes were taken and a tape recorder was used for recording. In the evenings of same day of interview, notes taken were rewritten and recorded interviews were transcribed. (For details on the checklist used, see appendix 2)

In conducting the interviews, both structured interviews and key informant interviews were carried out so as to achieve relative objectivity (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000). In administering the questionnaires and interviews, the target

group were those who actually took part in the construction of the project and those whose lives were directly or indirectly affected by the construction of the pipeline. Some other top personalities in Yaoundé who are directly concerned with the project were also consulted. Therefore those who took part in the study were considered knowledgeable about the key issues of the study (Nichols 1991)

Still under primary sources, the personal diaries and note books of some relevant personalities were also consulted for valuable information. For example information was gotten from the minutes of committee meetings that were organised by the members of some of the communities around Kribi to assess the impact of the project on their immediate environment and livelihoods of their inhabitants.

Gender issues were considered during the selection exercise of informants. This was to ensure that a broad perspective of the study was obtained in terms of gender representation and interest, (for details see table 2). The number of informants comprised of a total of 36 people. The selection of informants was carefully done and based on the following criteria.

1) Informants identified as having valuable knowledge on trade issues (small scale/petty business) and the construction of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline were the first category of persons contacted. The second group comprised of informants that were living in Kribi before, during and after the construction of the project.

Although those who participated in the study were selected based on the above-mentioned criteria, it was however difficult to know those who actually fulfilled this criteria or not. The snowball technique helped me to identified informants. This is because I had only a vague idea of the study area. This technique involves identifying the first informant and through his or her help, other key informants were identified and the chain continued. Elites were easy to find, but difficult to interview (Bernard, 2000) because of suspicion and other negative vices. Snowball interviewing was a way out of the above problem because doors opened when one member of an elite group passed me on to another (Bernard, 2000). The fact that an elite passed me to the other elite enabled me to have reliable information.

Under Secondary sources, this researcher was able to move across a series of libraries in Yaounde, Buea and Kribi. The work started in Buea after a working session was held between the researcher and his field supervisor. After their meeting, the researcher was granted permission and he was able to use the library facilities of the University of Buea and enough data was gathered from there. Other libraries that were consulted included the library of Pan- African Institute for Rural Development West Africa (PAID) with Headquarters in Buea. Even though not much was gathered from this library, however some important statistics were located. After

Buea, the next stop over was in Yaoundé and some key centres there were consulted like the British Council and the Library of the University of Yaoundé 1. The Swedish University of Agricultural Science and the Nordic African Institute (NAI) libraries were equally access for information which contributed a lot to the study. (For details on the Field work plan consult appendix 3).). By reviewing these secondary sources, ideas on small scale/petty trade and the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project were obtained. These ideas obtained were later confirmed and developed further or rejected through the analysis of the empirical data that was collected.

Observation were conducted to get a real picture of the pressure reduction unit of the pipeline, the fish market down the beach, food markets, the beach, the motor park, motorbike Park, drinking spots, restaurants and hotels. The study was designed to use several methods to ensure objectivity. This was because the use of different kinds of methods enabled me to better determine a particular phenomenon (Alvesson et al, 2000).



Fig 5 structured interview with a former fisherman: (Source: from author)

In order to ensure the reliability and validity of instruments used in the study, some training on the checklist and questionnaires was done with the assistant researcher after which some interviews were made using the questionnaire as a pilot. The pre-testing was done in Kribi III, subdivision which was not included in the main study area. For ethical reasons, names used in the results (next chapter), are not the real names of those who participated in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Results

4.1.1 Effects of the Pipeline Project on Small Scale Business and Livelihoods in Kribi

In all, 26 structured interviews were done and 10 key informants interviewed. The data collection exercise was therefore made up of 36 people as illustrated in table 1.

Table 1: Social characteristics of the study participants (Source from author's data)

Sex	male	female
n	27	9
Average age	40	35

Of the 36 informants involved in the study, 27 (20 structured interviews and 7 key informants) were interviewed in Kribi while 9 (6 structured interviews and 3 key informants) were interviewed in Yaoundé. Although my aim was to have an equal number of men and women, it was not possible because most women contacted were too busy with domestic issues, or had very little information about the activities of the pipeline. Of the 26 structured interviews, 20 provided information on small scale activities and livelihoods in Kribi before, during and after the construction of the pipeline while six others focused on aspects related to livelihood without necessarily linking it to the pipeline project because of their limited knowledge on the project. The others, who did not respond, said they had no idea about small scale business in Kribi prior to the pipeline and during the pipeline.

Table 2: list of people interviewed during the study (Source from author's data)

participants	Key informants		Structured interviews		Total
	Female	male	female	male	
Political leaders			1	1	2
Traditional rulers		1			1
Employees of pipeline				2	2
Retired Administrator		1			1
Trade and CEMAC experts	1	1			2
Former fisherman				1	1
Petty traders	1	2	4	3	10
Pipeline experts	1				1
Formal traders			1	1	2
Labourers during pipeline construction				2	2
lost land to pipeline				2	2
fishermen		2		8	10
TOTAL	3	7	6	20	36

4.1.2 Small Scale Business Enterprise in Kribi Before the Pipeline Project

Before the pipeline project, small scale business in Kribi was directed towards providing the basic needs of the population. All categories of persons were involved in this trade before the project. That is the old, the young, males and females, the unemployed and even the employed. As earlier mentioned, the involvement of state workers into small scale/petty trade has been contingent on the poor salaries and income levels. Before the construction of the pipeline, women involved in this trade concentrated on the retail of household necessities like food stuff and other basic commodities. For example in this area before the project, there were women who were specialised in moving to Yaoundé and Douala to buy food stuff that was sold in Kribi and some exported to other neighbouring countries like Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Some of the women in this area were involved in the buying and selling of second-handed dresses. These dresses are brought into Cameroon from Europe and other parts of the world. Apart from women involved in trading with food stuff and other petty items, the fishing sector was also another important employment avenue for the women.

4.1.3 Effects of the pipeline on the fishing industry

Responses from key informants and structured interviews revealed that the construction of the oil pipeline in Kribi had changed the livelihoods of the population. Almost all of the informants confirmed fishing was the major occupation of the inhabitants of the area before the construction of the pipeline. This is because after school, most boys took on to fishing as their main occupation. During the construction and post construction phases, the following changes in livelihoods were noticed as a result of changes that occurred in the fishing industry.

1) The reduction in the amount of fish due to the destruction of the breeding grounds at the coastline during the installation of the floating terminal of the pipeline affected certain households that heavily relied on this sector. Fishing grounds that fell directly in the area where the terminal was located had to be destroyed. Most of the respondents especially fishermen stated that the destruction of the large rock which acted as the breeding ground for fish at the sea reduced the amount of fish. One of the key informants, a retired administrator aged 60 stated that:

“I just retired from the public service. I was privileged to be among those who moved around with the pipeline authorities as the government’s representative during the construction of the pipeline. COTCO destroyed a large rock during the construction of the floating terminal that acted as breeding grounds for fish and promised to replace it with an artificial one but it has never been replaced and even fishing nets that were broken during the construction phase of the pipeline are still to be replaced.”

(Joseph, 28 -02-2009)

2) Restriction of fishing around the floating terminal in the sea was equally a big problem. All the ten fishermen interviewed agreed that before the pipeline, there were no restrictions to fishing activities in the coastline but immediately the project started, these restrictions were enforced making life for fishermen extremely difficult. One of the fishermen age 31 years that was interviewed clearly painted this picture of misery by stating that:

“We have been restricted from fishing within a radius of 4kms from the floating tank. Paradoxically that is where we can get some little amount of fish. Before, the pipeline we usually embarked on fishing just for a day and we came home with a canoe full of fish but today we spent two days in the water and bring home very little or nothing. This explains why you see my colleagues idling around the canoes (see Fig 6). He goes further to say if we had known we would not have accepted the pipeline issue.”

(Peter, 20 -02 -2009)

3) Another problem that was observed was the depth of pollution of the sea that was sparked by oil from the floating terminal of the pipeline project. More than 50% of the respondents reported that the installation of the floating terminal had a negative impact on the fishing industry due to the fact that spilled oil affected fish potentials in

the sea around Kribi. According to the responses from women, oil pollution drastically reduced the amount of fish available around the Kribi coastline. (See tables 3, 4 & 5 for women involvement in fishing business). According to most if not all of the informants, the drastic drop in the fishing sector could directly be attributed to the pipeline and its resulting consequences of destruction of fishing grounds and of course sea pollution.

Still on pollution, almost all of the informants (95%) revealed that there was an oil spillage in the sea in 2007 that made them to wonder about the future of their community because it affected fishing. Most fishermen in their responses said that they were puzzled by the fact that the information of the leakage was too slow to reach the population. An idea that was shared by one of the chiefs interviewed when he confirmed that he was formally informed by authorities of COTCO more than five days after the leakage had occurred. One of the fishermen aged 37 years expressed his fear when he stated that:

“The population of Kribi is afraid of this pipeline because anything can happen. We know what the pipeline in other countries like Nigeria had done to the population living closer to it in terms of danger”.
(Richard; 02-03-2009)



Fig 6: Idle fishermen waiting at the Kribi beach. Photo by author

Apart from the tremendous drop in the quantity of fish, a gross majority of the informants (92 percent) equally pointed out that the quality of fish that was caught after the pipeline was equally affected. There was a drop in quality and consequently the income generated from fish equally dropped. With the scarcity in fish, the fishermen could get only very small sizes of fish after the construction of the project. This had a direct impact on the livelihoods of those who solely depended on the fishing industry. (For details see figure 7).



Fig 7 larger fish are rare with the arrival of the pipeline



Smaller fish are common after pipeline construction in Kribi (Photos by author)

An important aspect of the drop in the fishing industry that was acknowledged by about forty percent of the informant is the fact that the women were most affected. This was because of the limited opportunities for women to divert to other economic activities. For example with the drop in the fishing industry, the men that were involved in this sector were forced to move into other occupations like motorbike riders (see fig 8) while others were able to set up small scale business enterprises for sustainability. The limited job openings for women rendered most of them unemployed and this had a direct impact on livelihoods considering the fact that in most of rural Africa, women are bread winners when it comes to managing the household. The high level of unemployment for women increased the likelihood of prostitution in the area. According to one of the informants, Kribi was already having a high number of prostitutes because of its touristic attraction and his fear was that unemployment was going to further increase the number. He pointed out in his interview that:

“The coming of tourist to Kribi has increased prostitution. When I was still working, I used to lead a team of policemen along the beach to arrest those involved in prostitution especially teenagers. I am worried now that with the main source of livelihood (fish) threatened, prostitution might increase because of the precarious situation of the women.” (Joseph, 28 -02-2009)



Figs 8: Photo showing the differentiated livelihood opportunities for men and women after the construction of the pipeline (Photo by author)

Another key problem that was provoked by the destruction of the fishing grounds were the community and inter-community conflicts that came up. The scarcity of fish and the limited fishing territories created a situation where the various communities in this locality started laying claims and counter claims over fishing grounds and this was bound to create conflicts and tension in the area.

4.1.4 The pipeline, community and inter-community Conflicts

According to most of the informants interviewed, the incidence of community and inter-community conflicts in Kribi was not very visible before the pipeline. These conflicts would have been there but the pipeline only came to make them more visible. The people interviewed stated that 70 percent of the conflicts that came up after the pipeline could be attributed to the destruction of the fishing grounds which made the different communities and even individuals to start laying claims on certain fishing areas and in light attempted to prevent individuals within the same

community and those of other communities from fishing in such areas as explained by one of the fishermen:

“Fishermen could cast their nets freely to any direction in the sea. But due to the restriction in fishing area, they now fight and dispute over access to the fishing area. At times, the nets of some fishermen are destroyed by other fishermen to prevent them from going to fish, thus leading to individual conflict. When the pipeline was not yet constructed, we did not care who came to fish here, but because of the scarcity in fish, we do not allow members of other communities to fish again with us. This had led to intercommunity conflict.” (Paul aged 38; 03-02-2009)

This conflict over limited fishing grounds was equally extended to the restricted forest assets. Hunting was equally a major occupation of a cross section of the population and with the coming of the pipeline, forest conservation laws were tightened and more and more hunters were thrown out of their hunting reserves. A petty trader who was also a hunter painted a gloomy picture of the situation when he said:

“We have limited bush now compared to before the pipeline. When hunting an animal if it goes where the pipeline has passed (case where the pipeline is not buried due to the topography of the area) one is not allowed to go closer because you might be taken for a terrorist that wants to blow off the pipeline. With this fear in us, the animal escapes and we at times return home empty not even with firewood because we are not allowed to access certain areas of the forest. Everything is blocked for us with the construction of the pipeline in Kribi.” (Roland aged 42; 06-03-2009)

This increased the level of unemployment and intensified tension among the various communities and even individual hunters because of the claims and counter claims that were laid on fishing and hunting grounds. Therefore it can be said that the coming of the pipeline did not only increase inter-community conflicts but it equally increased the level of animosity among fishermen and hunters who now had very limited territory to exploit for a living. Moving away from the fishing and hunting activities, other areas of the small scale business enterprise were equally affected by the pipeline project. Of the affected areas, restaurant operations were one of the sectors where the women of this area recorded some dramatic increases.

4.1.5 The Pipeline and effects on Restaurant Business in Kribi

It is important to mention that the pipeline project had consequences or effects that were short-lived as well as those that were long-lived. The impact of this project on restaurant operations was however short-lived because the women benefited only around the period of construction when there were a lot of people who migrated from other areas to work in the project as labourers. During the construction exercise, there were women who were specialized in cooking food and selling to the workers and this acted as an avenue for temporal employment. The number of eating houses in Kribi increased and the number of women in this sector equally increased

but the unfortunate situation is that immediately after the construction was over, these women too ran out of business. Thus it can be stated that there was an increase in the number of restaurants and the women involved but this did not leave any significant implications on livelihoods because the period of boom was too short for much to have been accumulated (for details see tables 3, 4 & 5).

4.1.6 The Youth in the Motorbike Business

A sector that noticed some profound changes as a result of the pipeline was the motorbike industry. Before the project, there were a few bikes that circulated in the transport sector but after the pipeline, the number increased tremendously because the youths who worked as labourers in the pipeline project were able to invest this money into the motorbike industry (as showed in tables 3, 4 & 5). This probably would have reduced the rate of unemployment but to say that it contributed greatly to improvement in livelihoods will not be true because the daily turnout is low and again government taxes and police harassment contributes to the difficulties encountered by the bike riders. A good number of those involved in this sector recounted police harassment as a key problem that has made the bike business not to be at all profitable. In another dimension, the construction of the pipeline also had some direct implications on the operation of small scale stores in kribi town and the surrounding neighbourhoods that accommodated workers of the pipeline.

4.1.7 The Pipeline and Small Scale Provision Stores

With the introduction of the pipeline project, the population of kribi increased and that of the local communities that accommodated the workers of the pipeline project. This had an impact on the number of small scale provision stores and of course on the quantity and variety of goods that were sold before the project. The stores that existed before increased their stock and others were newly created in some of the localities to meet the pressing demand of the migrant workers. But as earlier mentioned, these are some of the effects that were temporal and immediately the construction process ended, some of the temporal shops were forced to close down while others survived. (For details see tables 3, 4 & 5).

4.1.8 The Pipeline Project, Migrant Labour and Operation of Beer Parlours

Another key sector that witnessed a temporal boom during the construction of the pipeline was the proliferation of drinking spots in Kribi and its surrounding neighbourhood. The migrant workers who came in from different urban areas increased the demand for leisure facilities in Kribi and consequently there was the need to increase this infrastructure to meet demand. Even though a good number of

these facilities have remained in operation but there were others that ran out of operation after the construction exercise as illustrated in tables 3, 4 & 5.

Table 3: Small scale/Petty trade in Kribi before the construction of pipeline (source: from author)

Small scale/Petty trade activities	n	Number admitted that high turnout	Number that admitted low turnout
Women in fishing business	20	16	4
Women in restaurant business	20	9	11
Youths in bike business	20	5	15
Small scale retail stores	20	8	12
Off licences	20	10	10

Table 4: Small scale/Petty trade in kribi during the construction of the pipeline (source: from author)

Small scale/Petty trade activities	n	Number admitted that high turnout	Number that admitted low turnout
Women in fishing business	20	14	6
Women in restaurant business	20	18	2
Youths in bike business	20	6	14
Small scale retail stores	20	15	5
Off licences	20	16	4

Table 5: Small scale/Petty trade in Kribi after the construction of pipeline (source: from author)

Small scale/Petty trade activities	n	Number that admitted high turnout	Number that admitted low turnout
Women in fishing business	20	2	18
Women in restaurant business	20	11	9
Youths in bike business	20	17	3
Small scale retail stores	20	10	10
Off licences	20	13	7

4.1.9 The Pipeline and Migration between Cameroon and Chad

The construction of the pipeline facilitated movement between Cameroon and Chad. Even though before this project, movement between the two countries was not quite difficult because they all belong to the CEMAC Zone but the introduction of this pipeline project only helped to further increase movement of labour and other business people between the two countries. It should be underscored that the initiation and execution of this project did not only affect movements between Cameroon and Chad but actually some people even moved from other neighbouring countries within the sub-region like Central Africa Republic, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon into Chad and Cameroon in search of jobs in the pipeline project. Therefore it can be said that the construction of the pipeline temporality increased inter- state labour mobility in the CEMAC Region. (For details see table 6)

Table 6: Influence the pipeline had on the movement of people within Chad and Cameroon/ migration into Kribi (source: from author)

Influence of the pipeline on	n	Increased mobility	Decreased mobility	No effect
Mobility between Chad and Cameroon	26	14	2	10
Migration of people in to Kribi during construction	26	26	0	0

4.1.10 The Pipeline and infrastructural Development in Kribi

During structured interviews 70% of the respondents confirmed that the pipeline project led to infrastructural development in Kribi. One of the informants aged 35

years who worked during the construction phase of the pipeline indicated that the pipeline had improved on the conditions of Kribi in terms of infrastructure and to justify his position, he said:

“Most of the streets in Kribi are now tarred because of the construction of the pipeline. Before the pipeline, dust was common in the dry season and mud during the rainy days. Not only has the roads been tarred, but new roads have been opened linking different parts of the town. I personally worked in the pipeline and earned money that helped me solve most of my problems.”
(Emmanuel, 20-02-2009)

Slightly above 74% of informants talked about street lights and tarred streets, renovation of the town hall that was used for the inaugural ceremony of the pipeline and the construction of some schools and hospitals. Some people had invested in petty businesses, education of their children and construction of their homes using money that they were able to raise during the construction exercise of the pipeline project. One of the informants, a political leader age 53 years stated that:

“The installation of street lights in Kribi has drastically reduced theft in the city. The lights have brought security to the Kribi population. So why should we not thank the pipeline for giving us the street lights after a long period of no street lights.” (Musa 07-03-2009) (For a clear view of some of the streets see Fig 9)



Fig 9: Photo showing tarred road with street lights in some parts of Kribi. (Photo by author)

It can therefore be observed that one of the positive aspects of the construction of the pipeline was the development of infrastructure in the Kribi area and its immediate surroundings. This in a way improved on the living standards and livelihoods of the inhabitants of this area. The aspect of security and the fact that the roads were improved upon, facilitated movement and trade and consequently affected livelihoods

but the positive effect was minimal due to increase in prices of food in Kribi as a result of the pipeline construction.

All the respondents in Kribi confirmed that the prices of food had increased. Some of them buttressed their claim with examples of fish that used to be sold at 1000 FRS CFA⁷, now being sold at 2500 FRS due to its scarcity. The increase cost in fish is due to the restrictions and the pollution of the sea by the floating terminal some of the fishermen explained.

⁷ 1 Euro= 650FRS CFA

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 Discussion and Conclusion

The first part of this chapter discusses the results and the second part concludes the study.

5.1.1 Discussion

It was hoped that with the construction of the pipeline, there will be many long term benefits for the population in Kribi (Koczy, 2007) but from the study, most of the benefits were short term benefits. From the results obtained in chapter Four, there are indications that the pipeline project affected different sectors of small scale business in Kribi and the other communities that hosted the project. The effect of this project on small scale trade was tremendous because it led to a drop in certain activities and again stimulated others. But generally speaking, even though there were changes provoked by the construction of this project, these changes did not have any significant impact on livelihoods because the changes were either very short-lived or the income generating activities that came as a result of the project had very low turnouts.

One of the most affected areas as indicated above was the fishing industry. The destruction of fishing grounds as a result of the pipeline further increased the rate of unemployment, which already was very high. The fishing sector before the pipeline project in Kribi could be considered very important because it did not only offer employment to the youths but equally it was a source of livelihood to the old and even the women who acted as retailers in the fish business. With the destruction of the fishing grounds at the coastline around Kribi, there was a drop in the quantity of fish supplied and so many youths were forced to abandon this sector for other activities that were not very lucrative. For example some of these youths had to get into the motor bike business as a last resort. It can therefore be observed that one of the major sectors that were affected by the construction of the pipeline was increase in the number of motorbikes in Kribi. Young men who were able to work in the project as labourers were able to invest the money they got from the pipeline into the motorbike business. However this motor bike business had its own problems, which ranged from low turnouts to police harassment. According to some of the youths interviewed, police harassment was pointed out as one of the key problems affecting the motorbike industry in the Kribi areas.

These difficulties created by the destruction of fishing grounds affected livelihoods. Some of the youths who could not immediately divert from fishing to other survival mechanisms were forced into stealing and other gambling activities that further

worsened their situation. Some were forced to migrate out of Kribi to other big towns like Douala and Yaoundé in search of jobs. The reduction in fish further exacerbated the conditions in Kribi because children dropped out of school since their parents were not able to afford the fees and other school demands. Teachers and others who were employed by the Parents Teacher's Association (PTA) became unemployed because the parents were not able to pay not only school fees, but also PTA levies. Thus some of the teachers had to migrate from the area to look for jobs elsewhere (Chouala, 2007) further jeopardizing the education of the area.

The second category of persons that were seriously affected by the construction of this project were the women. It should be noted that the limited opportunities for women created serious unemployment problems because after the destruction of the fishing grounds, the women who were relying on this sector were forced out of their regular daily income activity and as a result, some could not get other jobs. Some of them were forced into restaurant operations, which was quite lucrative but the problem here was that these were temporal businesses that actually had high turnouts only during the construction of the pipeline. During the period of construction, so many eating houses were opened but these houses operated only very short periods. After the construction period, some of these temporal business operations were forced to close down. So to say that the pipeline project significantly affected livelihoods will not be true. It rather led to temporal shifts in jobs and this created a situation where so many people were temporarily employed for very short periods.

Women who were thrown out of the fishing industry and who could not easily switch into restaurant business or the buying and selling of second hand dresses as earlier mentioned due to lack of capital became vulnerable to poverty (Arrehag, et al, 2006) and were forced into other out-lawed professions like prostitution. This only helped to further increase misery because prostitution in Cameroon as a whole is no longer profitable because of poverty and again the incidence of HIV/AIDS which is scaring the men away from these activities. Thus the pipeline came and created unemployment of women that led to an increase in prostitution and the likelihood was the increase in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. This explains why in some of the communities as mentioned above, the inhabitants were fast to conclude that the pipeline project brought HIV/AIDS to their communities (Lekunze 2007). In a situation where it was difficult for people to meet up with their daily needs, an increase in HIV/AIDS could only further worsen the situation because these people will not be able to afford proper medication. The above situation can be described as the vicious cycle of impoverishment where poverty leads to HIV/AIDS and HIV/AIDS leads to poverty (Bryceson et al, 2006).

In another dimension, the pipeline project as mentioned above led to an increase in the number of provision stores around Kribi and the neighbourhoods that hosted this project. This was due to the increase in the number of migrant workers into Kribi. With the high influx of migrant workers and others coming to look for jobs, there was the need to increase the provision stores so as to meet the demand of these workers. The existing stores had to increase their stock and new ones were created in the localities where you had these labourers residing. It should however be noted that this increase in the number of provision stores did not automatically lead to an improvement in the situation of livelihoods because the daily turnout that was realised from these operations could not overnight change the situation of the inhabitants. Again considering the fact that the period of boom was very short-lived as noted by (Endeley et al, 2007), it could not impact seriously on the profit margin of those who operated these petty businesses.

A sector that realised a significant boost as a result of the construction of the pipeline was the beer parlours around Kribi and the localities where the pipeline actually passed. Generally Cameroonians drink heavily and these workers who had abandoned their families to go and work in the pipeline project usually spent their leisure time during the evening hours drinking in these beer parlours. As a result, so many of these drinking parlours were created to meet up with the demand for beer. It must be noted that some of these beer parlours operated only during the period of construction because these temporal structures were meant to serve the interest of the temporal workers. However some of these beer drinking spots have been maintained right up till date because of the drinking habit of Cameroonians. In some of the very remote areas that hosted the pipeline, some of the single women transformed their living houses into temporal beer parlours. This meant that they could afford to sell drinks not in regular drinking parlours but in their houses just to meet the demand of the workers.

An important aspect that influences business be it small scale/petty or large scale/formal businesses is the movement of people across borders. The pipeline had facilitated movement between Chad and Cameroon no matter how little the movements may be. Many CEMAC citizens moved to the two countries during the construction of the pipeline as confirmed by some of the informants. Presently the workers of the pipeline from Chad and Cameroon move between the two countries. This has not only promoted small scale/petty trade within Kribi and other border towns, but has also resulted in the contraction of friends and marriages between Chad and Cameroon fostering integration of the two countries and hence the CEMAC region. While acknowledging that the pipeline had influenced movement within

some of the CEMAC countries, it should be stressed that the influence is very minimal (as indicated in table 6 above). An idea supported by Bamou, (2006) who argues that, if movement of people were possible in the region then low human capital countries like Gabon will have economic recovery, and gradual reduction of unemployment in countries with abundant idle workforce like Cameroon.

The reason why free movement within this zone is still a dream come true is because the idea of a common passport proposed since 2003 is yet to fully materialised. While some of the countries had started issuing the CEMAC passport, others (those with less population and blessed with much oil)⁸ are still dragging behind for fear that citizens from other countries will come and take jobs from their citizens (Gankou et al, 2008). Even though the President⁹ of the Executive Commission of CEMAC said the CEMAC passport was already a reality, he was clear that the clause on free circulation of people of the region was applicable to officials of a certain category (Cam tribune, 2008a). This sent the message that although some of the countries are issuing the common passport, the movement of an ordinary CEMAC citizen is still very restricted. It was even further exacerbated because the issue of a common passport during the Yaoundé¹⁰ CEMAC summit was pushed to 2010 (Cam tribune, 2008b) indicating that an agreement is yet to be reached on the matter. The movement of people is very important in this region to enable the small scale/petty traders improve on their businesses or have new options to move in to large scale businesses.

The aspect of infrastructure was an important innovation that was brought by the pipeline. Kribi before the project was not quite advanced in terms of the infrastructure but this is not to say the infrastructure was very bad compared to other urban areas in Cameroon. The coming of the pipeline contributed much in upgrading the infrastructure of the area because street lights were renovated and most of the areas that were not tarred in the town were now tarred. Even some new intra-urban roads were created to link areas of the town that were not motorable. This helped in one way or the other to improve on livelihoods because with the improvement in the transport system, certain areas of business were stimulated and this affected certain sectors of the society. Also talking about infrastructure, certain areas of the town and even localities that did not have electricity before the pipeline were electrified. This brought along with other small scale industries that rely on

⁸ The countries are Equatorial Guinea and Gabon

⁹ The President of the Executive Commission of CEMAC is Cameroon born Antoine Tsimi who came to office in 2007 during the CEMAC summit in Chad

¹⁰ The summit was held in June 2008 with the next fixed for CAR in 2009

electricity. The construction of schools, hospitals and renovation of the city hall by the pipeline project also made social services readily available to the population of Kribi as the distances to schools and hospitals were reduced.

Inter-community conflict was one of the key elements that were made more visible by the pipeline project. These conflicts would have been there but during and after the pipeline, these minor conflicts that existed among the different localities around Kribi became very glaring. The first reason why the project increased the occurrence of the conflicts among the different communities was that the destruction of the fishing grounds limited the fishing area and consequently communities that entirely depended on fishing had to start protecting their limited fishing grounds from the other fishing communities and this created tension. According to some of the fishermen interviewed, before the pipeline, there were no restrictions to fishing grounds but during and after the construction, some communities started enforcing restrictions and this created inter-community conflicts. This was not only limited to fishing, but it was equally extended to other natural resources like hunting grounds that were limited as a result of the pipeline. These inter-community conflicts created animosity amongst the different communities that depended on these natural resources for livelihood. Communities that were living in peace and harmony before the construction of the pipeline are today chasing each other as they scramble for the limited amount of fish in order to make a living. The construction of the pipeline in Kribi, introduced an era of “survival of the fittest” for fishermen in the area. Only those who were able to resist the challenges and difficulties stayed in the business while those who were weak and could not resist were thrown out of fishing.

Tragedy of the commons due to population growth (Hardin, 1968) now is due to resource question where the commons are restricted from accessing a common pool resource they had enjoyed for decades because of external rules from the pipeline project. Tragedy of the commons is a situation where because of population increase, a common pool resource is over exploited since it is free to be accessed by everyone (Hardin, 1968). However, there were no complains of over fishing in Kribi before the construction of the pipeline as indicated by those interviewed although access to this resource (fish) was opened to all. The local communities had their local governance mechanism on how fishing was done. Fishing before the construction of the pipeline used to be done in specific areas in the sea which the inhabitants claimed belong to the communities since time immemorial (Chouala 2007). Tragedy of the commons emanates from the restriction of the population in Kribi to access their resources (both water and land) due to the construction of the pipeline. The coming of this pipeline to Kribi has resulted to unsustainable fishing. Reason being that the

population no more see the area in the sea that belonged to them before the construction of the pipeline as theirs due to restrictions from the pipeline authorities. Therefore any opportunity the fishermen have they, fish indiscriminately. The above and the fact that the prices of their major source of protein (fish) had increased, explains why the inhabitants of Kribi said the pipeline has brought more problems in their area

The main source of protein for the local population in Kribi was fish but unfortunately the construction of the pipeline had made it scare. If there exist no cheaper alternatives of fish as protein in the area then the population, especially children risk having malnutrition. The contraction of the fish industry due to the pipeline has resulted to increase in the prices of fish as already mentioned above. Fish that used to be sold at 1000 FRS CFA before the construction of the pipeline cost 2500 FRS after the pipeline construction. This increase in the price of fish due to the arrival of oil in Kribi can be considered as a sign of Dutch disease. The above increase may mean nothing to a working class person, a well established business person or to a visiting tourist with the power of the Dollar or Euro. But what of an ordinary person whose livelihood depends on the surrounding environments?

Kribi had paid a great environmental price with the construction of the pipeline. The initiators of the project claimed the project is a model. As a model, the technology used in the project is much more modern and had been tested in several sites in the world (Erikson et al, 2005). The oil leakage of 2007 made many to have fear about the effects of the pipeline in Kribi especially fishermen who pondered about their future due to the lost of fish. The then Mayor of the town was equally disturbed about the oil leakage when he said "Our town lives on fishing and tourism. If one incident like this or worse occur it is the economic future of the town that is threaten." (Kribi Mayor Gregoire Mba Mba told IRIN 2007).

With projects of this nature, oil spillage can not be avoided. When it occurs, the population should be alerted immediately. The fact that it took some days for the population to be informed through the traditional authorities instilled fear among the population. Some of the fishermen had seen oil floating on the sea and brought the news to the population but no official information was received from the pipeline authorities. This rumour made many to be afraid of what could happen with the pipeline and the fears still persist. For health reasons, the population was supposed to be sensitised so they can avoid the dangers of water pollution in the event of any oil leakage but according to Nguiffo & Abilogo (2007), nothing has been done to create awareness up till date.

5.1.2 Conclusion

From every indication, it is clear that the construction of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline had significant changes on the economic structures both in Chad and in Cameroon particularly in the areas that hosted the project. The construction of the project had significant consequences on the natural and environmental factors that directly or indirectly affected the livelihood of the inhabitants in Kribi and other neighbouring localities. Contrary to the perception that this project was going to improve on livelihoods, from the study, it can be said that this project did not so much improve on the livelihood of the people of Kribi. There is no doubt that it provoked situations where people were forced to switch to other occupations but these occupations were not very lucrative as perceived from the beginning of the project. It created jobs but these jobs were mostly temporal and consequently the impact on the society could not have been much.

Kribi benefited from infrastructural development which led to improved social security of the town but at the same time impinged on food security due to the reduction in fish and restrictions in access to natural resources. The reduction in fish and restriction in access to natural resources negatively affected the livelihoods of the local population of Kribi. In terms of gender, women were found to be more vulnerable than men to the reduction in fish because cultural values, societal norms and lack of access to assets limited their diversification options. The pipeline introduced not only individual conflicts but also intercommunity conflicts to access natural resources. The World Bank described the project as high risk, high reward (New York Times, 2005). From the findings of this study, it is unfortunate that the risk is likely to be borne by the people living around the pipeline installations while the rewards are reaped by the oil companies and the two governments

It should be clearly pointed out that in order for the local fishing to be sustained, the destroyed rock used as breeding site by fish should be replaced. It still remains to be seen if the companies that built the pipeline would take the responsibility for creating a new breeding ground for fish. It is only when the destroyed rock is replaced by an artificial one as promised by the pipeline authorities during the construction phase of the pipeline that the local population of Kribi which depends on fish for their livelihoods will stop to regret hosting the end terminal of this pipeline.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire for Chad-Cameroon Oil Pipeline, livelihood & petty trade in Kribi

All answers to the questions below will be used for the purpose which it is meant for and will be treated confidentially.

1. Age 18-19 ☐ 20-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41 & above
2. Sex 1= male 2=female _____
3. Place of origin: _____
4. Level of education: primary ☐ secondary ☐ high school ☐ university ☐
5. What is your main occupation?
1 = Farming
2 = Fishing
3 = Business (established business)
4 = Business (petty trading)
5 = Student
6 = other, specify _____
- 6 Main source of income for the household
1 = Farming
2 = Fishing
3 = Business (established business)
4 = Business (petty trading)
5 = Student
6 = other, specify-----
- 7 How was life like in Kribi before the construction of the Chad- Cameroon oil pipeline?

- 8 Has the construction of this oil pipeline brought any effects in your lives?
If yes in what way

- 9 What was the nature of petty trade in Kribi before the pipeline?

- 10 What level? High turn out, low turn out or occasionally in the following areas
a) women and fishing industry: high _☐ low_☐_____
b) Women in Restaurant activities: high _☐ low_☐_____
c) Youth in business: high _☐ low_☐_____
d) Small scale retail stores : high _☐ low_☐_____
e) Drinking spots: high _☐ low_☐_____
11. Who were the key petty traders before the pipeline came to the area

12. Were they old or mostly young people? Old ☐ Young ☐
13. Were they men or women or a mixture of both? Men ☐ women ☐ both ☐

14. Was it mostly local people or others that came and traded? Local people ☐ others ☐

15. If others, were they from the neighbouring CEMAC countries

16. Were there any special differences or similarities in the patterns of trade during the pipeline construction in the following areas

- a) women and fishing industry: _ high _ ☐ low _ ☐
- b) Women in Restaurant activities: high _ ☐ low _ ☐
- c) Youth in business : high _ ☐ low _ ☐
- d) Small scale retail stores : high _ ☐ low _ ☐
- e) Drinking spots: high _ ☐ low _ ☐

17. Did you have any foreigners (especially from CEMAC countries) that came as a result of the pipeline activity, trading during this period? Yes ☐ No ☐

18. What major innovations were introduced as a result of the pipeline in Kribi?

19 How has the construction of the pipeline affected migration in to kribi?

20. What was the gender dimension of migration? More male ☐ more female ☐ almost equal female and male migrate into Kribi ☐

21. During the construction of the oil pipeline, were there any outstanding changes that might have lead to conflict in:

- i) land and access to natural resources Yes ☐ No ☐
- ii) fishing, rights, quality of water and amount of fish Yes ☐ No ☐

22. Did the general health and disease patterns in kribi changed during the construction of the oil pipeline?

21. Were there some positive spin-offs as a result of the oil pipeline in Kribi on the following?

- i. Increased incomes? If yes was it for a short or longer period. Shorter period ☐ longer period ☐
- ii. Better housing, yes ☐ no ☐
- iii. Schools and education yes ☐ no ☐
- iv. Health and development yes ☐ no ☐

22. What is the current pattern of trade in this area?

b. Is it different from before the pipeline came into the area? Yes ☐ neutral ☐ No ☐

c. What are the main differences or similarities?

d. Who are the key players in trading; men ☐ women ☐ both ☐

e. If both what is the percentage of men to women _____

f) women and fishing industry: high _ ☐ low _ ☐ _____

g) Women in Restaurant activities : high _ ☐ low _ ☐ _____

h) Youth in business : high _ ☐ low _ ☐

i) Small scale retail stores: high _ ☐ low _ ☐

j) Drinking spots: high _ ☐ low _ ☐

23. By adopting a regional perspective of trade does this pipeline add value at household level?

24. Are you aware of any policies that promote integration of trade in the region?

25. What are the challenges for the future?

26. Having looked at all these issues of petty trade before, during and presently in relation to the Chad Cameroon pipeline is there anything else that you would like to add?

APPENDIX 2

Discussion Guide: Chad-Cameroon Oil Pipeline, livelihood and petty trade in Kribi

- 1) What was life like in Kribi before the coming of the pipeline?
 - A) What was the nature of trade before the coming of the pipeline in Kribi in terms of the following?
 - a) women and fishing industry (b) Women in Restaurant activities (c) Youth in business
 - d) Small scale retail stores (e) Drinking spots
 - b) What major innovations were introduced after the coming of the pipeline?
 - c) How did the pipeline affect migration in to Kribi?
 - d) What was the gender dimension of migration?
 - e) What was the national composition of those who migrated to in kribi to work from neighbouring countries?
 - f) What were some of the obstacles recorded by non-Cameroonians to be recruited as workers in the project ?
- 2) Were there any special differences or similarities in the pattern of petty trade during the pipeline construction in the following ?
 - a) women and fishing industry (b) Women in Restaurant activities (c) Youth in business d) Small scale retail stores (e) Drinking spots
- 3) Did you have any foreigners, i.e. those who came as a result of the pipeline activity, trading during this period?
- 4) How did the construction affect the local scene on the ground?
- 5) Were there any outstanding changes that might have lead to conflict or poor health?
 - i) E.g. what about land and access to natural resources
 - ii) What about fishing rights, quality of water and amount of fish
 - iii) What about general health and diseases pattern
- d) Were they some positive spin-offs as a result of the pipeline?
 - i) Increased incomes
 - ii) Better housing
 - iii) Schools and education
 - iv) Health and development
- 6) What is the current pattern of petty trade in Kribi? Is it different from petty trade before and during the construction of the pipeline in the following activities?
 - a) women and fishing industry (b) Women in Restaurant activities (c) Youth in business

d) Small scale retail stores (e) Drinking spots

7) By adopting a regional perspective of trade does this pipeline add value at house Level?

7) Having looked at all these issues of petty trade and livelihood before, during and presently in relation to the Chad-Cameroon pipeline is there any thing you will like to add?

APPENDIX 3:

Time plan and Fieldwork

2 nd February 2009	-left Sweden for Cameroon
3 rd Feb	-Ethiopia (missed connecting flight)
4 th Feb	- Arrived Cameroon
5 th -8 th Feb	- weekend (resting)
9 th Feb	- Travelled to Buea
10 th Feb	- meeting with local supervisor at the University of Buea - Discussion of work plan and preparation of research permit by the University of Buea Authorities.
11 th Feb	- Public holiday in Cameroon (Youth day)
12 th Feb	-search for secondary data from the University of Buea and Pan African Institute for African Development found in Buea
13 th Feb	-Departure for Yaoundé
14 th -15 th Feb	-Negotiating meetings with key informants
16 th Feb	- Travelled to Kribi
17 th Feb	-Made contacts with key informants, looked for a research assistant (Translator)
18 th -19 th Feb	- Did some observations of the oil pipeline installation and administered some interviews (trial or pilot interviews)/ prepared grounds for fieldwork.
20 th Feb	- Did some interviews and Traveled back to Yaoundé
23 rd -27 th Feb	- Met and talked with key informants in Yaoundé
28 th Feb	- traveled to Kribi and did some interviews
1 st -7 th March	- Interviews, Administering of questionnaire and observations
8 th March	- Returned to Yaoundé
10 th March	- Travelled to Buea to meet local supervisor to discuss findings obtained in the field
16 th March	-Traveled to Douala for departure back to Sweden
17 th March	-Left Cameroon
18 th March	-Arrived in Sweden
19 th March	- Met with supervisor
23 rd – mid April	Data Analysis
16 th April	Abstract submission
17 th April – mid May	Thesis write up and submission