

CHALLENGES OF IGBO MIGRATION INTO CAMEROON: THE ORLU EXPERIENCE ON THE SEA ROUTE, 1970-1997

Prof. Ify Henrietta Emejulu

History and International Studies
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka
Email: drifyemejulu@yahoo.com

&

Joseph Okechukwu Nwoke

History and International Studies
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka
Email: nwokejo@hotmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines the challenges encountered on the sea route by migrants from the Orlu area of Igboland into Cameroon in post-civil war Nigeria. The Igbo people, predominantly and indigenously found in the present South-East States of Imo, Anambra, Enugu, Abia and Ebonyi, and in South-South States of Rivers and Delta, constitute one of the major and distinct ethnic groups in Nigeria. They are, like very many other cultural groups in Nigeria, historically involved in several forms of migration outside their indigenous area of settlement dating from pre-colonial times. However, the incidence of the Nigeria-Biafra War and its aftermaths intensified Igbo migration drifts outside the shores of Nigeria. One important destination since the end of the war has been Cameroon, but it is not without its challenges where the main route before now has been through the sea. This paper, therefore focuses on the post war causes of the Orlu migration to Cameroon; the challenges encountered thereto on the sea; and how to address them. The argument is that the Orlu migration through the sea into Cameroon as part of the larger Igbo mass exodus after the war has posed a serious problem as lives and property were often lost in the course of these journeys. Findings show that aside the Cameroon's attractions those out-movements were mostly encouraged by the Nigerian government failure to address the plight of the Igbo people after the war, hence it suggests serious federal government actions in terms of economic rebuilding and infrastructure development in the Igbo areas of Nigeria. The paper is historical, and makes use of primary and secondary sources of data.

Keywords: migration, Igbo, Orlu Area, Cameroon and Nigerian Government

Introduction

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. Generally, it refers to a change of residence across administrative boundary. It can take the following forms: inter-ward, inter-community, inter-local government, inter-state, inter-regional, inter-provincial, international or intercontinental migration.¹ More so, this paper emphasizes on international migration which can be permanent or temporary. Permanent migrants were those that left Nigeria to settle in Cameroon permanently. These migrants saw this country as their new home and had to obey the laws of the land so as not to be deported². Temporary migrants stayed in Cameroon between a week and a month and went back to Nigeria. They transported goods from Nigeria to Cameroon and back for sale. The focus of this paper is on these two classes of migrants and the ordeals they faced as they migrated to Cameroon.

Against this background, the Orlu area formerly Orlu Division is the source area and the destination is West Cameroon. The Orlu area of Igbo nation had the tendency to embark on out migration. Before 1970, people have begun leaving the Orlu area, particularly more profound and noticeable in the 1950s when the area was part of the Owerri Province.³ Generally, the Igbo are widely known as travellers. There is hardly any country in the world that they cannot be found. During Atlantic slave trade, they travelled into the Efik, Ibibio, Idoma and Igala countries and even what is today Cameroon. G.T Basden affirms the travelling nature of the Igbo people by stating that their readiness to travel and tenacity of purpose, especially when looking for employment have taken them far beyond their native environment.⁴

The theoretical framework for this paper is based on the work of Michael Todaro in which he propounded the economic theory of migration. In his study '*A Model of Labour Migration*' he acknowledges that individuals are encouraged to migrate as a result of the prospects of better opportunities in towns.⁵ His other reason is the more amount of money made by those in the cities than the amount made by those in the rural areas. He also states that nations with scarce labour supply will have high wages that pull migrants from nations with a surplus labour. International migration is related to the global supply and demand for labour. This theory is in tandem with the Igbo of Orlu area out-migration into Cameroon. These people left their homeland for greener pastures as propounded by Todaro. One of the reasons for the movement was the demand for labour, especially in West Cameroon where there was scarce labour. They did menial job like truck pushing, and some were traders.

Migration scholars emphasize on the push pull factors that make people to migrate. They tend to isolate the economic and social reasons for migration. There are a lot of works on migration especially by non-historians like R. K. Udo⁶, S. O. Osoba⁷, I. Nzimiro⁸, M. Todaro⁹, B. Freund¹⁰, E. Jones and J. Eyles¹¹ likewise historians such as J. Korieh¹², U. Igwe and N. Obiakor.¹³ J. Korieh writing on the Igbo migrants in Cameroon captures Igbo ethnic consciousness and identity. He acknowledges that the Igbo generally went into trading and farming wherever they found themselves. Ardener¹⁴, Funteh¹⁵ and Neba¹⁶ mention the Igbo and their involvement in plantation labour and trade. These works however did not look into the ordeals, Igbo migrants faced on their way to West Cameroon through water transportation.

This present study therefore looks at the movement of people from the Orlu area of Igboland into West Cameroon and the ordeals they faced thereto along the waterways. This paper is divided into five sections viz: source area, destination and reasons for migration; routes followed by the Igbo into Cameroon; towns they passed through in Nigeria and towns they passed through or settled in Cameroon; ordeals faced by Igbo migrants into Cameroon and recommendations that would mitigate the ordeals.

Source Area, Destination, and Reasons for Migration

The source area is Orlu, in reference to the old Orlu Division which is today known as Imo West or Orlu Senatorial Zone. It is located in Imo State. Out of the 27 local government areas in the state, 12 are in Orlu Zone : Orsu, Oru West, Oru East, Orlu, Nkwere, Njaba, Nwangele, Orsu, Ideato North, Ideato South, Oguta and Isu. People from the communities in the source area moved to the following towns in West Cameroon also known as Southern Cameroon: Tiko, Kumba, Mamfe, Buea and Victoria (later changed to Limbe).

The reasons for migration are known as pull push factors. Pull factors are located in the destination area. They are called place utility and attract individuals to a place. They include better economic opportunities, more jobs and the promise of a better life. Warm weather, peaceful and comfortable locations also attract people¹⁷. Push factors are factors that compel individuals to move voluntarily or involuntarily to a destination. These factors include war, drought, family and religious disagreement and others are poor economic activities, lack of job opportunities, discrimination, political intolerance and persecution¹⁸. One of the reasons for the migration is the historical nexus between the Igbo and West Cameroon. Historically, Nigeria and West Cameroon shared similar colonial experience. Germany colonized Cameroon but lost it to Britain and France after losing the First World War and West Cameroon was taken over by the British. Sir Arthur Richards took over from Sir Benard Bourdillon in 1943 as the British governor of Nigeria. On 1st October 1947 a new constitution known as Richards Constitution took effect. A. Goni Awa puts down the features of the Richards constitution thus:

- Majority unofficial members were allowed in the legislative council for the first time
- It introduced the principle of regionalism, dividing the country into three regions namely western, eastern and northern regions
- A single legislative council was established for the whole of Nigeria
- It set up regional council
- It introduced House of Chiefs for the north.¹⁹

It should be taken into cognizance that when the three regions were created West Cameroon was now put under the administration of Eastern Region, which was dominated by the Igbo speaking ethnic group. T. Eyongetah and R. Brain concur thus “the Cameroons of course had no regional government. It was represented in the Eastern House of Assembly by Chief Manga Williams and Galega, the Fon of Bali”.²⁰ The Igbo moved in droves into West Cameroon following the introduction of the Richards constitution. According to the 1953 census, there were about 258000 Igbo out of the over 838000 Nigerians in Cameroon.²¹ These Igbo migrants in Cameroon laid the foundation for subsequent Igbo migrants to move into Cameroon afterwards Their presence attracted their relations into the country. It was very common to see two or three brothers or relations living in the same country. The first person that would arrive the country would after some years bring in another relation.²² Another factor was high population growth rate of the Igbo. According to the 1991 census, the population density was high with about 800 to over 1000 persons per square km.²³ Stanley Desmond writes thus:

Population pressure and land scarcity remained the most important determinants of migration. Population pressure on deteriorating forest lands (1000 plus per square miles) in for example, Owerri province at the heart of the eastern region, had in conjunction with the social character of the Ibo led to a continuous migration of Ibo to all regions of Nigeria.²⁴

High population density was noticed as far back as 1886 as identified by missionaries. If porters were sought for, they would come in large numbers pleading to be taken.²⁵ Also, poor quality soil in Igboland is one of the reasons. Thomas Northcote posits that there was a strong connection between poor quality soil, shortage of land, poverty, subsistence and insecurity in the region. Kenneth Dike and Simon Ottenberg conclude that low quality soil could not support more than a subsistence agriculture²⁶ These shortcomings made the Igbo to seek for greener pastures elsewhere. Floyd opines that due to the traditional farming methods, there were still lower yields.²⁷ Furthermore, in October 1970, General Yakubu Gowon declared the Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation programme, popularly referred to as the 3Rs in a nationwide radio broadcast. This programme was to reconstruct and rehabilitate areas destroyed during the Nigeria-Biafra War that lasted for 30 months. The programme was also to reconcile the Igbo and the rest of the country. Igbo men and women who deposited money with banks were given back only 20 pounds no matter the amount of money in their account after the war. Was the seizure of the balance a sort of reparation? Maybe The federal government used the balance as reparation since the Igbo were blamed for the cause of the war. The Gowon’s 3R programme had some shortcomings. N Orjiakor affirms thus:

Full integration of the Igbo was not achieved contrary to Gowon's pledges as the Igbo were discriminated against in all the sectors of the economy such as employment, appointments, capital investmentsetc.²⁸

It was largely this discrimination that compelled the Igbo to leave the country. Nigeria is bounded to the north by Niger, to the south by Atlantic Ocean, to the east by Cameroon and Chad and to the west by Benin Republic. The Igbo migrants bound for Cameroon passed through Cross River State to get to Cameroon and the transport fare was affordable, particularly through waterways. Furthermore, economic opportunities abound in the country. Between 1970 and 1990, an average Southern Cameroonian was not interested in trading activities and menial jobs. Markets in Tiko and Kumba in West Cameroon had many Igbo traders. Menial job like truck pushing was carried out mostly by the Igbo.²⁹ Finally, it can be argued that within the period of this study, Cameroon had a friendly immigration policy. This policy attracted foreigners into the country and as a foreigner you were to obtain residence permit that was not expensive.³⁰ Taxes paid by foreigners especially traders were not too high. During the period under review, students of migrant parents did not present residence permit before registering for external exam like General Certificate Examination. From the foregoing, push and pull factors contributed to the migration.

Sea Routes Followed by the Igbo into Cameroon

The sea and river routes included:

5. Calabar to Tiko/Victoria
6. Oron to Idenau
7. Oron to Lobe/Mbonge
8. Ekang to Ekondo Titi
9. Ikom to Mamfe

The sea route was commonly used during the period under review. Travellers preferred it because it was relatively cheap. Local wooden boats that were used are still being used today. Small boats that used paddle were called 'pulling hand' while those with engine were known as flying boats or speed boats³¹. The bigger boats were powered by engine and they sailed on the high sea (ocean). The smaller boats preferred making use of the creeks or rivers where the water was shallow. The bigger boats conveyed both passengers and goods. The smaller boats normally conveyed only passengers. In Tiko and Limbe during the 1980s, there was a popular bigger boat made from metal called African Picken owned by an Igbo man who hailed from Amucha in Imo State³². There was another one called Mahop owned by a Cameroonian. Others were Lucky, Onyegbabol, Newsman, Benson, etc, which were wooden boats. By the 1990s ships started sailing from Calabar in Nigeria to Tiko in Cameroon.

The most important route here was Calabar to Tiko/Victoria sea route because of the volume of traffic. From anywhere in Igboland an intending migrant could travel to Calabar, Oron or Eket in Cross River and Akwa Ibom States where he would get a boat to Cameroon. The boat from Nigeria sailed through the Bakassi Peninsula and one prominent area on this peninsula was called Atabong before Cameroon took over. The peninsula is an oil rich area on which the Cameroonian Gendarme and Nigerian military had clashed over before the takeover by Cameroon³³. As the boat moved from here through Oron Bar, which was a vast area of sea. The area was so large that a bigger boat spent about six hours in the 1980s before crossing this area. Debundsha, Bimbia, Victoria, Man of War Bay and Mabeta (fishing port) were places in Cameroon that the boat passed through to Tiko, its final destination. Another route worth mentioning here was the Ikom-Mamfe route. From Ikom one got through Agbokem where there is the Agbokem waterfalls through the Cross River that took the person to Mamfe in Cameroon. It was also observed that another town called Agbokem popularly called Agbokem German was in the Cameroon section of the border on getting to Mamfe.³⁴ Apart from the Calabar to Tiko sea route, other routes were majorly through the creeks.

Some of the Towns in Nigeria that the Cameroon bound Igbo Migrants Passed Through

The Igbo passed through some towns before getting to Cameroon. They included Calabar, Eket, Oron, Ikom and Agbokem.

Eket: Eket town is between latitude 4°39'North and 4.650°North and longitude 7°56'East and 7.933°East. It is the second largest town in Akwa Ibom State³⁵. The ethnic group of the region and its language are both known as Eket. Their language is grouped under Benue-Congo sub group of language. They are separated from the Atlantic Ocean by swamps. The Eket community spans from the Southern Coast to Ikot Ubo in Ubium. The entire urban area consists of Okon Nsit, Ubium, Idua, Afaha Eket and Esit Eket. Eket town is situated on the Kwa Iboe River at Ibuno. The Eket people are at times seen as a sub group of the Ibibio people. Early Europeans described them as warlike Ibibio who had a wonderful knack of re-grouping and causing trouble after being defeated.³⁶

Oron: This is a coastal town in Akwa Ibom State. It is also called Idua Oron. It lies between latitude 5°3'North and 5.050°North and longitude 7°56'East and 7.933°East³⁷. It is the third largest town in Akwa Ibom State. It covers a land area of 70 square kilometres (30 square Miles). It lies at the mouth of Cross River and is the terminus of roads from Uyo in Akwa Ibom State and Opobo in River State. The Oron people occupy five local government areas in Akwa Ibom State and Bakassi Local Government Area in Cross River State. They are related to the Efik, Ibibio, Eket, Anan and Ibuno ethnic groups. They speak the Oron dialect and most of them also speak the Efik language fluently.

Ikom: This is the headquarters of Ikom local government area in Cross River State. It lies between latitude 6°05'North and 6.033°North and longitude 8°37'East and 8.617°East³⁸. It occupies a land area

of 1,961square kilometers: The people are majorly farmers known for the production of banana and plantain for the markets in Nigeria. The town is noted for its monoliths called Ikom monoliths and artefacts bearing an ancient writing at times regarded to be an early form of Nsibidi. Through Ikom town one gets to Mfum, a neighbouring town with Cameroon occupied by the Ajasso community.

Agbokem: This town is in the Etung Local Government Area of Cross River State. What has brought this town to limelight is the Agbokem waterfalls which is close to the border with Cameroon. The waterfalls is about 15kilometres from Ikom and 320kilometres from Calabar. The waterfalls has 7 drops with the longest being 75 metres. They are on the Cross River, where they descend on terraces, through the tropical rain forest.³⁹

Some of the Tows in Cameroon that the Igbo Passed Through or Settled

The Igbo migrants passed through Debundscha and Bimbia situated close to the Atlantic Ocean. They were also found in large numbers in Victoria, Tiko, Mamfe and Kumba all in West Cameroon.

Debundscha: This is located in the South West Region. It lies between latitude 4°6¹North and 4.100°North and longitude 8°59°East and 8.983°East. It is located on the foot of Mount Cameroon at the south western corner directly facing the South Atlantic Ocean. Its annual rainfall is about 10,299milimetres (405.5metres) and it is one of the six wettest place in the world⁴⁰. Its nearness to the equator which is always hot and humid makes Debundscha to have a long rainy season and short dry season.

Victoria: This is located in the South West Region and lies along Ambas Bay in the Gulf of Guinea, at the southern foot of Mount Cameroon. This town was changed to Limbe in 1982 by President Ahmadou Ahidjo. It is located between 4°01¹North and 4°1017°North and 9°9°13¹East and 9.2°East. The seaport in Victoria is the second largest after the port in Douala in the Littoral Region. It is a home to the Bakweri tribe. The British Missionary, Alfred Saker came across the town in 1858.⁴¹ The Germans left the Bismark Town in the vicinity of Victoria. The native language is Bimbia or Isubu.

Tiko: This town is also located in the South West Region of Cameroon. The Bakweri tribe originally called it Keka. It is located along the Bimbia River at the Gulf of Guinea 12 miles (19kilometres) east of Victoria. It is located between latitude 4°4¹30°North and longitude 9°21¹36°East. It has a seaport whose activities diminished as a result of competition of Douala seaport. It was well known for its Igbo population who were majorly traders. It is a home for plantations owned by Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) where banana, rubber, palm nuts, cocoa and coffee are grown. The areas of Tiko comprises Streets 1 to 7, Motombolomboh, Down Beach, New layout, Longstreet etc⁴²

Kumba (K Town): This is the largest town in the South West Region. It is situated about 40 miles (65kilometres) northwest of Douala.⁴³It lies between latitude 4°38¹ North and 4.633°North and longitude 9°27¹East and 9.450°East. It is the headquarters of Meme Division. Roads from Kumba reach the Nigerian border through Mamfe to Ekok, a neighbouring town with Nigeria. The indigenes of Kumba are the Bafaw, the Bakoundu, Bakossi and Mbonge. The Igbo were many in this town and they were in charge of trading activities. Lake Barombi Mbo, the largest volcanic lake in Cameroon is in Kumba. Kumba and other towns in the south west have English as its official language. The commonest language for communication is the Cameroonian Pidgin English.

The Challenges along the Migration Routes

As the Igbo men and women travelled from their homeland in Nigeria to Cameroon, there were ordeals they commonly encountered. These were more prominent along the sea route. During the journey from Nigeria to Cameroon, many Igbo had equally lost their lives and equally property worth over billions of naira in the Atlantic Ocean as well as its connecting creeks and rivers. The causes of this boat mishap are addressed in this paper as the ordeals. One of the causes is the quality of the boats used for water transportation as most of these boats were made from wood. Wooden materials are not as solid as materials from metal. As the boat sailed on the sea, water could be trickling in which may lead to sinking of the boat. Also, a stump or any hard object in the creek or sea could break the boat easily since it was made up of wood⁴⁴. Another cause was related to the weather. During bad weather especially the rainy season with strong wind, boats on the Atlantic Ocean were affected. This wind produced wave which

in the local parlance was called *awawa*. The height of the wave could be 3metres and above. This wave would hit the boat and water would equally enter the boat. The strength of the wave could equally break open the boat and it would finally sink. This was very common in the 80s and 90s⁴⁵. The scene of some of the boat mishaps was at Bimbia at Nyango Namuna where it was unverifiably believed that the deity *Nyango namuna* was responsible. More so, conveying inflammable materials could lead to disaster. In the 1980s, along the Nigeria-Cameroon route on the Atlantic Ocean, some boats caught fire. During this period, it was profitable to transport Nigerian petrol to Cameroon and the Nigerian petrol popularly called *fe'derale* by Cameroonians was sold cheaper than the petrol produced by SONARA, the National Refining Co-operation in Cameroon. The boats that caught fire were conveying petrol and many of its occupants got burnt and some of those who jumped overboard got drowned.⁴⁶

Furthermore, most of these boats lacked life jackets. It was observed that in some of the boats only crew members made use of life buoys. It was only once this researcher was given a life buoy to put on while traveling from Mamfe to Agbokem in a speed boat. The bigger boats on the Atlantic Ocean did not make provision for this. Another danger on the high sea was piracy. Piracy is the crime of attacking ships at sea in order to steal from them. Boats coming from Nigeria to Cameroon did not only carry human beings as they also conveyed goods. Pirates did intercept these boats and rob the passengers. This issue of piracy was not all that common in the 80s and 90s.⁴⁷ Airborne and waterborne diseases could easily be contracted at sea from an infected person and drinking sea water respectively. In the 80s, a boat that left Oron in Nigeria by 7.00am on Monday would arrive Tiko in Cameroon at about 7am, the next day spending about 24 hours on the way. In one occasion during the 1980s, most of the passengers in a boat in Tiko that came from Nigeria were suffering from a disease. As they disembarked on the shore, they were rolling on the ground and vomiting. While observing the scene, we heard many people saying that these passengers were suffering from cholera while some others said dysentery.

Morbidity and Mortality Data on 69 Outbreaks of Foodborne and Waterborne Diseases associated with Ships 1970 -2000⁴⁸

Aetiology	Number of outbreaks	Number affected	Number hospitalised	Number died
Norwalk-like virus	23	6709	0	0
Escherichia coli spp	7	1753	1	0
Salmonella typhi	1	83	83	1
Salmonella spp	9	981	14	0
Shigella spp	4	1294	34	1
Vibro spp	7	2051	4	0
Staphylococcus aureus	1	215	0	0
Clostridium perfringens	1	18	0	0
Cyclospora spp	1	220	0	0
Giardia lamblia	1	200	0	0
Cryptosporidium spp	1	20	0	0
Trichinella spiralis	1	13	0	0
Unknown agent	11	2940	0	0
TOTAL	69	16461	136	2

Source: World Health Organisation “Sanitation on Ships: Compendium of Outbreaks of Foodborne and Waterborne Diseases and Legionnaire’s Disease associated with Ships, 1970 -2000” WHO_SDE_WSH_01.4_eng,15 (Accessed on 30th June 2021)

REMARK: This table does not include the boats plying the sea route discussed in this paper but just to prove that diseases could be contracted on board since the journey could last for at least a day

Poor visibility was also another threat, especially during the harmattan which made some crewmen to lose their track thus missing their way. This was because these boats lacked compass. Boats sailing from Nigeria across the Atlantic Ocean to Cameroon rather got to Gabon or Equatorial Guinea unknowingly.⁴⁹ This prolonged the stay of the passengers on the sea which could be two to three days thus leading to anxiety.

Conclusion

What we have tried to do here is to look at the migration of a group of Igbo people into Cameroon and the ordeals associated with the movement. These ordeals were hardly reported by the media and they continued up till today and they are still under reported unlike the consistent boat mishap on the Mediterranean Sea involving African migrants moving to Europe. This set of Igbo migrants were attracted to Kumba, Mamfe, Buea, Kumba and Tiko, all in West Cameroon. The Michael Todaro's economic theory of migration which acknowledges that individuals are encouraged to migrate as a result of the prospects of better opportunities is in tandem with the stand of this paper that profitable employment opportunities attracted Igbo migrants from Orlu area into West Cameroon. This paper highlighted the readiness of the Igbo of Orlu extraction to travel from their homeland no matter the challenges on their way. The reasons for this out-migration made the Orlu men and women to damn the consequences of those ordeals, even when many had lost their lives and property.

Here are some of the ways and measures to avert such ordeals on the sea route to West Cameroon. They are as follows:

- Boats made from metal and ships should be plying the high seas instead of boats made from wood. It will be difficult for a stump or object in the sea to break the boat. If it does, a good number of passengers will be rescued before it sinks.
- During stormy weather, boats should not sail on the high seas. Unfortunately, the greedy nature of boat owners will not stop them from sailing. Inflammable materials should not be part of goods being conveyed. If they are, then no one should smoke cigarettes.
- Life buoys should be provided by all boats for their passengers. Individual passengers can equally acquire their own life jackets.
- The authorities concerned should properly check boats that are sea worthy. Those whose boats are leaking and do not have life jackets should not be allowed to ply the high sea.
- 4. Night journey by seafarers should be discouraged. A dark night can result in boat collision or a boat hitting an object if the captain does not know the route so well.
- 5. Overloading of a boat should equally be discouraged. A boat should carry the required number of passengers depending on its capacity.
- 6. Rescue teams should be set up by government of Nigeria and Cameroon. Their call lines should be made available and accessible to sea passengers. The Nigerian government should make adequate use of its satellite ensuring that the seas are monitored and Save Our Soul messages sent to rescue teams
- 7. Boats should endeavour to make use of compass and other aid that determine direction and position of where they are.
- 8. The federal, state and local governments should help create conducive environment for the people to discourage unwarranted migration out of Igboland. Soft loans and basic infrastructural facilities should be made available for the people

Endnotes

1. Emrys Jones and John Eyles, *An Introduction to Social Geography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977) 184.
2. Abraham Nwafor (once lived in Cameroon), C60 years, Trader, Interviewed at Ekwe, Imo State, 12th June 2019.
3. A U Igwe and N Obiakor, "The Effects of 'Permanent Migration' on the Economy of Owerri Province Eastern Nigeria, 1950 to 1967" *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4(1), 2015, 180.

4. G. T. Basden, *Niger Ibos*, (London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1966), xi.
5. M. Todaro, "A Model of Labour Migration" in S. Amin (ed) *Modern Migrations in West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974) 90-91.
6. R. K. Udo, "The Migrant Tenant Farmers of Eastern Nigeria" *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 34, 1964, 226-238
7. S. O. Osoba, "The Phenomenon of Labour Migration in Era of British Colonial Rule: A Neglected Aspect of Nigerian Social History" *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1969, 515-530.
8. I. Nzimiro, "A Study of Mobility among the Ibos of Southern Nigeria", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1985, 118 - 128
9. M. Todaro, "A Model of Labour Migration" in S. Amin (ed), *Modern Migrations in West Africa...* 90-91
10. B. Freund, *Capital and Labour in Nigeria Tin Mines* (London: Longman, 1981).
11. Emrys Jones and John Eayles, *An Introduction to Social Geography...* 184
12. J Korieh, *The Way We Lived-Essays on Nigerian History, Gender and Society* (New Jersey: Goldline and Jacobs Publishing Incorporated, 2013), 269 -286.
13. A. U. Igwe, and N. Obiakor, "The Effects of 'Permanent Migration' on the Economy of Owerri Province Eastern Nigeria, 1950 to 1967"...180.
14. E. Ardener, S. Ardener, and W A Warmington, *Plantation and Village in the Cameroons* (London: 1960)
15. B. Funtah, "The Paradox of Cameroon Nigeria Interactions: Connecting between the edges of Opportunity/Benefits and Quandry", *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies* 6 (3), 2015, 30 – 48.
16. A. S. Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon* (Bamenda: Neba Publishers, 1987) 66.
17. "Push and Pull factors of migration," *European Journal of Geography*, 7(3), 2016, 42-57
18. "Push and Pull factors of migration"42-57.
19. A. B. Goni --Awa, *Citizenship Education: Issues, Trends and Practice* (Owerri: Shack Publishers, 2008) 51.
20. T. Eyongetah and R. Brain, *History of the Cameroons* (Essex: Longman Group Limited, 1982) 123
21. Mathias Azang Adig, "The Question of British Southern Cameroons Autonomy in the Evolution of Nigerian Federation, 1945-1961" *International Journal of Management and Social Sciences...* 213 to 222
22. Peter Nwabugo (once lived in Cameroon), C60 years, Gatekeeper, Interviewed at Orlu Imo State, 12th June, 2019.
23. Government of Nigeria "1991 Population Census" (Lagos: National Population Commission, 1991)
24. S. Diamond, *Nigeria: Model of a Colonial Failure* (New York: 1967) 44.
25. See George, *Journal*, 21 January 1886, CMS CA3/O.18/23; F. M. Dennis, *Journal*, 17th November 1908, C M S:UP 4/F2; T.J Dennis, *Journal*, March 1907, CMS:UP 89/F1
26. S O Ottenberg, "Ibo Receptivity to Change" in William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovitz (ed) *Continuity and Change in African Culture* (Chicago: 1959) 140.
27. Barry Floyd, *Eastern Nigeria: A Geographical Review* (London: Macmillan, 1969) 57.
28. N. Ojiakor, *Social and Political History of Nigeria, 1970 -2006* (Enugu: Evans Press, Nigeria, 2014) 11.
29. Okechukwu Okoro (still living in Cameroon), C50 years, Interviewed at Umuaka, Imo State, 12th June, 2019.
30. Paulina Onyejelem (still living in Cameroon), C50 years, Trader, Interviewed at Okwudor, Imo State, 13th June 2019.
31. Nwokeforo Felix (once lived in Cameroon), C70 years, Farmer, Interviewed at Okwudor, Imo State, 4th December 2017.
32. Patrick Nwaehujoh (still living in Cameroon), C70 years, Trader, Interviewed at Nkume, Imo State, 28th December, 2017.
33. Peter Ako, C50 years, Teacher, Interviewed at Tiko Cameroon, 18th December 2018.
34. The researcher witnessed this while travelling from Nigeria to Cameroon in 1990
35. "Eket" en.wikipedia.org/wiki/eket (Accessed on 10th March, 2018)

36. O Ikime (ed) *Ground Work of Nigerian History* (Ibadan:HEBN Publishers PLC,2012) 24
37. "Oron"en.wikipedia.org/wiki/oron(Accessed on 10th March,2018)
38. "Ikom"en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ikom (Accessed on 10th March, 2018)
39. "Agbokem"en.wikipedia.org/wiki/agbokem (Accessed on 10th March, 2018)
40. "The Top Ten Wettest Places on Earth"escape.com.au (Accessed on 10th July, 2018)
41. "Victoria"en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victoria (Accessed on 10th March, 2018)
42. The researcher lived in the area called Down Beach which is near the sea
43. ".Kumba"en.wikipedia.org/wiki/kumba (Accessed on 10th March, 2018)
44. Felix Nwokeforo, Interview
45. Friday Effiong,C30 years, Sailor, Interviewed at Calabar,6th December 2018
46. Cecilia Ukaegbu(once lived in Cameroon),C50 years, Housewife, Interviewed at Okwudor Imo State,4th March 2018
47. Dickson Mokoko, C30, Crewman, Interviewed at Victoria, 22nd December 2018.
48. World Health Organisation "Sanitation on Ships: Compendium of Outbreaks of Foodborne and Waterborne Diseases and Legionnaire's Disease associated with Ships, 1970 -2000" WHO_SDE_WSH_01.4_eng, 15 (Accessed on 30th June 2021).
49. Dickson Mokoko, Interview.