

Pamol Plantation PLC in the Employment Sector in Ndian Division, Cameroon: 1927 -2018

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Abstract: The agro-industrial sector is a vital component of the national economy of the country as it generates not only foreign exchange earnings, but also a source of employment for the citizens. This study provides an overview of the impact of PAMOL Plantation PLC on the employment sector in Ndian Division, Cameroon. PAMOL Plantation PLC, a major agro-industrial company specializing in palm oil production and processing, has played a significant role in job creation and economic development in Ndian. This study aims to examine the influence of PAMOL Plantation PLC on the local employment sector, considering factors such as job opportunities, economic growth, and community transformation. Through qualitative analysis, the study sheds light on the significance of PAMOL Plantation PLC's operations in shaping the employment landscape and provides insights into the challenges and opportunities associated with agro-industrial development in Ndian Division.

Keywords: Pamol plantation, Ndian, Labour, Employment, Agro-industries

1. INTRODUCTION

The employment sector plays a crucial role in the socio-economic development of regions and countries worldwide. In Cameroon, agro-industrial companies have emerged as key players in employment generation, particularly in rural areas. One such company is PAMOL Plantation PLC, which has had a significant presence in the Ndian Division of Cameroon for over nine decades. Palm oil production is a significant contributor to the economy of Cameroon, and Ndian Division is one of the major palm oil-producing regions of the country. PAMOL Plantation is the largest palm oil plantation company operating in Ndian Division, and it has been a significant employer and contributor to the local economy for several decades¹.

The palm oil industry, in particular, has been a prominent sector within the country's economy for many years. PAMOL Plantation PLC, established in 1927, entered the scene as a major agro-industrial player in the Ndian Division, which is located in the Southwest Region of Cameroon. The company's operations centered on large-scale palm oil production and processing, making it a significant contributor to the local employment sector.²The establishment of PAMOL Plantation PLC marked a turning point in the economic landscape of Ndian Division. Prior to its arrival, the region primarily relied on subsistence agriculture and small-scale farming activities. PAMOL's introduction of modern agricultural practices, improved infrastructure, and mechanization brought about a transformation in the employment opportunities available to the local population.³

Over the years, PAMOL Plantation PLC expanded its operations, acquiring land and establishing plantations throughout Ndian Division. This expansion translated into a substantial increase in

¹ Piet Konings, "Privatisation of Agro-Industrial Parastatals and Anglophone Opposition in Cameroon". *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol.34, No.3,(1996): 199-217.

²Raymond N. Nkongho, Thomas Ndjogui and partice Levang, "History of partnership between agro – industries and oil palm smallholders in Cameroon" *center for international forestry research CIFOR* published by EDP sciences (2005), 3.

³File No.14255Qb/a(1925) 5.The Economy of Southern Cameroon under United Kingdom Trusteeship Southern Cameroon 1959.

employment opportunities for both skilled and unskilled workers. The company created jobs in various sectors, including plantation cultivation, harvesting, processing, logistics, and administration, thus contributing significantly to the overall employment sector of the division.⁴

The company's presence stimulated economic activities in the surrounding communities, leading to the growth of ancillary activities and supporting services. Additionally, PAMOL's operations necessitated the development of infrastructure such as roads, housing, schools, and healthcare facilities, further enhancing the employment and living conditions in the area. While PAMOL Plantation PLC played a pivotal role in the employment sector of Ndian Division, its impact was not without challenges. Labor rights, fair wages, working conditions, and environmental sustainability emerged as key concerns within the context of the company's operations.⁵

2. THEORETICAL FRAME OF ANALYSIS

The theoretical framework for the study attempts to discuss the main schools of thought that will guide the analytical criteria of the study. The study identified a conflation of two schools of thought. They include the vent for surplus and modernization theories.

The Vent-for-Surplus Theory argue that when a country produces goods or services more than it can consume, trade is then used to vent off the surplus goods so as to bring production possibilities in the frontier back to its full state.⁶ The vent-for-surplus approach assumes that more raw materials will be produced from the available surplus of land and labour. That is to say, trade here induces a 'vent' or an outlet for the unused resources (labour and land). Vent for surplus theory could be applicable to our current research in that the availability of abundant fertile land in the study area motivated the establishment of plantations which leverage to the creation of employment opportunities for the local population of Ndian.

The Modernisation theory suggested that traditional societies will develop as they adopt more modern practices⁷. Proponents argue that modern societies were wealthier and more powerful and their indigenes enjoyed a higher standard of living. In relation to our present study, the modernisation theory is applicable to the progressive nature to which PAMOL plantation transformed the indigenous population to conform to the Western style development. It claims that plantations are economically efficient units of production that benefit from considerable economies of scale and technical progress, and should be seen as significant agents of development and capital accumulation.

3. EARLY BEGINNINGS OF PAMOL PLANTATION PLC

The early beginnings of PAMOL PLC can be traced back to the introduction of plantation agriculture by the Germans between 1884 and 1916. The German defeat at the end of the first world war in Cameroon ushered a nascent phase of agro plantation in the Ndian area where Unilever was able to acquire, established and develop former German plantations regrouping them into estates and placed them under Unilever holding⁸.

At the initial stage of the British takeover of German Cameroon they were never interested in the running of German plantations. The British argued that German rule had distorted the social and economic structure of the people of Ndian. The tendency of German rule to obliterate all traces of ancient tribal machinery by transplanting villages from their original site in order to establish plantations destroyed the social structure and land tenure system of the indigenous people⁹. In this context, the British Colonial government emphasized that plantation prospect was anathema to efficient administration. Besides, it was contended that a successful oil palm plantation would

⁴UNIDO. "Development Policy, Statistics and Research Branch: The Structure and Growth Pattern of Agro-Industry of African Countries". *Statistics Unit, Working Paper 9/2012*,5.

⁵Ibid,3.

⁶ Heinz D. Kurz, "Adam Smith on Foreign Trade: A Note on the 'Vent-for-Surplus' Argument" (*Economica*, 59, 475-81, University of Graz, Austria. 16 March 1992),78.

⁷ Mary Tiffen, and Michel Mortimorc. *Theory and Practice in Plantation Agriculture an Economic Review*. (Overseas Development Institute, 1990).18.

⁸NAB,File No. 15604 V.622 Qc/g(1929)1 oil palm industry Cameroon province 1929

⁹NAB, file No.793/22, Ja/a1922/1,Native Administration general comments on Mr Grier's report on the Eastern province

inevitably create a class of landless labourers who would be left unemployed if the plantation failed. They felt the granting of freehold land to European firms would result to endless legal and political problems for the colonial authorities.¹⁰

However, in the face of mounting competition and pressure from the joint West Africa Committees of the Liverpool, London and Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the Secretary of State for the colonies organised a committee in 1923 to study the palm sector of the Cameroon.¹¹ The committee supported the introduction of the plantation scheme and improvement of the palm groves. It also recommended the introduction of produce inspection to help regulate the quality of palm produce exported from Nigeria and the Cameroons. It was against this backdrop that the British granted concession only to the United Africa Company (UAC)¹² for its plantation at Ajagbodudu (Cowan Estate) in the Western Delta; Ikotombo in Calabar area of Southern Nigeria

With the granting of concessions to firms, Unilever Company a subsidiary of UAC extended her activities to British Southern Cameroon. During the 1927 London auction sale of the custodians of enemy property, German firms at the Rio Del Rey estuary, Ndian and Meme River owned by *Deutsche wesafrikanische Handelgesellschaft (DWH)* were displayed on the auction sale. Thus, Unilever purchased four estates in Cameroon owned by DWH and Woodin and Co. These estates included the Ndian, Ikassa, Bai and Bwinga¹³.

Hence, Unilever established an Annex Head Office in Ndian area around the confluence of River Ndian and Rio del Rey, inheriting buildings and factories *Deutsche wesafrikanische Handelgesellschaft* that had been abandoned with the demise of German rule in 1916. These four estates were grouped together and named PAMOL Plantation Cameroon¹⁴. It was in the foregoing context that PAMOL PLC was implanted in the study locale. This falls in line with the modernization theory which argues that plantations are economically efficient units of production that benefit from considerable economies of scale and technical progress, and should be seen as significant agents of development and capital accumulation. The argument also supports the Vent for surplus theory which argued that the availability of abundant fertile land in the study area motivated the establishment of plantations which leverage to the creation of employment opportunities for the local population of Ndian.¹⁵

4. PAMOL PLANTATION PLC IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR IN NDIAN DIVISION

The advent of colonialism in Africa and Cameroon in particular leveraged the introduction of mono cropping leading to the dominance of export cash crops. These crops were mainly exported to Europe where they served as raw materials for growing European industries. Agriculture constituted a backbone of the indigenous economy. The implantation of western companies and introduction of plantation agriculture meant growing number of indigenes were coerced to abandon the cultivation of food crops. It was within the foregoing backdrop that the indigenes were employed by the plantation companies. Plantations provided diverse job opportunities and income for rural populations. This is particularly true in areas which are heavily dependent on agriculture.¹⁶

¹⁰Akhaine, Sylvester Odion. *The State People and Oil Palm Production in Nigeria Understanding the Policy Nexus*. (Tronpenbos international,2017),3.

¹¹File No.16500 Qd/a (1924) a. Ndian factory, Renting of Messengers African and Eastern Trade Corporation Ltd Rio Del Rey 1924.

¹² The United Africa Company (UAC) was a British multinational company which principally traded in West Africa during the 20th century. The United Africa Company was formed in 1929 as a result of the merger of The Niger Company, which had been effectively owned by Lever Brothers since 1920, and the African & Eastern Trade Corporation.

¹³NAB 16582 C.22/1931 Qd/a(1931) 2Ikassa estate, Rex Versus Gessellschaft Sud Kamerun. Ikassa

¹⁴Piet, Konings.“Unilever, Contract Farmers and Co-operatives in Cameroon: Crisis and Response”. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.26 (1),1998:112-138.

¹⁵Heinz D. Kurz, “Adam Smith on Foreign Trade: A Note on the 'Vent-for-Surplus' Argument” (*Economica*, 59, 475-81, University of Graz, Austria. 16 March 1992),78.

¹⁶Samuel Nguiffo and Michelle SonkoueWatio *Agro – industrial investments in Cameroon, large – scale acquisition since 2005*. Centre pour (international Institute for environment and Development (IED) 2015 UK), 4.

5. RECRUITMENT OF WORKERS

The opening up of an industrial plantation presupposes an abundance of labour force. In order to develop 3,000 acres of palm plantation, the Company needed about 700 persons. As for the clearing period in areas where the vegetation cover was very dense, a reasonable number of workers were necessary to carry out felling.¹⁷ During the early years of PAMOL, there was a heavy reliance on labour from the eastern parts of Nigeria. It was thus relatively easy for PAMOL to find labour among the Ibos and the Ibibios while attracting at the same time a minimal flow of young adults of the isolated groups in the areas of the Rumpi Mountains (Ngolo, Batanga, Balue) and of the south of Manyu Division (Ejaghams, and Banyangs).¹⁸

The end of the Second World War changed the trajectory of Agro-Industrial plantations in British colonial territories. The loss of Malaya and other territories in Asia following the Second World War made the British to double their productivity in their African colonies. PAMOL Cameroon Limited had to triple her production in palm oil.¹⁹ The desire by the Trusteeship Council to encourage the preparation of colonies towards self-independence made Unilever to start involving the indigenous population in the managerial affairs of the company²⁰. The Department of Labour issued licenses to authorized recruiters empowering them to export labour from the Bamenda areas to the plantations. Safeguards were provided and regulations enacted by the Nigerian Government²¹.

In order to facilitate recruitment of Cameroonian workers from the North West Province, the PAMOL Company opened recruitment centres in Mankon (Bamenda), Douala, Kumba and Victoria. The purpose according R. J Reger, The managing director was to maintain adequate labour force and encourage labour stability in the company²². This recruitment process significantly improved on the proportion of Cameroonian workers within the PAMOL labour force. (see table 1) The policy of cameroonisation of PAMOL made a lot of waves and even appeared on the Daily Times of Nigeria and also broadcasted on the Nigerian Broadcasting Service concerning labour that had been *cameroonised* in the PAMOL Company.

Table1. Regional composition of the labour force in percentages (%)

Regions	Percentage of workers/Years							
	1920s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
North West	0.7	2.1	3.0	5.0	27.0	41.8	54.0	56.0
Southwest	4.3	7.9	11.0	53.0	47.0	44.4	40.5	39.0
Francophone	00	00	0.3	1.7	1.7	1.3	1.0	3.0
Eastern Nigeria	95	90	85.7	40.3	24.3	12.5	4.5	2.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: File No.14352 Qb/a(1966)1. *Economic and Social Report, Ndian West Cameroon 1966*

From Table 1, it can be observed that in the 1920s and 1930s, Eastern Nigerians accounted for 90% of the total PAMOL labour force but after reunification, the dominant position of Nigerian workers rapidly declined.

PAMOL offered direct jobs in the field as field workers (cutters, carriers, pruners, Harvesters), transportation (driving of trucks and launches), the oil mills, in the engineering branch, offices (clerical departments, accountings), hospitals, domestic staffs and school teachers. The Modernisation theory suggested that traditional societies will develop as they adopt more modern practices²³. These jobs included direct and indirect jobs. The total level of direct employment generated by PAMOL Plantation has recorded between 1928 and 2018 is seen on figure 1.

¹⁷File No. 14661 T/1184 Qb/d/(1961)3.Pamol Cameroon Ltd Correspondence.

¹⁸NAB,File No 16037 Qd/a(1918) Plantation recruitment of labour from Bamenda and other Grass field tribes complaints from labourers

¹⁹NAB File No.14255 Qb/a(1925) 5.The Economy of Southern Cameroon under United Kingdom Trusteeship Southern Cameroon 1959.

²⁰NAB,File No 16037 Qd/a(1918) Plantation recruitment of labour from Bamenda and other Grass field tribes complaints from labourers.

²¹ Ibid

²²Ibid

²³ Mary Tiffen, and Michel Mortimorc. *Theory and Practice*.18.

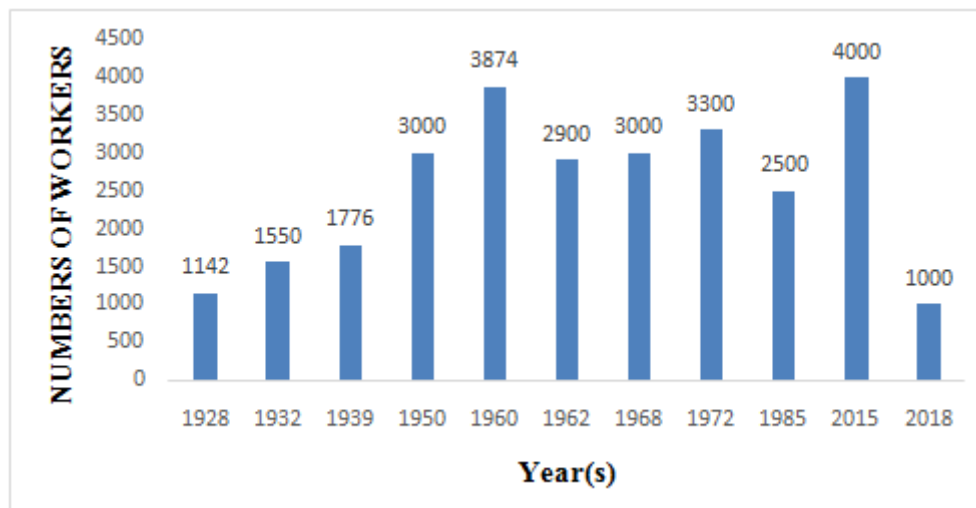


Figure1. Evolution Trends in number of PAMOL Plantation Workers 1928-2018

Source: Drawn on basis of data from PAMOL Database 1928-2020

Figure 1 reveals, no matter the period in history, PAMOL Plantation has never employed less than 1000 people in Ndian Division. At inception in 1928, it employed 1,142 (one thousand one hundred and forty one) African workers²⁴. By 1955, out of the ten numerically important ethnic groups –Igbo, Efik-Ibiobio, Aghem, Bayang, Bafut, Menemo, Bali, Kaka, Ngie Batibo and bikom which comprised 95 percent of the entire PAMOL labour force, Ndian accounted for only five percent of a total of 3,800 workers²⁵. These groups came from an area which depended on subsistence agriculture with comparatively little trading activity and thus, wanted to improve their lives by engaging in the money economic of the plantation system.

PAMOL has been able to regularly pay salaries and wages on time. From 1993 payment of salaries in Pamol was based on the salary scale governing the agricultural sector and relates trades from Category one to twelve. With the advent of the socio-political upheaval in the North West and South West Regions touched the division in 2018, it had well above 5,000 workers (3462 direct workers and 1500 indirect workers)²⁶. The recruitment of more workers over time was obviously linked to expansion of estates and introduction of new lines of activities. The number of employees rose steadily from 1928 to 1939 and sharply to the extent that by 1960 PAMOL workers had surpassed 3800²⁷. This falls in line with the Modernisation theory whose proponents argue that modern societies were wealthier and more powerful and their indigenes enjoyed a higher standard of living. This was leveraged by better working opportunities.

6. WELFARE OF WORKERS

Prior to independence PAMOL was the second highest employer after CDC and the lone employer in Kumba Division and later Ndian Division. In 1939, the workers were lodged in concrete houses and received in addition to their salary a ration of food. Each worker received a weekly food supply of 4.5 kg of yam, 1 kg of salt, 3 kg of rice and a kilo of fish. PAMOL plantation at that time was considered the most modern company in the southern part of Cameroon and the most advanced from the social point of view²⁸.

²⁴NAB, File No 16037 Qd/a(1918) 65 Plantation recruitment of labour from Bamenda and other Grass field tribes complaints from labourers

²⁵Ibid

²⁶ Interview with Agbor Toko Aged 52, Plantation Manager PAMOL PLC. 27th July 2023, Limbe..

²⁷NAB, File No 14834 Qb/d(1972) plantation Pamol du Cameroon LTD (Pamol 1972)

²⁸Courade, George. *Les Plantation d'unileve au Cameroun (Plantation Pamol du Cameroun Limited) ou la croissanced'unefirme multi nationale dans une region marginale, unilever industrial plantations in Cameroon or the growth of a multinational firm in a marginal Region.* ONAREST 1977, 12.

The Plantations' Recommendation, 1958 (No. 110) set out detailed guidelines for improving employment conditions of plantation workers²⁹. Plantation-specific labour issues were regularly discussed by the ILO's Committee on Work on Plantations, which was active between 1950 and 1993. Each plantation recruited a number of labourers for planting, weeding and harvesting of palm fruits. Apart from employing people from the villages where the plantations were, they also attracted migrant labourers from Manyu and Calabar area. The promotion of labour migration by the plantation scheme helped to promote all forms of social interaction.

PAMOL plantation was also very considerate about the PAMOL retired workers (pensioners). PAMOL designed a Social Security Scheme to cater for the retired workers. The then Managing Director of PAMOL, Broom, emphasised that for any business to expand and achieve its objectives, retirement of the "old" was absolutely necessary in order for the young ones still with physique to be absorbed to continue the hard work of the business³⁰. To boost the lives of PAMOL workers after retirement, the company organised what was known as "*the retirement seminar for old timers*". This seminar was one of its kinds in Cameroon. It was aimed at educating participants to plan for their retirement. Workers were given series of lectures in six key areas of life during and after plantation work.³¹ This initiative drew the attention of all pamol workers given that these seminars were organized annually to prepare workers for retirement.

The presentation of *long service awards* in recognition of fifteen years of loyal service with the PAMOL Company was also another crowd pulling events. The management of PAMOL believed in the appreciation and motivation of hard working and meritorious services. Such strategies increased the assiduity of the workers and in a long run boast the general output of the company. Wall clocks of high values were presented to the workers. This as a very rare commodity and was very expensive in the 1970s and 1980s³². Though it did not draw the much expected acclamation from all workers as some workers saw this as considering their number of years they have been employed by PAMOL.

PAMOL workers contributed to the growth and development of their communities as some of them built block houses, with corrugated iron sheets send their children to prestigious Colleges like SASSE, SAKER, St Augustine's colleges etc. Wages from the plantation increased their standard of living .mill workers at Lobe helped their personal friends who were not "wage" workers to raise monetary loans in times of need. Such loans were used by the borrowers to pay taxes and school fees for their children³³. This argument was leveraged by the The Modernisation paradigm suggested that societies develop as they adopt more modern practices.³⁴

7. CHALLENGES FACED BY PAMOL IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

In spite the strides that PAMOL achieved in the employment sector in the study locale, the company faced some challenges that impaired the company from realizing some of its objectives. In the first place, PAMOL witnessed a drop in the number of workers in 1962. This was linked to the 'Cameroonisation Policy' that was implemented by the management in 1959. It intensified following reunification of 1961 that saw the departure of many Nigerians who hitherto were employed in PAMOL plantations. Thereafter the number of recruited workers witnessed an arithmetic increase from 1972 due to the abrogation of the federal system and the adoption of the unitary system which fostered the migration of many French speaking Cameroonians to work in the PAMOL Plantations hence promoting national integration.³⁵

²⁹The Plantations' Recommendation, 1958 (No. 110)

³⁰Pamol, *Pamol News, The Employees Magazine of Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited Quarterly Magazine*, No.41, December 1984,7.

³¹The main discussions centered around securing a stable financial base and healthy living during retirement.

³²Pamol, *Pamol News, The Employees Magazine of Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited Quarterly Magazine*, No.41, December 1984,10.

³³ Pamol.*PamolNews:The Employees Magazine of Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited Quarterly Magazine*.No. 13, July 1971.4.

³⁴ Giovanni E. Reyes. "Four Main Theories of Development: Modernization, Dependency, Word-System, and Globalization".*Nómadas.RevistaCrítica de CienciasSociales y Jurídicas*. University of Pittsburgh , (2001),2.

³⁵For more on the abrogation of the federal system, see Victor J. Ngoh, *Abrogation of Federalism in Cameroon 1972: A Historical Analysis* (Limbe: Design House,2019).

Another challenge faced by PAMOL can be traced to the economic recession of 1980s and 1990s. The fall in the prices of primary products in the world market severely affected the economy leading to the introduction of austerity measures by the Bretton woods institution. Among such measures was the retrenchment of workers. This led to a deep in labour force as company found it difficult in hiring workers. However, as PAMOL survived the liquidation and privatization saga, its activities regained impetus to the extent that it had about 4,500 workers on its payroll by 2015³⁶.

Strikes, protests and petitions were the most recurrent forms of labour resistance registered by PAMOL Company. With the support of community organisations and social movements PAMOL workers have continued to oppose managerial efforts at subjugating their rights and have engaged in several, often hidden, forms of resistance against control and exploitation in the labour process. Labour movements on the plantations tended to be ‘reform labour movements’. They were inclined to refrain from mobilising their members for (radical) political action but instead championed the defense of their common occupational interests against their employers.

The position of PAMOL Plantation Trade Union Workers (PPTUW) was strengthened by the enactment of legislation declaring the plantation areas ‘Labour Health Areas’. A Labour Office was established in Buea in 1946 to ensure the strict observance of the provisions of this legislation, of the Labour Code Ordinance and of other International Legislation. These legislations called, among other things, for the provision of adequate housing, medical facilities, fair wages and other modern conditions of work. There were, however, other reasons for establishing a labour office³⁷.

On April 1965, a major strike action orchestrated by the PAMOL Cameroon workers union hit the company. The major cause of the strike was the increment of the number of bunches to be harvested without increment on the amount to be paid. The strike was carried out by the lobe harvesters and weeding workers. The harvesters had been used to a task of 3 people to harvest 105 bunches at 150FCFA a day per person. The work study man changed the task to be 229 bunches to be harvested by a single person at the same rate per pay. The work became very tedious. Hence, the workers wrote to management asking wage increase from 150 Frs. to 350 Frs. following the new scheme of work³⁸.

Another strike action was registered in 1987(liquidation period) were workers stayed away from work because of unpaid wages for three months. In the process, the striking workers mounted road blocks to the main entrance into the company. The company during negotiations with striking workers expressed financial difficulties resulting from the suspension of its activities in Ndian due to community uprising against its investments in the area. The workers addressed their complaint to the organ of mediation between the villagers and investors. But their complaint produced no fruit because the said chief was an influential board member who according to the villagers put the interest of the company above that of the village. Ricardo Carrere describes this as a clientelist and political patronage system where chiefs act in their self-interest and in support of the investors because of financial kickbacks.³⁹

8. CONCLUSION

The presence of PAMOL Plantation PLC in the employment sector of Ndian Division, Cameroon, from 1927 to 2018 has had a profound impact on the local economy and workforce. As a major agro-industrial company specializing in palm oil production and processing, PAMOL Plantation PLC played a significant role in job creation, economic development, and community transformation. The establishment of PAMOL Plantation PLC marked a significant shift in the employment landscape of Ndian Division. Prior to its arrival, the region relied predominantly on subsistence agriculture, but the introduction of modern agricultural practices and mechanization by PAMOL brought about a diversification of employment opportunities. This expansion of employment opportunities not only

³⁶*Business in Cameroon*, “Anglophone crisis: State Firm Pamol Shed 1,688 jobs in 2018-2020”(Yaounde 18th January 2022).

³⁷File No.1421719655/2/c.6 Qb/a Sec Re (1945) 1.Economic Development and Social Welfare. Advisory Committee on Cameroon’s Provincial Committee, Housing and Recreational Facilities

³⁸File No.14346 GSW52vol.1 Qb/d/(1974)1.PamolCorporationLtd Correspondences Concerning 1974 and 1992.

³⁹CarrereRicardo,“Oil Palm in Africa: Past, Present and Future Scenarios”. *World Rainforest Movement*, December(2010),5.

improved the livelihoods of local residents but also stimulated economic activities in the surrounding communities. Beyond job creation, PAMOL Plantation PLC's presence had additional socioeconomic implications. However, the influence of PAMOL Plantation PLC on the employment sector was not without challenges. Issues related to labor rights, fair wages, working conditions, and environmental sustainability emerged as important considerations.

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