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Understanding Theoretical Underpinning of Wildlife Resource Based Conflict in Oban Hills, Nigeria

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ABSTRACT Evidences have shown that rapid growth in human population exerts pressure on the natural resources base of communities. Further, the scarcity of resources in rural communities often engenders contestations and conflicts among different stakeholders. This study examined the nature, typology and dimensions of resources based conflicts in support zone communities in Oban Hills. The data was collected through a purposive sample of six support zone communities and protection staff of the Cross Rivers National Park using in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and questionnaires. The research revealed that the establishment of the Cross Rivers National Park in by Acts Nos. 36 and 46 of 1991 and 46 of 1999 respectively has negatively affected the livelihood capacity of the people by reducing the proportion of land available for farming, placed restrictions on wildlife hunting within the conserved area and harvesting of protected wildlife species in the buffer zone. The result is the emergence of various forms and dimension of conflicts and contestations over resource use and control leading to the destruction of property, injuries and death. This study recommended that members of support zone communities should be engaged at all levels of wildlife management such as planning, implementing and sharing of revenue derived from eco-tourism. Government should also provide alternative sources of livelihood for the people, especially the youth.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has been experiencing steady growth in population for many decades now. Currently, estimates indicated a population of 171 million people making her the most populous Black African country. With a growth rate of 3.2% clearly shows that if nothing is done, the population with double by 2035 (NDHS 2013). The total fertility rate is 5.5% and half of all women think that six or more children is ideal compared with 9 % who consider 3 or less children ideal (NDHS 2013). Forty- five percent of the Nigerian population is below 15 years of age.

Nigeria's growing population faces a harsh reality of limited natural resources often compounded by climate change. Some of the natural resources are often affected by increase in population include; land, fuel wood, water, bushmeat etc. In a survey of peri-urban Kano in northern Nigeria, respondents revealed that population pressure is forcing them to farm ever smaller plots of land more intensively and thus, making it infeasible to leave land to fallow (Obioha 2008). Over the past 30 years, this has resulted in a reduction in soil quality (Maconachie and Binns 2006). Increased land degradation implies that farmers have to engage in non-farm activities to survive, while concurrently raising the stake in and risk of conflict over remaining land. Yusuf and Yusuf (2008) argued that soil degradation due to nutrient mining, erosion and desertification is a major threat to food production in northern Nigeria.

The steady rise in human population in tropical rainforest the highest being in Africa (annual rate is 2.66%) is a key factor in the creation of a bush meat problem (Bennett 2002). Available household survey data for 2004 put the average crude birth rate for the Niger Delta region at 45.8 per 1,000 people. The corresponding average natural growth rate of 3.1 per cent per annum across the region is, thus, higher than the rate of 2.5 per cent often used by the Government for estimating the growth rate of rural population in the country. Evidences have shown that rapid growth in human population exerts pressure on the natural resource base of communities. Further, scarcity of resources in rural communities often engenders contestations and conflicts among different stakeholders.

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Bushmeat is potentially an issue in West and Central Africa, where the wild animals are exploited for food and as a mainstay of the local diet largely due to the lack of alternative sources of protein. Consumption of bushmeat is estimated to be greatest in Africa, including West and Central Africa, where the volume of annual bushmeat extraction in Central Africa alone is 1,000 – 3,400 (103 tonnes per year), according to Robinson and Redford (1991). With this estimate, the depletion of the wild life resources will be very rapid and unsustainable vis-à-vis the local population that depends on it, due to the low animal biomass production in tropical forests and increasing population and migration trends. For instance, in West and Central Africa, the average population density in forested areas is 99 people per square kilometer. Fa et al. (2002a) estimate that in the Congo Basin, the annual production rate of mammals would have to be equivalent to 93% of their body mass to meet current extraction rates of bushmeat. This unsustainable exploitation of wildlife resources in West and Central Africa has given rise to the bushmeat crisis and, thus, contestations and conflicts among different stakeholders including community members and staff of Cross Rivers National Park.

Wildlife resource is intertwining with the culture and social organization of many tropical forests communities (Ngoufo et al. 2014). Acquisition of animal parts as artifacts for personal adornment, cultural or hunting trophies is still a widespread practice throughout tropical forest regions and the rest of the world (CBD 2008; Ngoufo et al. 2014). In many cultures, to be a hunter is essential in gaining respect, achieving manhood or winning a bride. As a result, people hunt even when they have alternative sources of nutrition or income (Young 1970; Posewtz 1994; Benneth and Robinson 2000). Bradley (2002), therefore, argued that the links between hunting, wildlife, religion, mythology and sociology of forest dwelling people have to be considered in conjunction with sound conservation and management plans.

The existence of conflicts within protected area/ support zone communities can be attributed to the following; differing understanding of utilization concept of resources, land tenure systems and management problems, and administration / management of protected areas. Essentially, the objective of conservation schemes is to conserve natural resources for long-term benefits. This helps to maintain the biodiversity profile of an area. Further, inhabitants of protected/ support zone communities are concerned with the need to have a means of livelihood for survival. The different functional interpretations given to protected areas have generated the varying degree of conflicts experienced (Andrew-Essien et al. 2009).

Protected areas have various land use and management problems such as deforestation, wildlife poaching, illicit logging, uncontrolled bush fires, shifting cultivation and over-grazing. Land is a very important resource which is faced with population pressure, inequality and access to natural resources (Ntagazwa 1992). Land tenure is a social institution in Nigeria. The tenure streams have evolved through war and settlement but based on local administration of natural resources. Actually, enforcement of legislation in the areas constituting the national parks across the country is a federal government affair; while forest reserves and lands, thereof, are the responsibility of state governments. Forest lands outside the state forest reserves are owned and controlled by communities. Utilization activities in the community forest have been uncontrolled and uncoordinated. The devolution of control of forests outside reserves aimed to stem encroachment into forest reserves. Today, the deforestation occurs mostly in these community forests and unfortunately, forest departments have no authority over community forest apart from collecting tariff for wood extracted there from.

The Oban hills protected area was formerly a forest reserve under the control of the Cross River State Government. However, the Federal Government took over the ownership of the protected areas as part of Cross River National Park in 1990. By legal instrument, the protected area was officially promulgated in 1991 through Decree No. 46. The failure of several governments to fulfill their promise of providing alternative sources of livelihood to communities in Oban Hills, who essentially depend on forest resources for their survival, has become an engine room for conflicts in the area.

METHODOLOGY

Sampling Technique, Sampling Size and Data Analysis

The data for the present study was derived through a multistage sampling technique in selecting respondents who participated in the

study. Oban hills sector was purposively chosen for this study due to its vast wildlife forest resource base and prevalence of hunting in the area vis-a vis conservation efforts of the CRNP. Five villages (Aking, Efameyen, Ekang, Obung and Osomba) were chosen randomly, four from Oban east and one from Oban west. Within the selected villages, systematic random sampling was used to select every third house, alternatively from both sides of the road and two respondents were selected for the study.

A total of 45 oral interviews (Key Informant Interviews and In-depth Interviews) were conducted among the various sampling units within the communities in the study area. Two hundred eighty-eight people participated in the survey. Data collected instruments such as interview guides and questionnaires were pretested and modification made on the final copy. A comprehensive mapping and classification of various animals was carried out to generate a list of animals that are totem related vis-à-vis those that are not totem related. The primary data was collected through the use of participatory rural appraisal tools such as semi-structural interviews, seasonal calendar, activity profile and profitability margins, participant observations, focus group discussions, village meetings and in-depth interviews. Stakeholders who were considered to have direct influence on the management of the park were identified and various levels of interaction were carried out with them. They include: households, hunters, CRNP staff, Non Governmental Organizations; staff of Cross River Forestry Commission and Community leaders. In-depth interviews were held with community leaders, key members of staff of the National Park, State Forestry Commission and Non Governmental Organizations. The secondary data was collected from literature such as annual reports, government gazettes, policy documents and commissioned project reports.

Brief on Oban Hills area of Cross River State

The Cross River National Park located in Cross River State, Nigeria was created by Acts Nos. 36 and 46 of 1991 and 46 of 1999 respectively. Precisely, it is under the control of the Federal Government of Nigeria with a legal instrument promulgated through decree No. 46 of 1991. The park is made up of two sectors namely Oban and Okangwo. With a total area of 2500 square km of high tropic humid forest, it shares boarder with Korup National Park, Cameroon in the east. It is about 42 km from Calabar. The Oban sector of CRNP is in turn divided into two corridors: the Obong/Nsan corridor and Oban corridor.

The Oban Protected Area is located in Akamkpa and Etung Local Government Areas of Cross River State, with its headquarters at Akamkpa, about 42 km from Calabar, the capital of Cross River State, Nigeria. The only major road within the Protected Area is the Calabar – Ekang road, which runs North-Eastern direction along the Cameroun border, via Oban, the largest settlement in the support zone. The Protected Area could also be reached from the North through Ikom-Calabar highway. The Park is headed by a General Manager who reported to the Conservator General of the National Parks service. The General Administration of the Park is controlled from Head office located at Akamkpa with two divisional offices at Bubatona in Okwangwo and Aking in Oban Division.

The park, which is predominantly primary rain forest, is an area of high biological diversity and has been included in the data sheet Treatment in a recent WWF/IUCN publication on Centers of Plant Diversity and Endemism (CRNP OHP 1995-2000). The flora and fauna composition of the Oban hill sector has been described by Schmidt (1996). He identified 1,303 species of plants, 141 lichens, and 56 mosses. Seventy-seven of these are endemic to Nigeria. Fauna biodiversity included 134 mammals, 318 birds and 42 snake species, and over 1,266 butterflies. The vegetation of the Oban sector is predominantly tropical rainforest at various stages of degradation and recovery. There are patches of closed canopy, open canopy, secondary vegetation, farm fallows and oil palm plantations. The buffer zone is dotted with oil palm, cocoa, yam, cassava, banana, plantain, maize and cocoyam farms. There are numerous stone quarries around the support zone of the park. There were fifty (50) villages within the Oban Hills Protected Area and Support Zones, with a total of about 40,000 inhabitants. These villages are inhabited by people of different ethnic groups and languages. The predominant ethnic group is Ejagham with Ibibio migrants from Akwa Ibom state settling in some places.

RESULTS

The people of the Oban Hills strived hard to maintain the indigenous family system, where the number of members per family is relatively

large, with great possibility of having extended family members within the system. The survey revealed that the number of children per household range between 1 and 10, where most household size was between 7-10 children. Besides, the majority of the households also had between one and three other relatives staying with them. Though, the extended family practice largely depends on financial capability of individuals. For those who have enough money to rent or build their own house; it is not compulsory for them to stay in extended family compound. In spite of the sustained practice of indigenous family system and size preference, the marital status analysis indicated that 56.9% live in monogamous relationship, while polygynous unions account for 15.3%

Generally, the people of Oban Hills are predominantly farmers (59.7%), although, the inhabitants of the area are also engaged in trading (12.5%), hunting (7.6%) public service (6.9%), laborer (4.9%) etc. Among other things, bushmeat extraction or participation in the social and economic production of bushmeat has supplemented other occupations of people of Oban area, as only very few (8.33%) of the households participate in the trade on bush meat. General income level of most communities' members is very low. About half of the respondents (45.8%) earn between 1-10 thousand Naira per month, while very few people earned up to NGN 50, 000 in a month. The study revealed that the establishment of the Cross River National Park in 1991 has negatively affected the livelihood capacity of the people by reducing the proportion of land available for farming, placed restrictions on wildlife hunting within the conserved area and harvesting of protected wildlife species in the buffer zone. The result is the emergence of various forms and dimension of conflicts and contestations over resource use and control leading to the destruction of property, body injuries and death.

Bushmeat is the preferred source of protein while fish and beans constitute available protein substitutes. Respondents who participated in the survey reported that animals parts are also used for various initiation ceremonies and rites of passage (84.7%), during marriage ceremonies (89.6%), traditional naming ceremonies (84%), traditional Chieftaincy titles, burial ceremonies (86.8%) and household furniture (87.5), making musical drums and other instruments (94.4%), useful in form of clothing (70.1%).

Conflict is an important aspect of society in the Oban Hills sector. Common typology of conflict in the area studied include, conflict with Cameroonian (41%), intra-family (22.2%) and inter-community conflict (22.2%), inter-family (7.6%) and intra-community (4.9%). Majority of the respondents indicated that conflict usually arise from disputes over farmland (45.1%), hunting forest (29.2%) and violation of taboo (13.9%). It was also observed that among hunters, conflicts arise mainly over territory or area of forest to hunt in (50.7%) and marketing of bushmeat (9%). This can be attributed to the minimal forest reserve in the buffer zone and few markets where bushmeat is sold. The result is that hunters compete over space to hunt and who to sell their harvest to.

Conflict also occurs between hunters and sellers of bushmeat (trade in barter). Hunters usually collect some money from bushmeat sellers (restaurant owners) to enable them to buy enough bullets and food items for the hunting period. Conflict occurs when some hunters refuse to keep to the terms of the agreement by giving the bushmeat sellers the agreed part/ portions of the catch or selling the bushmeat to a different seller. There were also reported cases when a hunter collects money from more than two bushmeat sellers. The volume of harvest could also determine the quantity of bushmeat available for barter with sellers.

Another form of conflict common in the communities where the study was conducted is that between the youths and strangers (Ibibios). The youth claimed that the Ibibios use charms to lure wild animals out from their hiding places in the forests and harvest them without observing taboos and totem animals. The implication is that the Ibibio hunters generally harvest a greater number of wildlife from hunting than the indigenous youth. The youth in some of the communities also have conflict with rangers of the Cross Rivers National Park who according to them have rendered them jobless and useless. The dwindling returns from farming and lack of alternative sources of livelihood are driving hunters to poach in protected areas and animals. It was observed that hunters employ many strategies such as hiding their guns in the forest, engaging people to ferry harvested wildlife from the forests to the villages, transportation of bushmeat at odd times (late at night or during early hours) and the like, to evade arrests by rangers

of CRNP. Even when arrests are made, youths from these communities have been observed to mobilize and clash with protection staff with a view to releasing the arrested hunters.

In addition to the land and other forest product deprivation, the people are nursing some grievances against the CRNP (government) in the area of unemployment; they (natives) complained that their children were not gainfully employed even by the national park services, their children were not benefiting from scholarships, no alternative means of livelihood. Further, they alleged that the government of Cross Rivers state has been paid unspecified huge sum of money by European Union and other NGOs as "Carbon Credit", for preserving the forest. These are issues that have the potentials of causing conflicts in future, if not promptly addressed now.

Communities in Oban Hills have structures for resolving and managing conflict situations that occur. Conflicts among family members and community are usually settled by the individuals involved (1.4). Unresolved conflicts at the family level are brought to leaders of the community who either set up a court system (6.9%) or organize a community forum (91%) in order to settle the dispute. The individuals or families involved may be punished through fines or community service. Conflicts that community leaders are unable to address is then handed over to law enforce agencies like the police.

Discussion: Theoretical interlink of Wildlife Resource based conflicts in Oban Hills

Further, the theoretical framework showing the relationship between environmental factors and the emergence of conflict is presented. The perspective of neo-Malthusian scholars like Homer-Dixon and Ted Gur's work on social deprivation form the theoretical framework for understanding population dynamics and resource based conflicts in Oban Hills, Nigeria.

Homer-Dixon and other neo-Malthusian scholars rooted their perspective in the *"ecoviolenc"* maxim that *"shrinking resource pie"* is supposed to fuelling violent civil conflict by aggravating strained social relationships among different groups sharing common natural resources, as against others that believe in the proverbial *"honey pot"* thesis of conflict onset. The *ecoviolence* perspective explained that conflict is generated by the scarcity or fear of depletion of natural resources in at least two primary ways. The illustration suggested by Homer-Dixon implied that the total effect of human activity on the environment in a particular ecological zone is mainly a function of two variables: first, the product of total population in the region and *physical activity per capita* (which in turn, is a function of available physical resource, which included non-renewable resources such as animals, and renewable resources such as water, forests, and agricultural land and ideational factors, including institutions, social relations, preferences and beliefs), and second, the vulnerability of the ecosystem in that region to those particular activities.

However, in essence that human impact on the environment, including exploitation of the wild life resources may cause or escalate *"social effects"* that in turn could lead to conflict. For instance continuous overexploitation of wild life in a particular forest will lead to resource depletion and inability to sustain the dependent human population may produce large-scale migration in search of areas with more abundant resources, which could create ethnic conflicts as migratory groups clash with indigenous (settled) populations (Obioha 2008). Similarly, researchers must understand the effect of the ideational-factors in conflict generation. Ideational factors are broad and complex social and psychological context. It included the patterns of land distribution; family and community structure; the economic and legal incentives to consume and produce goods, including the system of property rights; perceptions of the probability of long-term societal stability; historically noted patterns of trade and interaction with societies; the distribution of coercive power within and among nations; the form and effectiveness of institutions of governance; and metaphysical beliefs about the relationship between humans and nature. This constitutes a threshold beyond or within which given societies could respond effectively to the inbuilt stress induced by climate/environmental change which differs among societies. Particularly, if we wish to understand a society's propensity towards conflict, given certain social effects due to the environmental stress, we need to understand the relationship, between the ideational factors and conflict. However, environmental stress and consequent conflict relation do not occur if en-

vironmental and resource scarcity threshold is not attained. The thresh-hold of environmental scarcity could be attained as a result of interaction amongst sources of scarcity in a particular environment as proposed by Homer-Dixon (1994). According to him, the three sources of environmental scarcity often interact; in two distinct patterns *"resource capture"* and *"ecological marginalization."*

In fact, the resource capture depicted a situation where a fall in the quantity and quality of renewable resources can combine with population growth to encourage powerful or advantaged groups within a society to shift resource distribution in their favor. This usually produces acute environmental scarcity for poorer and weaker groups whose claims to resources are opposed by more powerful groups. Besides, unequal resource access can combine with population growth to cause migration to regions that are ecologically fragile, such as steep upland scopes, areas at risk of desertification, and tropical rain forests. The high population densities in these areas, combined with a lack of knowledge and capital to protect local resources, to engender severe environmental damage and chronic poverty. The second process is usually called "ecological marginalization" (Homer-Dixon 1994).

Having illustrated the interaction between environmental exploitation and conflict, and subsequently, how the interaction of sources of environmental scarcity emerges, it is important to know that the end point of these processes as illustrated above is conflict. In this regard, three theoretical perspective of conflict frustration – aggression (Dollard et al. 1939; Berkowitz 1962; Gurr 1970), group identity (Sherif 1966; Tajfel 1981; Azar and Burton 1986; Horowitz 1985) and structural theories (Wendt 1987; Giddens 1984) explained the type of conflicts – at individual, group and systems levels – that could emerge as a result of conflict prone situations. The general patterns of conflict discernable could be reduced to *Simple-Scarcity conflicts, Group-Identity related conflicts, and Relative Deprivation induced conflicts.* Thus, the non-sustainable exploitation of the wild life resources is also a function of many social and cultural factors and issues that are subject to conflicts and disagreements.

Ted Gurr's work on social deprivation and is implication for social conflict is based on the premise that: Relative Deprivation (RD) entailed perceived discrepancy between value – expectations (VE), that is, resources to which one felt entitled and value capabilities (VC), that is, resources which one felt capable of acquiring and keeping. Gurr (1993), argued that, the greater the "average degree" of perceive discrepancy between VE and VC the greater the RD and the greater the scope and intensity of RD among members of social collectivity – group, ethnicity, communities etc. the greater the potential for collective violence and anarchy.

Essentially, the idea behind the theory is that the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration, and the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression. The basic assumption of the frustration aggression theory, therefore, is that all aggression has its root cause in the frustration of one or two actors' goals or achievements. In order words that aggression is a consequence of frustration. Thus, conflict can be traced to lack of fulfillment of personal or group objectives and the frustration – Aggression theory is very relevant to the understanding of social conflict in the contexts of resource alienation and deprivation, because it anchors on issues of inequality, marginalization or outright neglect. Surprisingly, as the researchers gathered, this land and resources was acquired with several lofty promises by government without compensation to the host communities, here lies the frustration and aggression that usually occurs between the staff of Cross Rivers National Park service that tries on one hand to prevent the villagers from encroaching into the "protective Area" and the natives, besides, who are bent on crossing into the "Core Area" to exploit bush meat and other numerous forest products.

In addition to the land and other forest product deprivation, the people are nursing some grievances against the Cross Rivers National Park (government) in the area of unemployment; they (natives) complained that their children were not gainfully employed even by the national park services, their children were not benefiting from scholarship, no alternative means of livelihood and further some of the respondent alleged that the government of Cross River was paid unspecified huge sum of money by European Union and some NGOs as "Carbon Credit", for preserving the forest. These are issues that have the potentials of causing conflicts in the nearest future, if not promptly addressed now.

It is here that Ted Gurr's explanation in terms of the conjunction of Shared grievances; with a strong sense of shared identity has its greatest force. For instance in various ways the now intentionally well – known Ogoni crisis and its domino effect in the imitative revolts among the Ijaws and the other ethnic groups in the Niger Delta express one point, the decision of the hitherto voiceless subordinate and under – privileged minority groups to take up arms and challenge state structures and institutions controlled by majority groups who have been unjust over time in the distribution of national resources. The shared grievances as expressed by almost all respondents in this study is that they gave out their lands and other forest resources and yet the state government still receives the revenue accruing form "Carbon credit" at the detriment of the poor landlords of Oban Hills National park.

The disaffected youths comprising unemployed graduates of different institutions and the ordinary villagers are at the vanguard of the present conflict in the area because the Nigerian state has failed to meet their needs. As the youths begin to share these feelings of deprivation, it wields them into solidarity group that is determined to alter their abject conditions of poverty and deprivation. These youths belong to the categories of persons that Fanon (1965) aptly labeled "The wretched of the earth". This shared grievance of injustice helps to heighten and cement group identities in the area. Consequently, the people have directed their frustration and anger against the staff of the Cross Rivers National Park and the Nigerian state whom they blame for their perceive deprivation.

Over the years, land tenure had been the decisive factor in resource management at the local level. Unfortunately, the impact of tenure on natural resources allocation and exploitation is often ignored in public land policy. Yet, land tenure issues contribute to deforestation, degradation of the environment, lowering of carrying capacities of soils, poaching and extinction of wild biotic resources. Land is useful for different purposes including agriculture, housing, industrial development etc. Hence, it became difficult to understand the rationale of the preservation of large areas of biological significance exclusively for wildlife conservation (Andrew-Essien 2009).

Conflicts can also arise from the administration and management of protected areas. Daniels (2002) analyses two approaches that are useful in understanding the administration of protected areas. They include; the Top-down and the mixed Top- down and Bottom-up management approaches. The Top-down approach involves a command structure in which the management of protected areas is strictly controlled by the park authorities while the local communities have no direct control or power in the administration and management of the park and its resources. Revenues from ecotourism are not allocated to the surrounding communities or utilized to enhance their standard of living. The result is the engagement of support zone communities in economic activities that are less sustainable than they previously engaged in.

The mixed top- bottom and bottom- up approach, on the other hand, attempted to partially involve local communities in the management and administration of protected areas. The resultant effects of such attempts has been the creation of various land uses of the zone, anthropogenic landscape features, culturally significant and sacred areas and natural resource distribution (Arambiza 1995; Leitao 1994 cited in Andrew- Essien et al. 2009). The aim is to enhance the community's abilities to support their livelihood within the confines of the park such as wildlife protection, agricultural fields and livestock management. Andrew- Essien et al. (2009) argued that involvement of the local authorities in the management of the park resulted in reduced incidence of conflicts.

CONCLUSION

Evidence presented above demonstrates the direct relationship between population growth and resource based conflicts in Oban Hills sector. Further, as population increases with the resources needed to sustain it remaining constant or in some instances diminishing, the incidence of conflicts and contestations over use and control of resources increases. This situation is compounded with the establishment of Cross Rivers National Park which has taken over a large proportion of the land and forests available to support zone communities in Oban Hills. The result is limited access to agricultural land, wildlife and other forests resources on which the people depend for their livelihood. Conflicts

in the area usually take the form of scramble for recourses (land, forests, violation of taboos by migrant people, hunting in the conserved area and protected animals etc.), which has led to the destruction of property, bodily harm to community members and protection staff, and death.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present research recommended that the current Land Use Act which attributes ownership of land to government should be reviewed. Local land tenure systems should also be included in the new land policy. The administration and management of National Parks and Protected Areas in Nigeria should involve active participation of community members/ institutions in all conservation efforts. This implied that they should be engaged at all levels such as planning, implementing, sharing of revenue derived from eco-tourism etc.

Governments should provide alternative sources of livelihood for the people, especially, the youth. This can take the form of training on animal husbandry, poultry, modern farming methods etc, provision of micro-credit and establishment of community based institutions to manage and monitoring the disbursement and payment of loans to ensure sustainability on a long term.

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