

CONFLICT RESOLUTION THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF
FORMAL AND INFORMAL INTEREST GROUPS FOR THE
IMPROVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION IN APATA

BY

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D E D I C A T I O N

THIS RESEARCH DISSERTATION IS
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ABSTRACT

A successful self-help programme in a community depends on the cooperation of its members. Cooperation is absent in a situation where there is conflict. This is shown in a community where there are no records of collaborative action and little sign of community organization. The interaction of African townsmen in transitional communities has been little studied. This study examines the background and interaction processes in Apata Ganao, a transitional community in South-West Ward 9 of Ibadan Municipality.

As a transitional community, the tradition is fast giving way to new modes of life. Therefore it is faced with some conflicts arising from leadership and power tussle, intra and inter groups rivalry. These cause setbacks to effective members participation and involvement in self-help projects which are of public health significance.

The unique nature of the study called for a sampling frame which was constructed by classifying the various community units of identity into three groups viz:

The traditional leaders

Landlords Associations and

Ethnic groups' representatives.

On the whole, the population involved in the study was 92. Only adults male and female who have lived in the area for five or more years were involved.

The instruments used consisted of observation schedule and interview guide. With the observation schedule the social activities carried on in the community and general environmental problems related to refuse disposal were assessed.

The interview guides which were prepared in the form of questionnaires included both closed and open ended questions. These were used to obtain in-depth information about the problem - ~~conflict~~. The results were analysed using percentages.

The respondents were predominantly Yorubas. Although the people engaged in diversified occupations yet, a large number of the people do trading. Discrepancies exist in the social, economic and educational status of the chiefs, the landlords and ethnic groups representatives. The influence, respect or authority which the individual commands in the community is dependent to a large extent on the social, economic and educational status of such individual.

On the identification of the sources and types of conflicts which contribute to the poor standard of environmental sanitation in the area the row over the title of Bale and its aftermath was conspicuous. In addition, refusal of landowners to give out land for location of refuse dumps and Ibadan Municipal Government's unwillingness to make its acquired AFRICA DIGITAL HEALTH REPOSITORY PROJECT ~~an organized dump~~

which it used to be were also contributive. These resulted in indiscriminate dumping of refuse and location of unauthorized dumps on people's premises.

Based on these findings, a health education strategy-locality development was evolved to deal with the situation. This led to the formation of a Welfare Council in the community. The Council decided to employ a private contractor to collect and dispose of the refuse in Apata Community weekly. The only authorized refuse depot and several other unauthorized dumps were abrogated. So the indiscriminate dumping of refuse near peoples' houses were checked.

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The task of carrying out a successful study is not an easy one. It requires painstaking efforts on the part of the investigator and assistance through guidance from others.

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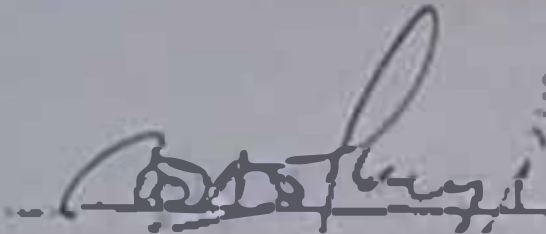
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CERTIFICATION

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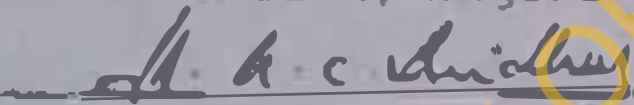
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INTRODUCTION

One major objective of the primary health care approach is to help individuals and communities become self-reliant in dealing with health problems and to increase the effectiveness of the citizen's contribution to health. This objective calls for a people-oriented health technology that meets the peoples needs and aspirations (WHO., 1983)

But the intensive growth of urban populations with the spread of towns and their functional development create complicated problems such as refuse disposal which is affected to a considerable degree by the mechanics of the interacting processes that occur in towns. The nature of the social life of the town including the state of development of the social resources, the contacts and communication between its inhabitants, the type of structure of its various neighbourhood units and groups determine the effectiveness of the community action.

Where there is aberration of normal cooperation in the human relations, conflict will result, In a situation where there is conflict the people cannot get themselves organized to work together.

The situation in Apata which is a transitional community in Ibadan Municipality is an example. It has grown to be an urban traditional area with some urban renewal as a result of individual and government efforts.

The incursion of people from different ethnic groups into an area which used to be village farms caused cultural and social orders in the community to become modified. For example, traditionally, the social structure is hierarchical and the Gato and his Chiefs are seen to be embodiment of authority before, but cultural diffusion has modified the original framework and youths can now defy the order of a chief with impunity.

The socio-economic and political life of the people have changed markedly from the purely peasant community to that of tradesmen, civil servants, and elites. New alignments of associations and powers are formed which lead to cooperation and to the creation of new patterns of social interactions between members of different groups. New cleavages which cut across ethnic groups have resulted in the formation of associations such as Landlords Association, Each of these groups has leaders to whom its is responsible. These leaders have constituted themselves into a formidable force which influences the course and development of the people's community. The new leaders or influential /now have over-riding authority over their followers than the traditional native head and so it becomes difficult to embark on self-help projects except those in which they have given their consent. At times, this is a source of conflict.

As population increased so also is the refuse generation and where to dump the refuse posed difficulties and at times caused conflicts. Although there has not been reports of outbreak of serious diseases, uncontrolled waste disposal particularly refuse, is closely linked to filth and breeding places for flies and other disease vectors. The refuse situation in Apata in particular is becoming a serious nuisance. Therefore, there is the urgent need to control the indiscriminate dumping of refuse in order to maintain a clean and healthy environment. But modified social order which has tampered with the authorities of Balc and his Chiefs has made them powerless in mobilizing the community to embark on effective refuse disposal. The resultant effect is poor personal hygiene and poor environmental sanitation all over.

In the course of the investigator's field work in Apata in 1984 - 1985, it was observed that there were several interest groups and four organized Landlords Associations representing the quarters. Within this period, these various interest groups refused to come together to discuss, plan and execute a common communal programme. Rather each quarter embarked on programmes in their respective quarters without receiving assistance or consent from the others.

The investigator and his colleagues made desperate efforts to bring the community together but without success.

Meetings were called which were never attended. There were individual home visits to persuade the people yet, there was no success. One group accused the other of one wrong doing or the other.

Apata has unique characteristics. It has evolved from a homogenous traditional Yoruba community to heterogenous mixed ethnic group. These inhabitants have different occupational and cultural backgrounds.

As an urban population, it has grown at such a rate that the facilities for ensuring a filth-free environment can not keep pace with the generation of filth. There is indiscriminate dumping of refuse all over the place and especially around the market area. Unfortunately, this area also serves as a source of water to some members of the community. They use the water for domestic purposes. Open drains abound and only about 5% of the entire population have water closets which are left in disused condition for sometime because of irregular water flow.

Several factors may have influenced the refuse situation in the area. These factors may be cultural, social and not necessarily technological. Preliminary investigation of the refuse generated shows that domestic refuse is dominant, closely followed by commercial and industrial.

The domestic refuse consists primarily of putrescible waste such as leaves, cassava peelings, waste baskets and rubbish such as cartons and metal cans.

Only one authorized refuse depot existed in the area and ^{is} ~~this~~ situated almost at the out-skirts. The community is therefore left with the option of indiscriminate dumping around inhabited houses. Flies and mosquitoes breed on the filth and may spread enteric diseases and malaria in the area. These could be attributed to the dirty and unhygienic health practices of the people. Despite the current "war against refuse" by the Government, there is no obvious manifestation of improvement. The only refuse depot remains a nauseating sight to passers-by. It looks, as Oluwande (1979) puts it, that the problem of sanitary disposal of refuse in Nigeria especially in the urban centres is so formidable that it appears to defy all the financial, administrative and technical resources of the various authorities concerned, holds true for Apata. It is the investigators view that a resort to consumers involvement through planning and implementation may be a way out.

Since environmental sanitation is the concern of the entire community, ^{any} obstacles that will prevent or inhibit consumer participation should be removed. Only by resolving the differences that is present in Apata can the community as a whole be fully committed to fostering improved environmental cleanliness. In other words, if the refuse in the community must be disposed of sanitarily,

- there should be (a) Sanitary storage in generating premises
(b) Effective collection and transportation
and
(c) Sanitary disposal methods.

These activities require the cooperation of different people. Therefore the differences in the community must first be resolved to enable it take a collaborative decision. For sanitary storage of refuse, emphasis has to be placed on use of standard refuse bins with covers, durable, light and resistant to corrosion. Collection and transportation is the most difficult part of refuse disposal. Even in the developed countries where house to house collection is practised, more than 70% of the budget is often spent on collection and transportation (Clark 1973, Malina and Morgan 1972). In Nigeria refuse collection is so poorly organised and executed that less than 25% of the refuse produced is actually collected. The remaining 75% is allowed to cause nuisance and pollution of the urban environment. A concerted community effort is therefore required to ensure adequate local disposal method to supplement government efforts. This will result from an understanding by all and sundry that refuse problem is not only governments' problem but the concern of everybody.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY:

Human organizational system and its impact on environmental sanitation has been given little or no thought in the pursuance of a clean environment. Thus in the past years most of the efforts directed at improving the sanitary condition have emphasized technology and finance and neglected the role of human system and structure of the consumers. For this reason Nigerians have been under the illusion that environmental problem is government's problem. Whereas one major objective of the primary health care approach is to help individuals and communities to be self-reliant in dealing with health problems, and to increase the effectiveness of the citizen's contributions to health.

This objective calls for a people oriented technology that meet people's needs and aspirations.

This study is an outgrowth of the investigator's experience during his field work practice at Apata in 1984 - 1985. Whilst there, it was observed that the community finds it difficult to come together to embark on a common self-help project or solve a common health problem because of conflict. The investigator therefore chose the community as a case study of a community that could mobilize its resources through effective organization.

This study examines the background and interaction processes in Apata Ganga a transitional community in southwest Ward 9 of Ibadan municipality.

As a transitional community, it is faced with many conflicts arising from leadership and power tussle, inter and intra groups rivalry. These cause setbacks to effective citizen participation and involvement in self-help projects which are of public health significance.

It focuses on the identification of the sources and types of conflicts which contribute to the poor standard of environmental sanitation in the area. The analysis of the conflicts was used as a basis for the selection of a Health Education strategy-community development. It is hoped that this strategy will lead to the formation of a Community Welfare Council that will work towards the improvement of the standard of environmental sanitation in Apata.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Definition of conflict

Glass (1955) defined conflict as the consistent, cumulative divergence, or incompatibility of interests or functions within an interdependent system, so disruptive to the system that one of the contending forces has to give way or the whole system has to be changed. Conflict so defined must become conscious and deliberate at some stages. When so defined it is distinguished from pseudo - conflict - from the kind of competition with or between political and commercial groups which is to the mutual advantage of the competitors; or from tensions which are created to divert attention from genuine stresses in the social or political system, as in the case of racialist or fascist agitation. But of course, pseudo - conflicts can lead to genuine conflicts.

A current and more concise definition of conflict was given by Mayo (1974). He defined conflict situation as sectarian, religious or ethnic analysed as a negative and reactionary form of social cleavage. Economic, political or social structure is defined in terms of fundamental conflicts of interests and as conflicts between social strata

or classes. These conflicts are inherent in the structure of each specific situation. They set limits to what is realistically been achieved by community, group or individual in the process of maintaining efficient community organization.

In the past, signs of discrepancy, inequality and competition in towns have been interpreted, implicitly or explicitly as symptoms of conflict. They have all been believed to have or indeed did have, cumulative, consistent properties. They were thought to interact, and to reinforce one another.

Patterns of rivalry and competition also become less coherent. With greater horizontal mobility, and with an increasing proliferation of formal organizations, individuals and groups acquire contradictory interests. Though interest or pressure groups may appear to compete fiercely with one another, they may in fact have strong common interests; and it is by no means always clear whether the unifying or the divisive tendencies will predominate.

The weakening of 'traditional' institutions such as the family, kinship, and religion may be a symptom of adaptation, rather than of conflict.

No doubt urban conflicts have become less predictable. As societies have become more complex, the conflicts

themselves have become more conflicting. They are exposed to divergent influences, operating in divergent directions and subjected to divergent interpretations.

Conflict Theories

Conflicts between groups have been looked at from realistic and psychological dimensions. The realistic group conflict dimension assumes that group conflicts are rational in the sense that groups do have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources. Such realistic sources of group conflict are contrasted with the psychological assumption that consider inter-group conflicts as displacement or projective expressions of problems that are essentially intragroup or individual in origin (Goulding 1962).

When conflict is relatively rare in a society two conditions are operative, first conceptually and symbolically there appears a stabilized attribution of power and hence dominance to individual members placed in particular social positions in the society which is not challenged by those in subordinate position. Secondly, the system is not maintained by coercion, but by the mutual internalization of constraints on each status level, as defined in accord with expected reciprocal groups, as well as individual, role behaviour among the members of the society.

A distinct attribute of all human societies is some perception that power is possessed by and dominance awarded to individuals who demonstrate some powers in contact with what is termed the sacred or the supernatural (Parkehnim 1947). There are those who are seen to have a gift of religions or supernatural power which enable them, on behalf of the community to deal with unknown forces in nature.

In order to understand those occasions where overt conflict arises in human society one therefore has not only to examine problems relevant to adequate analysis of the social structure, but to ask how much problems occur on the psychological level in disrupted patterns of constraint or acceptance of moral authority that result in the appearance of overt conflict between individuals or group.

Rapoport (1974) postulated two categories of theories to substantiate the conviction that man does what he does because he is what he is. These are environmental theories of aggression which are psychological and systemic theories.

In the psychological theories of conflict, both the instinctual and environmental, the individual is at the centre of attention. It is he who engages in conflict either because he is driven by basic urges or because his psyche has been molded by the environment. Group conflicts are tacitly assumed to be summation of conflicts between

individuals.

Freud's belief in the deep-seated destructive urges of man served to reveal the wellspring of power appetite and the crippling effects of imposed authority. A frequently cited theory of human interpersonal conflict links aggression to frustration. The fundamental assumption of this theory was stated categorically by Dollard et al (1939) when they said that aggression is always a consequence of frustration.

People in different cultural environments behave toward each other in different ways. In some societies there is a great deal of interpersonal, overt violence; in others overt violence is practically unknown. A commonsense view would ascribe more aggression to the people in the former society and less to those in the latter (Rapoport, 1974).

Systemic theories eschew the psychological aspect except in an auxiliary capacity. They assume that a system interacts with its environment by virtue of its structure and of relations between that structure and that of the environment (Rapoport 1974). Hobbes is one of the exponents of systemic theories.

In Hobbes's view frustration of desires can be due only to the interference of other bodies (their presence in the way of one's motion). Therefore, every other body is seen to be a source of frustration. Man in state of nature' is in conflict with every other member of his kind simply because he keeps bumping into them and they impede his action. A collection of individuals is seen as a jostling crowd. Left to themselves, men would always be fighting (to remove obstacles) and would eventually exterminate one another. Lack of social distance sometimes stimulates strife, a fact which has been pointed out among others by Simmel and Coser (1956). It has been proved beyond all doubt, for instance, that the closer the departmental interconnection, the more likely they are to provoke conflict (March and Simon 1958). It is also true that heterogeneity within organization leads to more frequent conflict thus increasing the vulnerability of the system as a whole.

To Hobbes, the state was a design by men to protect him against the danger of extermination in the 'war of everyone against everyone'. To Hegel (1929) the state was a culmination of a final synthesis, the product of a dialectical process embodied in the 'laws of thought'. Clausewitz (1968) simply took the state for granted as the acting unit in a war of all against all.

'War', wrote Clausewitz is an act of evidence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will.

The key words in this definition are 'our' and 'will'. Here 'will' is not a concept derived from mechanic. In Clausewitz's conception, states are not material bodies that come in conflict by bumping into each other, as human individuals appear in Hobbes' conception. 'Will' in Clausewitz's conception is awareness of long-term goals as well as of immediate needs. The frustration of immediate needs or desires need not automatically result in conflict.

Marx (1913) saw the dialectic process as interaction of men with his material environment and of groups of men (classes) whose interests are opposed to each other. Organizations are in fact full of antagonisms and tensions and are deeply disturbed from time to time by more or less explosive conflicts (Van Doorn, 1962). Marx postulated the theory of the class struggle as the driving force of history. With the growth of technology, human society becomes increasingly complex. Division of labour eventually leads to stratification of human societies into classes. The way these classes relate to each other in the process of production (systematic production being also a characteristically human way of life) determines their relationship

toward each other. And so it comes to pass that exploiting and exploited classes become distinguished. Marx pointed out that a particular juxtaposition of exploiting and exploited class dominated the structure of social organization.

Marxist theory pictures ideologies as manifestation of conflicting class interests of which men are unaware. Argyris, (1957) pointed out that the position of a ruling class can only be understood when viewed as the result of struggle between two or more classes with conflicting aims. Richardson (1960) examines what he calls deadly quarrels i.e. encounters in which people kill each other. They result from conflicts between nations.

The systemic theories of human conflicts shift attention away from the individual, his motives and reactions, to systems, particularly those systems of which individuals are components such as nations states in Clausewitz's model or classes in Marx's or both as in Lenin's (1933) model of imperialism.

In summary, systemic theories of conflict cover an increased range of conceptions and attitudes from the mystical idealism of Hegel to the austere materialism of Marx, and from the pacifism of Richardson to the audacious enthusiasm of Kahn (1960).

All of them, however, point to the same conclusion, the psychology of the system may be entirely independent of the psychology of its human components.

Classification of conflicts

Human conflicts can be classified in several ways according to the issues, if any; according to the means employed, etc. Participants may be individuals, small groups (families, organizations, gangs), large groups (ethnic, racial, political), nations or blocs (NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Pact). The issues may be rights or privileges, control over resources, political power, or, in extreme cases the very existence of the participants as systems. The means may range from persuasive argument to physical annihilation.

One can well examine conflicts as did Marx (1913) in their historical context and with regard to their genesis and their impact on the course of history. Rapoport, (1974) looked at the nature of the systems in conflict, determined the interactions between them and hence the nature of the conflict and its psychological, sociological and historical impact.

The classification could be guided also by relating a type of conflict to the way it is resolved.

Rapoport's (1974) model of classification is discussed hereunder.

(a) Endogenous and Exogenous conflicts: endogenous conflicts - These are conflicts wherein the conflicting systems are part of a larger system that has its own mechanism for maintaining a steady state, which may include mechanism for controlling or resolving conflict, both in the subsystem. Thus, when two citizens of a state engage in conflict, the state (the larger system) usually has at its disposal ways of preventing the conflict from exceeding certain bounds (such as resort to violence) and in addition, institutions for resolving the conflicts (Courts etc.).

On the other hand, when two states are in conflict, there may be no super system to exercise control or resolve conflict. In that case we speak of an exogenous conflict.

(b) Symmetric and Asymmetric conflicts: In symmetric conflict, the participants are roughly similar systems and perceive themselves as such. Thus, two individuals, in a fight, say, man and wife, or two comparable nations at war, are typical examples.

In asymmetric conflict, the systems may be widely disparate or may perceive each other in different ways.

A revolt or a revolution is an example of an asymmetric conflict. Asymmetric conflict may be either endogenous or exogenous. Political opposition to a regime is an example to the former type, colonial conquest of 'backward' people is of the latter.

(c) Issue-oriented and structure oriented conflict.

Issue-oriented conflict is resolved when the issue is settled. The resolution does not involve a change in the structures of either of the conflicting systems or in the super-systems of which they are components. A structure-oriented conflict is not resolved unless the structure of either system or of super-system changes (the European wars of the eighteenth century were typical examples of issue-oriented conflicts. They were also symmetric. However, an asymmetric conflict may also be issue-oriented e.g. a civil suit involving a citizen and a State or a strike where the labour union and the management are widely disparate systems. A revolution is always a structure-oriented conflict. If it is crushed (in which case it is usually called a rebellion), the revolutionary organization (a system) is usually destroyed.

(d) Competition: The actors are typically several small systems, each in conflict with every other. Economic competition and struggle for power among individuals in organizations are typical examples. These conflicts are also symmetric but are distinguished by many participants, each pursuing his own interest.

Competition, usually takes the form of legitimized conflict, regulated by rules. The actions of the participants may not be directed against each other in the sense of attempting to prevent others from achieving their aims. Competition requires no issues. Moreover, competition is not usually resolved by a settlement.

Sources of Conflicts

To understand the sources of conflict within a community, one must examine both psychologically and sociologically how human beings continue to cope with the potential instabilities or social stratification, either by internal psychological resolutions related to group identity or by social movements resolving overt conflict situations between groups (De Reuek and Knight 1966).

A number of factors create conflict situation. Some of them are discussed below:

Conflict of Interest

Interest is a major force which propels action. Although some external forces may generate interest as when a referenc

group encourages or discourages immunization (Ademuwagun, 1972), yet a strongly based self interest may defy the reference group if its advice is considered inimical.

However, for fear of becoming an outcast from respected reference groups, the individual may sacrifice his own goal and interest to comply or identify with his group's norms and perception (Kelman, 1961). Although people may express their differences freely, they often choose to refrain in order to further the interest of the whole group to uphold the idea of community. In doing so they allow altruism to over-ride selfishness (Blodde and Biddle, 1965).

In reality, a community is made up of multitude of conflicting public or interest groups which endlessly contend with one another in the public arena. So in effect, the public interest exists only as a particular transitory compromise resulting from the conflictual resolution of groups interaction. Smith and Anderson (1972), admitted that the conflict model of community action is subscribed to by those who believe that the interest of the poor can only be safeguarded by confronting the power structure in direct action while the consensus model of community action assumes that the best interests of the poor are served by

expanding access to the power structure rather than confronting it.

Emotional Conflicts

Emotion may include attitude, belief or feeling.

Opposing emotional attitudes towards the same object which exist in a person influence to an extent the decisions such a person makes. For instance, at one time, a person may want to be immunized against an infectious disease and yet fail to be immunized. Such a case involves complex causes and a particular conflict of values in decision-making. Knutson (1965) observed that such a person may suffer undue tension from a feeling of conflict between strong desires.

The attitude which the individual or group bring to any situation determines very largely the nature of their actions or behaviour such as acceptance or rejection in health matters. Healthwise, the reaction of people to a particular health programme depends on their own personal beliefs. Hochbaum (1958) in an attempt to identify the factors which determine whether and when people will participate voluntarily in case-finding programmes discovered for example that the readiness of an individual to accept X-rays depended on

1. a belief that he could contact tuberculosis.
2. a belief that he could have tuberculosis without its symptoms.

3. a belief that he could benefit from early detection of the disease.

Until these conflicts are resolved within the individual, he would not want to participate in the programmes.

Cultural Conflicts

Culture refers to the common way of life shared by members of any given group of people. Culture perceives each other differently. Any programme directed to change its aspects affects it as an integrated entity.

Needs as well as values are meaningful when they are considered within a cultural setting. Paul (1952) observed that cultural differences spring from the differences of historical influences, local resources, contact with other groups, accident etc. not from the inheritedly different capacities of separate races or strain of mankind. Read (1972) pointed out that individual or group orientation which goes against the stream of acculturation may generate conflict.

Beane (1961) said that the norms and standards by which a person thinks, perceives and judges are learned by the processes by which he is enculturated. Individuals or group have different norms which may conflict.

Socio-Economic and Power Conflict

Griffiths, (1970) explained that conflict is the key factor in social, economic and political structure. The distribution of resources in property, wealth and special skills determine the structure of society which in turn is both reflected and reinforced by the distribution of status and political power (Simmie, 1974). Conflict over these desirable resources and attribute is therefore a product of the relationships between the structure of community, its underlying distribution of resources and the different interests of groups found in the different parts of the social structure. They exist in a continuous state of dynamic tension in which different groups, seeking to further their interests are constantly competing either overtly or covertly.

Pohl, (1974) remarked that the situation in a community is the result of conflicts in the past and present between those with different degrees of power in it. The chiefs, landlords and tenants possess different degrees of powers and so they dictate the pattern of interaction in the community. The relationships in their interaction processes influence the degree of participation and involvement in community

programmes. Unless there is rapport in the interaction of these groups self-help programmes are impeded.

Conflict and Leadership

When systems of public and civic order are stable their processes of decision effectively resolves conflicts within a frame of authority that is left intact. In any specific context a system grows unstable when control becomes divorced from authority and lawful power is separated into pretended and naked power (Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950; Catlin, 1962). Instability continues until the former synthesis is restored or a new one is brought to expression.

The Leader-follower Relationship: The fundamental characteristic of the leader-follower relation appears to be giving and receiving of orientation. In any collective context leadership is an aggregate activity, since the giving and receiving of orientation is an inseparable part of collective action. Any completed act of individual can be described as a sequence of events that passes through three phases - impulse, subjectivity and expression. Acts may facilitate one another, or they may conflict. Acts are conflicting when they appear to be moving toward incompatible outcome.

Collective action in groups affairs is a flow of facilitating and conflicting demands whose claims and

justifications are put forward by individuals who play leadership roles and compete with one another for support. Leaders affect conflict by modifying the direction, magnitude, persistence and unity of collective acts (Lasswell 1964).

There may be differences among those who are expected to perform a leadership role, or who though not previously perceived as leaders actually assert the importance of an objective that, when partially accepted, results in acts that introduce confusion or conflict. One leadership faction may use its traditional access to the focus of attention of followers.

Perhaps the most significant change of leadership in the world scene is the "permanent revolution of modernizing intellectuals" (Lasswell and Lerner 1965). The modernizing intellectual it appears, is the factor that account for the degree of political instability that has so often occurred in traditional societies even though the society has been but superficially penetrated by the universalizing civilization of science and technology.

Communication Gap

Conflicts in communities arise when there is no free flow of information between community leaders and the led.

This affects individual or group involvement in community activity.

Spargal, (1969) emphasized the importance of communication as a means to achieving participation when he said that,

The process of communication is extremely important in any effort to organize groups. The scope of community concern about a problem is widened through an active process of communication. Communication is both an important prelude to and a critical means of action for solving a community problem.

In Agbowo, ^{Ibadan,} for instance, community involvement in building an incinerator had a hitch because of a gap in communication. The 1978 - '79 cohort of ABUEC students ran into problems when they wanted to embark on building an incinerator at Agbowo through community efforts. The problem arose from the interpretation of Government policy on universal primary education. It was interpreted by parents and teachers to mean that the Government would provide everything a school needed. Parents were reluctant to donate money to complete the incinerator, and teachers did not feel responsible for encouraging them to do so (Brieger and Adeniyi, 1982).

Effective communication within a group or between groups depends to a considerable extent on the quality of relationships between the people involved (Jaques, 1951).

Where hostility, fear, aggression, distrust, and disrespect predominate, communication will be far less effective.

Effects of Conflicts on Environmental Sanitation

Environmental sanitation problem is peoples' problem! This problem requires community co-operation and community action for its effective solution. Without the ego-involvement, co-operation and active participation of the people concerned as individuals, groups or communities, no environmental sanitation programmes can succeed (Ademulagun, 1975).

Problems of environmental sanitation may arise from diverse forms of conflicts prevalent in a community. The character of the social life of the community including the state of development of the social resources, the contacts and communication between its inhabitants contribute to or militate against successful environmental sanitation efforts. The type and structure of its various neighbourhood units and groups and the social relations are important components that determine the nature of interaction. Human organizational system and its impact on environmental sanitation has been given little or no thought in the pursuance of clean environment.

Conflicts of any type, may be issue or structure oriented, endogenous or exogenous, asymmetric or symmetric which arise from individuals or groups interaction are essential in determining the degree of cleanliness.

In Shasha village for instance, the poor sanitation situation in the community has been traced by (Ofor, 1983) to the endogenous symmetric conflicts which pervaded the society. Adegoke, (1982) enumerated the endogenous social conflicts which affected Shasha health improvement programmes as follows:

- (a) Structure-oriented misunderstanding between the Shasha resettlement committee and the Bale with his Chiefs in Council.
- (b) Asymmetric conflict between Bale with his Chiefs in Council on the one hand and some members of the remaining 32 village heads on the other.
- (c) Issue-oriented conflict within the muslim community over Imam titleship; the leadership strife between the Hausas and Yorubas in the community; and the intratribal conflicts within the Hausa community in the village.

The resultant effect of these conflicts was a negative approach to co-operative involvement in improving the

sanitary condition of Shasha.

The Ibadan comfort stations experimental programmes on environmental sanitation were affected by three major conflicts underlisted:

(a) The leadership conflict that was symmetric in form and structure-oriented. It was discovered that each community where the programme was carried out had more than one leader. The structure of leadership was one of "shared leadership." For example, there is the ritual leader, the wealthy leader, the education borne leader, the professional status borne leader, the "confusion" or "negative" spirited leader. In some cases one leader combined in his person two or more of the attributes which made a leader.

(b) Conflicts between some local chiefs/politicians and the local people over what the people regarded as partisan politics as it affected their welfare as individuals and groups. There was created a gap in the communication. The people detested what they called exploitation by their leaders.

(c) Asymmetric conflict between the people and the Government. The people alleged that there was lack of social amenities in return for the taxes which they paid annually (Ademuyagun, 1975). So they see the health agents as agents of government. They are therefore treated with hostility.

These conflicts constituted a setback to the utilization and maintenance of the comfort stations designed to ensure a clean environment.

The "Operation keep Lagos clean" exercise of 1969 failed because of gap in communication between the people and the health agency. Both perceived differently the introduction of new technology to improve the environmental sanitation of Lagos. In the programme, the public health department expected that the people could easily change from the use of dunghill which the people were used to as a way to dispose of their domestic refuse. The agency felt that the provision of incinerator as an alternative to dunghill could do. There was no provision of refuse bins. Individual house owners were expected to provide refuse bins or containers. This decision was reached without involving the house owners or their representatives in the decision making.

To keep anywhere clean depends on the availability of refuse bins or containers and emptying them timely. Secondly, it depends on the cooperation of the public as well as individuals and groups to ensure that they make the best use of the containers provided (Nigeria Daily Times June 30, 1970). This programme could not succeed because the consumers were left out of the decision and implementation stages.

At Oke Foko in Ibadan, the environmental sanitation programme initiated by ARHLC students field team of 1976 - 77 failed because of conflict arising from communication gap. This made the youngmen and the traditional leaders in the community see themselves as if they are engaged in competition. Consequently the young, more mobile residents in the area could not work with the traditional leaders to ensure a clean environment. The traditional leaders felt threatened by the idea of including the youngmen in their council (Brieger and Adeniyi, 1982). The effect of this conflict is ineffective management of the mechanism with which to ensure good sanitary condition. Therefore, there was poor sanitation in Oke Foko.

In Oke Ado, the landlords launched a community health and development council with modern orientation. There was no participation by the indigenous residents. The indigenes organized a health committee of six persons from the traditional council. These two groups working differently achieved little in their efforts to improve on the healthy situation of the environment.

Total community improvement requires cooperation. The traditional residents could have benefitted from resource links of the immigrant landlords. The newer residents

would need collaboration of the traditional residents for sanitation and road safety programmes to succeed.

In the past, most of the efforts directed at improving the sanitation condition have emphasized technology and finance and neglected the important role of the human system and structure of consumers.

For this reason, most Nigerians have been under the illusion that environmental sanitation problem is government's problem. Such people looked up to the government to always provide the finance and technology. Any effort by the government to involve the citizens in ensuring a clean surrounding resulted in asymmetric conflict in which the government agents are confronted by the citizen.

This is the reason why since Nigeria became independent in 1960, the environmental sanitation throughout the country has deteriorated to an abysmal level, that the World Health Organization (WHO) now classifies some of the dirtiest areas in the world (Olamiti, 1984).

The conflicting views held by Nigerians about refuse management have negated the positive attribute of sanitation which the National Sanitation Foundation regards as a way of life. In other words, it is the quality of living that is expressed in the clean home, the clean farm, the clean

business and industry; the clean neighbourhood, the clean community. Being a way of life, it must come from within the people.

To create and maintain conditions in the environment that will promote health and prevent diseases (Lucas and Gilles, 1973) have served as sources of conflicts between government agents and the people and between peoples in a community.

A number of reasons have been given for failure to arrive at reasonable solution to the problem of refuse disposal. Scidhar and Ojeoiran, (1983) have suggested that the most effective solution for a long range goal is the education of the people to make them aware of the relationship between bad environment and ill-health and to make them change their habits in the way they dump refuse.

When the Government agents and the citizen come together to decide, plan and implement programmes designed to ensure sanitary environment there would be less conflicts but greater cooperation and collective involvement. Table I is a summary of various programmes that were affected by conflicts but are resolved by health education intervention.

Some Health Programmes Affected by Conflicts.

Programme	Nature of Conflict	Effect	Resolution	Effect
Utilization of (Jaja Clinic) University of Ibadan Health Services. (Brieger et al, 1983) Nigeria	Differences in perception of consumers and Health Services Provider.	a) Under-utilization by students (consumers) b) Over-utilization by Junior staff	(a) Mobilization of students through their leaders. (b) Training (c) Consultation (a) Community Mobilization (b) Group health education (c) Consultation	Increased consumers participation, Effective Consumer provider communication resulting in positive steps to health practice
The village Nutrition Action programme in Thailand (Amorn, 1984) Thailand.	Gap in Communication between consumer and provider	a) Inadequate involvement of the community. b) Insufficient structural support for village activities.	Training of Primary health workers and use of village health communicators.	Little participation by the villagers.
Concept in community participation: A case of sanitary change in Guatemala village (Tonon, 1980) America	a) Political rivalry b) Land dispute between the poor villagers and landowners.	Shortage of food	Establishment of community Betterment Committee of Guanagazapa	Improved and increased community participation

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Conflict resolution according to Rapoport, (1974) is an unfortunate term because it connotes reconciliation. There ought to be a more general term designating the cessation of conflict, whether by conciliation, disengagement, or destruction of one or both, or all the participants.

Since men live in cooperative groups and cooperation is disrupted by excessive endogenous conflicts, if a cooperative group exists at all, this must be because some limits on conflict within it have been imposed, indeed, internalized.

Emery, (1966) suggested that if any one is seriously concerned about conflict resolution he should evolve a practical model. Such model must take into account those social sources of power that might take certain steps with regard to conflict resolution.

Rapoport, (1974) added that a science of conflict resolution can be developed by applying the methods of investigation current in existing sciences to the study of the genesis and the epidemiology of human conflicts. Further, understanding the causes of conflicts will provide us with the knowledge of how they can be prevented, alleviated or resolved. Conflicts, at least, the severe ones like ethnic

and racial enmities and wars appear in his view as aberrations of normal (i.e. cooperation) human relations in the same way as diseases appear as aberrations of normal physiological functions. Just as understanding these aberrations made scientific medicine possible, so it is assumed, understanding the etiology of conflicts will give rise to a science of conflict resolution, applicable to the restoration or further enhancement of cooperation among men.

Clearly, ideas about approaches to conflict resolution depend crucially on the models of conflict that are supposed to represent its most important features. If one believes the sources of human conflict to be in man's aggressive instinct, then depth psychology seems to be the proper therapeutic proposals, such as releasing the individual from compulsions imposed by 'instinct', sublimating his aggressive impulses, etc.

If conflict is seen as a manifestation of aggression, but aggression is traced to specific experience (frustrations, for example) then the modification of the symbolic environment so as to remove sources of excessive frustration seems to be a reasonable approach.

Endogenous conflicts among religious, ethnic and racial groups are traceable to prejudices crystalized around

'stereotypes' images of the supposedly prevalent representative members of the hated or despised group. Often, education or re-education is offered as an antidote to stereotyping.

Conflict Resolution Strategy - Community Development

Conflicts among individuals or sub-groups in a community could be classified as endogenous conflicts. Therefore, education or re-education could be useful approaches to deal with the conflicts. Community development as a process resolves problems through education and motivation of people to bring about community action. It deals with different problems and draws in different segments of the people in goal determination and action (Cox et al, 1980).

Conflicts among subgroups in a community often negate effective solution of community problems. Individual cannot resolve these conflicts but representatives of the groups can.

A community where there is distrust and absence of mutual interpersonal relationship would obviously find it difficult to work cooperatively in a self-help programme. Granted that a community is a fundamentally cooperative collection of groups and individuals virtually all sharing roughly the same values and aspiration there should be group intervention which will draw in different segments

of the population to ensure harmony. According to Dunham, (1963) some themes emphasized in locality development include democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self-help, development of indigenous leadership and education objectives. It finds solution to problems pertaining to the functioning of a community social system like delivery of health services or passing of specific regulation. It aims at establishing cooperative working relationship among groups in the community through critical appraisal of the roles and contributions of individuals and groups to community well-being. It bridges any gap in communication between segments of the community.

Locality development focuses on problem-solving structures and improves the power base of the community by stimulating wide interest and participation in community affairs. Ross, (1958) viewed the goals of community development as means of achieving community integration and capacity. The strategy is characterized by "lets all get together and talk this over" attitude in an effort to get a wide range of people involved in determining their "felt" needs and solving their own problems (Cox 1980).

The Motjane community in Swaziland succeeded in building its rural health centre because among other factors there were effective community integration and a sense of respon-

sibility of community involvement (Quenum, 1984).

This strategy emphasized consensus, discussion and communication among a wide range of different individuals, groups and factions. Warren (1965) pointed out that the strategy uses cooperative inclusion techniques. The organization of one segment of a community in a contact relationship with other segments which have not been brought into the process violates the major tenet of inclusiveness in community development principle.

It is a modest means of social reform which depends on group organization to achieve its aims. Cox et al, (1980) and Spergel, (1969) refer to it as the "social stability approach".

Group Organization - an Effective Means to Resolve Community Conflict

A fundamental ingredient of organizing groups in a community should be to establish relationships with many different persons and representatives of groups who should take community problems as a concern. This should be so because in a community, organization and planning efforts often require interest groups mobilization across community lives to ensure rapport that will facilitate community cohesion.

A community identifies with its various groups. For

Instance, in Shasha it was discovered that the community identifies with any of its groups in mobilization for community work (Olaseha et al, 1985). Since a community is seen as a social entity represented by interest, class or concern, they could serve as channel for resolving community conflicts in order to promote community action. Greater harmony, concord and cooperation will be achieved when all or many of the groups come together to decide on community conflicts and arrive at amicable agreement.

Efficiency in Decision Making

While physical and materials contributions of all community members is possible, it might be impossible to involve everyone at the decision making and planning levels. It was therefore suggested by Ross (1967), (n) and Gellmer (1971) that the leaders or the representatives of the people should engage in decision making and planning.

In any community it is important to establish those who formulate the general problems, who deliberate about these problems and who make the decisions. Absence of these will lead to conflicts.

The major factor conditioning the success of a group discussion and group decision in changing group norms and

individual behaviour is the significance of the decision for the people involved. One reason for the efficiency of such method is the involvement of people, the degree to which they can work out problems of importance to themselves and make decision about their fate (Katz and Kahn, 1968).

These authors added that when a group interaction has reached the point of decision, consideration is given to salient group norm or consensus. After a discussion has finally reached consensus, the group norms are made abundantly clear and psychologically real to members.

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Conceptual Framework of the Study

This research presupposes that conflicts exist in Apata community which militate against effective community participation in self-help programmes. The conflicts are associated with political, social and cultural factors which are manifested in:

- (a) The leadership and power tussle and
- (b) Rivalry among interest groups.

Consequently, factions exist which are inimical to cooperation. These factors need to be probed into first because they could constitute set backs to community progress as well as form a basis for identifying the causes and sources of the conflicts.

(a) Leadership and Power tussle

Community leadership and struggle for power are directly influenced by the nature and extent of inter groups relationships which exist in an area. The underlying factors in such relationships are community identity, internal integration and group orientation. These in turn determine community activities and cohesion.

Community Identity:-

Identity is an essential bond that holds a neighbourhood together. This gives the residents a sense of

belonging (Brieger and Adeniyi, 1982). It often has an ethnic or political foundation. Assessing identity is one step of the first steps in community development (Warren and Warren, 1977). While the presence of identity can stimulate action, its absence may retard progress efforts.

Identity manifests itself in numerous forms. One may find core of traditional indigenous residents (Mabogunje, 1968) or clusters of ethnically homogenous immigrant populations (Cohen, 1969).

Identity is reduced by ethnic heterogeneity which grows out of a tight urban housing system. It decreases a natural stimulus for community participation. It often breeds misunderstanding (Miner, 1965; Wolpe 1974).

In Apata, the identity is based on status and contact. There are divisions which cut across ethnic groups. The leaders of these groups who are also the influentials in the community vie for authority and power. Although ethnic associations are formed, the immigrants are denied the power to lead. They are often excluded from important decisions because of their position as tenants or strangers (Barnes, 1974).

Internal Integration:

Identity encourages people to work together, but does not guarantee that they will. Therefore, a degree of

Internal integration or interaction in a community should be emphasized (Warren and Warren, 1977). Interaction is usually evident through organized activities and groups (Brieger and Adeniyi, 1982). In the African urban neighbourhood, one might find traditional councils of elders or elected representations to modern decision making bodies or both. Religious affiliation often determined by neighbourhood proximity (Barnes, 1974) promotes much interaction through church societies (Peel, 1968). Landlord Associations naturally form a neighbourhood basis (Barnes, 1974). Conversely, internal interactions is inhibited by the existence of three distinct populations namely, the indigenes, the 'new' landlords and their tenants (Brieger and Adeniyi, 1982).

The situation in Apata shows inadequate interactions between individuals and groups. This may have been caused by gap in communication. The Bale and his council of chiefs represent the traditional native leaders while the chairmen of the four different bodies of landlords associations represent the modern leaders. The "Mogaji" is without a clearly defined role is a new creation which is the main source of the conflicts in the community. There is inordinate desire for leadership and struggle for powers by individuals and groups.

Group Orientation:

Groups exist with differing orientations. The orientations of the traditional council of chiefs may be at variance with that of modern Landlords Associations.

Attention must be paid to group orientation so that decision making and actions can proceed along acceptable lines.

Cooperation may be jeopardized when group orientation is overlooked (Brugler and Adeniyi, 1982).

Modern groups have an intellectual orientation (Lambo, 1971). A blend of modern and traditional groups will enhance cooperation and eschew open conflicts.

A council of traditional native chiefs and Associations of landlords are found in Apata. Each has different orientations. The Chiefs depend solely on Government directed and sponsored innovations whereas some of the landlords Associations of some specific quarters embark on voluntary self-help programmes in their individual quarters. To this end, self-help programmes carried out in the area is segmental and do not diffuse. There is the absence of a unit of practice for the community. In fact, Apata may be viewed as a community of different sub-communities. Unfortunately, some groups within the community have some reactionary orientation towards self-help programmes. These groups are still held tightly in the vicious circle of illiteracy, ignorance

and poverty which are agents of social maladies.

(b) Rivalry among Interest Groups

For a collection of individuals to be considered as a group there must be some interactions. In addition to the interaction of the members, four features of group life typically emerge as the group develops (Znaniecki, 1939; Sherif, 1954).

- (a) The members share one or more motives or goals which determine the direction in which they will go.
- (b) The members develop a set of norms, which set the boundaries within which interpersonal relations may be established and activities are carried on.
- (c) If interaction continues, a set of roles become stabilized and the new group becomes differentiated from other groups.
- (d) A network of interpersonal attraction develops on the basis of the "likes" and "dislikes" of members from one another.

A group will tend to become cohesive if it is formally well organized, the members are individually motivated to do their tasks and the group is successful (French, 1941; Deutscher and Deutscher, 1951; Pepitone & Kleiner, 1957).

Council of chiefs, various Associations and ethnic groups are interest groupings whose membership share some

economic and political interests and who, therefore stand together in continuous competition for power with other groups (Glazer and Moynihan, 1965). Both traditional and modern groups which emerge from the new alignment strive for leadership (Epsterin, 1958).

The units of identity in Apata are the Council of chiefs, landlords Associations and various tribal unions. Differences exist in the norms, values and interests of these groups although all have the welfare of the community as a consideration. Their activities are not coordinated. By establishing a unit of practice these groups will be drawn into closer touch and their efforts will be complementary.

The council of chiefs by tradition form an embodiment of authority to oversee the community. But the landlords have the social, economic and educational powers and therefore take over control of the various activities that go on in their respective domain. The ethnic groups have the opinion that a particular ethnic group dominate others because this ethnic group excludes others from important decision making in the community. These constitute the major sources of rivalry among the various interest groups

in the community. Rivalry is particularly obvious among the landlords Associations because each association lay claim to superiority over the other. The Mogaji is in confrontation with the Bale and his chiefs although they are from the same ethnic group.

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CHAPTER THREE

MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

AREA OF STUDY

Land Area and Population:

The area under study covered only Apata Ganga in Southwest Ward 9, of Ibadan Municipality. The Community lies and situates five kilometres off Ring Road in Ibadan along Ibadan-Abeokuta road. It covers approximately five square kilometres.

Apata Ganga, Odo-Ona and Ago-Taylor in SW 9 had a population of 15,362 inhabitants in 1963 (Population Census, 1963). But as at now, the population of Apata Ganga alone is estimated to be 28,000 (Ibadan Municipal Government, 1984).

The area covered by this study is bounded by Akindeko Close and Ina-Olajide Road towards Ibadan end and Ago Sulu Road and Bush Patches towards the Abeokuta side. The Northern and Southern borders are demarcated by railway line and Alaro stream, respectively. (Fig. 1)



Fig 1.1 - A Sketch Map of Apata

Objectives of the Study:

The main objectives of this study are:

- (a) To resolve the existing conflicts which have slowed-down self-help programmes in Apata Community.
- (b) To apply locality development strategy to deal with environmental sanitation problems in the area.

Specific Objectives

- (i) To identify sources and nature of conflicts, analyze them and evolve strategies to resolve the conflicts.
- (ii) To identify and determine the units of identity in the Community.
- (iii) To determine the nature and type of relationship between the units of identity.
- (iv) To select unit of practice from the units of identity for the solution of environmental sanitation problem in Apata Community.

Assumptions

- (a) A community is based on associations in which various types of local traditional and status groups are drawn together into a common institutional and organizational framework.
- (b) In a community, there will always be conflicts between persons and factions. properly handled, the conflicts can be used creatively for the benefit of the community.

- (c) Cooperative self-help approach to Community affairs starts with the complex process of transformation which must begin with changes in the people themselves - in their attitude toward the change and in their aspirations for improvements.
- (d) Community participation in self-help programmes for the improvement of environmental sanitation will be enhanced if the conflicts are resolved amicably.

STUDY DESIGN:

This research examined intensively the background and interaction processes that have slowed down the rates of self-help efforts in Apata Community.

It is a qualitative research designed to highlight:

- (a) The conflicts within and between the units of identity in the Community.
- (b) Causes of the conflicts.
- (c) The people at the centre of the conflicts.
- (d) The views of such people about the conflicts.
- (e) Points of agreements and disagreement.
- (f) Strategy for resolution of the conflicts as they affected refuse disposal in the community.

A preliminary investigation carried out revealed that the sources of the conflicts could be traced to:

- (a) Leadership and power tussle and
- (b) Rivalry in interest groups. In view of these facts,

different approaches were evolved to ascertain the degree of involvement and contributions of the various sources either collectively or individually to the situation in the community. The leadership in terms of extent of power and influence were also considered. The perception of the groups about the leadership as basis of the conflicts were looked at. A unit of practice in form of a Welfare Council was established to deal with the conflicts and plan for the improvement of environmental sanitation in the Community.

Sampling Procedure and Size:

Although the research problem, "Conflict Resolution", affects the entire Community, the strategy was aimed at identifying key members of the Community who played clearly defined roles in the conflicts.

A sampling frame was constructed by classifying the various community units of identity into three groups as follows:

- (a) The Traditional leaders.
- (b) The Landlords Associations
- (c) The ethnic groups.

(a) The Traditional Leaders

The traditional leaders are the natural rulers that form a kinship interest group. This group consists of the Bale with his Chiefs and the Mogaji. By virtue of their positions as people in authority they have been selected for interview.

Authority here refers to the right which persons who occupy particular positions in groups have to control other members of the group. The chiefs belong to informal interest groups.

(b) The Landlords Associations

The landlords Associations are groups of artificial leaders. Their leadership is based on social power. This provided them the capacity to determine the action of others. They form the formal interest groups.

In Apata, there are four recognized and organized landlords Associations. They are Alamo, Alaraba, Adifase and Ilupeju, respectively. Each of these Associations has more than fifty financial members who are regular at meetings. There are more than 100 names on the register of each Association. The peculiar nature of the problem does not permit the use of the register for selecting subjects from these groups. In fact, not all the members of the groups played any active part in the conflicts. Therefore, at two different meetings held with the respective landlords Associations, the investigator mentioned the subject-matter and requested for the names of those who could give useful information on the conflicts in the community.

The criteria used for such selection included

- (a) Those who are either financial or non-financial members
- (b) are landlords whose names have been suggested two consecutive times as having useful information and have in any way

played any role in the conflicts.

(b) He/She is not an absentee landlord.

(c) Such landlord should have lived in Apata community for five or more years i.e. 1979 and before.

The year 1979 was chosen because it marked an important milestone in the history of Apata. This was the year there was dispute over which local government area Apata should belong. The struggle for membership into the Grade 'C' court in Apata also occurred in this year. These events triggered off formation of factions and dissension in the area.

A total of 66 landlords were selected. Out of these, 21 were from Alamu, 18 from Alaraba, 15 from Adifase and 12 from Ilupeju.

(c) Ethnic Groups

Ethnic groups are informal interest groups whose memberships are based on kinship, tribal or religious relations.

Representatives of ethnic groups were also selected.

During a preliminary survey, names of important figures or influentials were given. These influentials were visited by the investigator and they were in turn requested to suggest names of some other ethnic groups members who could give useful information about Apata. Of course, such a person should have lived in the area for five or more years. This method was adopted because all the identified ethnic groups

*A land owner who lives outside the community but pays dues and sometimes attend meetings.

do not hold regular meetings. Egbas, Ibadan, Igbiras, Egbas, Ijeshas and Edos hold regular meetings fort-nightly. The investigators attended these meetings.

A total of 30 subjects were selected from the ethnic groups consisting of six each from Ibadan, Egba, Ijeha and Igbira while Edo and Hausa had three each. The 2:1 ratio was not based on population but on how much contribution that could be made to the research problem.

It will be pertinent to mention that some of the subjects were interviewed twice because of their dual status. For example, a chief may be a landlord or a representative of an ethnic group.

Instrument and Methods for Data Collection

Data for this study were collected through observation (non-participant and participant) informal interview and discussion.

Instrument:

The main instruments used were:

(a) Observation schedule or checklist. In the schedule directives were given to assess whether each guideline was met from fully (2 points) to not met at all (0 point) by ticking the appropriate column. (See appendix A)

(b) Interview guides were provided for the three groups of units of identity in the community. The questions were both closed and open ended. (See appendices B, C and D)

Observation Method:

Relevant information were obtained through the observation of social activities that were carried out in the Community. General environmental problems related to refuse disposal were critically observed. The opinion leaders and influential members of the community were observed both at meetings and during their communal life. What they did or said and their relationship with one another were noted. Their associates were also watched.

To do these, the investigator as much as possible attended various Association meetings and visited the homes of certain individuals. The meetings attended included those of the Chiefs, Landlords and Ethnic groups which are held fortnightly. At these meetings he listened, observed the processes of discussion and decision making. He watched out to see whether there were acts or decisions indicative of dissensions among groups or individuals. Opinions expressed by one group about another or individuals and the prevalent problems in the community were noted. Groups or individuals who were connected with conflicts in the community were noted. Names of particular persons who should be contacted for more detail were suggested. In some cases, possible approaches of resolution of conflicts were discussed by groups members. During such discussion, some influential who had vested interest in the conflicts were identified.

Vital group decisions related to conflicts and health problems were documented. Individuals who had contributed to such decisions were noted.

Line of communication among Bale, Nogaji, Chiefs, Land-Lords and ethnic groups were ~~keenly~~ monitored.

Individuals who were reluctant to express their feelings at meetings were contacted in their homes more especially when such persons' roles were vital to the understanding of, and solution of the conflicts. Pre and post interview observations were made.

Interview Method

The investigator personally undertook the informal interviews and discussions himself. He employed the services of interpreters to translate the questions into various dialects of his subjects.

The interview guides provided were prepared in the form of questionnaires which included both closed and open ended questions.

To obtain indepth information about the problem, subjects were asked to comment further to substantiate their opinion. In cases where subjects have been identified by someone else to have played some important roles in the conflicts, viewpoints of such people were cross-checked to determine areas of agreements or disagreement. By so doing clarifications on obscured points were made.

The Bale, Chiefs, Mogaji, Landlords and representatives of ethnic groups were informally interviewed. The interview guide prepared for each group were used. Different interview guides were provided for Bale and Mogaji, the other Chiefs and landlords and another for representatives of ethnic groups. These depended on the specific information required from the subjects.

Test of Validity and Reliability

Validity:

Observation schedule and documentation were used to validate the responses from interview guide. The observation schedule prepared by the investigator had directions and scores. The investigator and two teachers from African Church Grammar School, Apata, who had N.C.E. qualification, observed the community at different times using the observation checklist or schedule. The score awarded to each item on the checklist by these persons were reconciled. Where discrepancies occurred, such items were deleted from the list before the schedule was eventually used as a tool.

Reliability:

This was tested by the administration of questions from the interview guides on the Bale and Mogaji, Chiefs, 20 landlords and 10 representatives of ethnic groups, two or three occasions three weeks after the first interview. They responded in the same way which showed that the questions were consistent and therefore the measuring instruments were reliable. The results were consistent and his helpers

were compared and they agreed.

Limitations to the Study:

The major limiting factor to this study were as follows:

(a) The Unwillingness of the Respondents to Disclose Useful Information:

Some of the subjects were evasive in their response to questions. Among those who responded to questions, many refused to give answers to the questions about "the status of the Mogaji" and "whether having a Bale as well as a Mogaji in the same community augured well for effective administration." This may have affected the findings.

(b) Respondents' Bias:

Some of the subjects were uncooperative and dismissed the investigator with remarks such as, "I have no time for you". "You cannot do anything about Apata's problems". A situation like that makes it difficult to cross-check the claims of certain subjects. Comparing viewpoints to detect agreement or disagreement became difficult.

(c) Absence of Respondents from Home

Many subjects gave appointments that were never fulfilled. The investigator made repeated visits to the subjects. This affected the duration of the interview period, it took a month before the subjects were re-interviewed to test for reliability.

(d) Use of Interpreters: As ethnic groups were many, several interpreters were used to translate questions into languages that subjects understood. In some cases it was difficult to differentiate between subjects actual responses to questions and what were interpreted.

(e) Language: As a non-Yoruba speaking investigator in a Yoruba speaking area a major obstacle was how to interact effectively with the respondents to get detailed information. While it was easy to interact freely in conversational form with the literates in English, interpreters translate to the illiterates. In the process, some facts may have been distorted. In depth information on certain issues were limited.

(f) Instrument Used: Interview guides and observation are highly subjective instruments. The validity and reliability of these tools could have affected the results. Investigator's biases could not have been completely removed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Three different types of interview guide were prepared contingent upon the fact that each group was expected to give information on specific subjects. Therefore, the results were presented in four parts. The first part dealt with general information. The second part analysed the responses by Bale and Mogaji. While the third part dealt with the other Chiefs (excluding the Bale) and the landlords. The last part dealt with views expressed by the representatives of ethnic groups who are not members of any landlord association and tenants.

On the whole 92 subjects were interviewed. These ~~consisted~~ of the Bale and Mogaji, Balogun, Iyalode, Asipa, Ekecin Bale, Otun Iyalode and Osi Iyalode, 50 landlords and 24 Representatives from ethnic groups. Some of the Chiefs and landlords had dual status.

The data were collated, tallied on frequency basis and represented in percentages or ratios.

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DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The respondent population was made up of 85 (92%) males and 7 (8%) females who were adults not less than 18 years old and have been resident in Apata for not less than 5 years. 3 out of the 7 females were chiefs and the others were members of the Landlord Association who willingly gave information on the research problem.

Table 2
Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Sex	Bale	Kogaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Gr. Rep.	Total	%
Male	1	1	3	56	24	85	92
Female	-	-	3	4	-	7	8
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Table 3
Respondents Distribution by State of Origin

State	Bale	Kogaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Gr. Rep.	Total	%
Oyo	1	1	6	26	7	41	44.6
Ogun	-	-	-	25	2	27	29.33
Kwara	-	-	-	5	6	11	12.0
Bendel	-	-	-	4	4	8	8.7
Sokoto	-	-	-	-	3	3	3.3
Anambra	-	-	-	-	2	2	2.1
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Anambra	-	-	-	-	2	2	2.1
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Apata is predominantly a Yoruba Community. This is reflected in the respondents state of origin shown on Table 3. From the table, Oyo, Ogun, Kwara represented by 41 (44.6%), 27 (29.3%) and 11 (12%) respondents respectively are states of Yoruba domination. Even Bendel which has 8 (8.7%) representation has a lot of Yoruba influence. The Bale, Mogaji and the 6 Chiefs are indigenas of Oyo State. Majority of the landlords came from Oyo State represented by 26 subjects. This is closely followed by Ogun State with 25 subjects out of 60 landlords.

Other States that are represented are Sokoto 3 (3.3%) and Anambra 2(2.1%) respondents respectively.

The ethnic groups representatives are drawn from all the States represented in the Community although Oyo had the greatest number of 7 out of 24.

Table 4
Respondents Distribution by Ethnic/Sub Ethnic Grouping

	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Sp. Rep.	Total	%
Ibadan	1	1	6	18	3	29	31.4
Egba	-	-	-	13	2	20	21.7
Igbira	-	-	-	5	6	11	12.0
Ijesha	-	-	-	6	3	9	9.8
Edo	-	-	-	4	3	7	7.6
Ijebu	-	-	-	5	1	5	5.4
Hausa	-	-	-	-	3	3	3.3
Egbado	-	-	-	2	-	2	2.2
Ife	-	-	-	1	1	2	2.2
Ibo	-	-	-	-	2	2	2.2
Ijaw	-	-	-	-	1	1	1.1
Osoyo	-	-	-	1	-	1	1.1
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

The nature of the research problem is such that it requires further probing into the ethnic or subethnic leaning of respondents. This is to provide basis for understanding the interaction process in the community. The result revealed that the Community is made up of heterogeneous ethnic groups. Majority of the respondents belonged to Yoruba subethnic groups represented by Ibadan 29, Egba 20, Ijesha 9, Ijebu 5, Ife 2, Egbado 2 and Oogbe 1, respectively. Other groups represented included Igbira 11, Ido 7, Hausa 3, Ibo and Ijaw 2 and 1, respectively.

The Bale, Mgaji and the 6 Chiefs belong to Ibadan subethnic group. Majority of the landlords come from Ibadan and Egba.

Table 5
Occupational Distribution of Respondents

Occup.	Bale	Mgaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Gr. Rep.	Total	%
Trading	-	1	6	11	5	23	25
Farming	-	-	-	8	9	17	18.5
Cooperatives	-	-	-	8	2	8	8.7
Civil Servants	-	-	-	6	2	8	8.7
Pensioner	1	-	-	5	1	7	7.6
Teaching	-	-	-	4	-	4	4.3
Tailoring	-	-	-	2	2	4	4.3
Brickwork	-	-	-	3	-	3	3.3
Engineering	-	-	-	2	-	2	2.2
Others	-	-	-	13	3	16	17.4
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

As a transitional community the people's means of livelihood is very diversified. Trading accounted for 25% of the people's occupation. Closely following is farming with 18.5%. Others included 8.7% contracting of all kinds, 3.7% civil service and 7.6% pensioners. 4.3% each engaged in teaching and tailoring, and 2.2% in engineering. Other occupations represented by 17.1% are security work, machine operating, catering, tea selling, managing director, clergy, laundry, insurance consultancy, carpentry, soldiery, music, motor mechanic, printing, tapping and contribution collecting (Ola-jo) (Table 5).

The Bale is a pensioner, while the Mogaji and other chiefs are traders. The occupations of the landlords are more evenly distributed.

Table 6

Distribution of Respondents by Religious Affiliation

Religion	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Gr. Rep.	Total	%
Muslim	1	-	5	28	13	47	51
Christianity	-	1	1	32	11	45	49
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Muslim and Christianity are the religions of the people. Both are evenly spread over the community. The reason attributed for this occurrence is the cosmopolitan nature of the community. Out of the total respondents 47 (51%) are

Muslims and 45 (49%) are Christians. The Christians are made up of various denominations like Catholic, Anglican and Christ Apostolic members.

The Bale, 5 Chiefs, 20 landlords and 13 ethnic group representatives are Muslims. The Mogaji, 1 chief, 32 landlords and 11 ethnic group representatives are Christians. The Chiefs are predominantly Muslims. Majority of the Landlords are Christian while majority of the ethnic group representatives are Muslims.

Table 7
Distribution of Respondents by length of Period of Settlement

Interval in years	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Sp. Rep.	Total	%
0 - 5	-	-	-	3	-	3	3.3
6 - 10	-	-	1	12	4	17	18.5
11 - 15	1	-	-	17	4	22	23.9
16 - 20	-	-	1	9	3	13	14.0
21 - 25	-	-	-	5	1	6	6.5
26 - 30	-	-	2	4	4	10	10.9
31 - 35	-	-	1	1	-	2	2.2
36 - 40	-	-	-	4	1	5	5.4
41 - 45	-	-	-	2	-	2	2.2
46 - 50	-	-	-	1	-	1	1.1
51 & Over or born in Apata	-	1	1	2	7	11	12.0
	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Majority (22) of the respondents fitted into the (11-15) years bracket. This group is among the groups that may be referred to as the newer residents in the community. Another feature of interest is that 11 of the respondents claimed to have lived in the area for more than 50 years. Some are even born and have lived all their lives in the community. The Bale had settled in Apata for just 11 years. He came to settle in Apata only after his retirement from the services of United African Company (UAC) in 1974. Of course, almost within the same year he was made a Bale. The Mogaji claimed to have been born and lived in the Community all his life. The Chiefs have spent various years in the area. The chief who had lived longest in Apata is Adejoke Alajikin, the Otun Iyalode. She had lived in the area for about 60 years. In fact, she was born in Apata.

Majority of the landlords have lived in Apata for not more than 20 years. They belong to the group of settlers referred to as "newer residents". 7 ethnic group representative have lived in Apata since they were born. 3 out of these are Igbira who claimed to have been the first settlers in the area.

Findings revealed that no single individual in Apata can ascribe to his/her family the original ownership of the area, because the Igbiras were the earliest settlers in it. For that reason it was called "Igbira" area and one of such

Igbiras and Deinde's father was also among the first dwellers. Of course, he owned a large area which he sold to people who came in later to settle there even the Ibadan Yorubas. The areas in dispute at Adifase was sold to Odutola and Sowole by Sulu. To honour him, streets and specific areas are named after him.

Table 8
Distribution of Respondents by Quarters

Quarters	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Group Represent.	No	%
Alamu	-	-	2	19	7	28	30
Alaraba	-	1	1	17	6	25	27
Adifase	-	-	2	13	5	20	22
Ilupeju	1	-	1	11	6	19	21
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

By coincidence of residency, 28 (30%) of the subjects made up of 2 Chiefs, 19 landlords and 7 ethnic group representatives live in Alamu. 25 (27%) respondents consisting of Mogaji, a Chief, 17 landlords and 6 other reside in Alaraba. There were 20 (22%) respondents from Adifase. This is made up of 2 Chiefs, 13 landlords and 5 ethnic group representatives. 19 (21%) of the respondents consisting of the Bale, a Chief, 11 landlords and 6 ethnic group representatives live in Ilupeju.

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Table 9

Respondents Distribution by Educational Status

Education Status	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land- Lords	Ethnic Go Rep	Total	%
No formal Education	-	-	5	24	16	45	49
Had Primary Edu.	1	1	-	19	5	26	28
Had post Pri. Edu	-	-	1	9	-	10	12
Had Teachers' Cert. 11	-	-	-	4	1	5	5
Had post Sec. Edu.	-	-	-	2	2	4	4
Had University Edu	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
Total	1	1	5	60	24	92	100

Formal education refers to deliberate instruction which uses English language as medium of expression. On the average 45 (49%) of the total respondents had no formal education. 26 (28%) had primary school education. 10 (12%) had post primary education and others 5 (5%), 4(4%) and 2(2%) had teacher education, post secondary education and University education respectively.

But out of this representation, 5 out of the 6 Chiefs had no formal education. Only the newly appointed Ekerin Bale had some form of Secondary education. The Bale and Mogaji had only primary education and they both read up to standard five.

Table 10

Distribution of Respondents Opinions as regard Prevalence of Conflicts in Apata

Type	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Landlords	Ethnic Grp Rep	No
Chieftaincy conflict	1	-	3	23	13	40
Land dispute	1	1	6	30	12	50
Inter Landlord Asscia- tion conflict	-	-	-	25	6	31
Conflicts between chiefs and Landlords	1	-	-	5	5	11
Conflict Among Chiefs	-	-	-	6	4	10
Inter Ethnic groups conflicts	-	-	-	-	2	2
Conflict between Ethnic group and chiefs	-	-	-	-	1	1

Note: Multiple responses total 757 98 respondents.

The Bale indentified three areas of conflict in the community. Chieftaincy conflict and land dispute appeared to be the major conflicts in the area. The Mogaji holds the opinion that the chieftaincy conflict has been resolved by the Ulubadan. Whereas the Bale held the view that it is an impending conflict. While all the chiefs indicated that there is land dispute, 3 of them expressed the views that there is Chieftaincy conflict. 2 ethnic group representatives had the opinion that there is inter ethnic group conflict. One ethnic group representative held a strong view that the Bale is not interested in any other ethnic group except Ibadan. He indicated that for some time there had been an outstanding

conflict between Ibadan and Ijesha. Though this respondent is the Chairman of Ijesha progressive Union in Apata, his opinion stemmed up from his personal experience with the Bale and few Ibadan people.

Respondents Opinions on Conflict which Affect Refuse Disposal in Apata Community

Some questions were designed to find out from respondents their awareness of any of the severel conflicts discussed that is connected with refuse disposal.

Table 11

Respondents Opinion on whether any of the conflicts affected Refuse Disposal:

Response	Bale	Magaji	Chief	Landlord	Ethnic Gr. Rep	No	%
Yes	1	1	2	39	13	56	61
No	-	-	4	13	7	24	26
No idea	-	-		8	4	12	13
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

56 (61%) out of the total respondents admitted that refuse disposal in the community was affected by conflict while 24 (26%) expressed contrary views.

The respondents were further required to indicate specific conflict that was associated with refuse disposal.

In their response, 42 subjects stated that the land where the refuse could be dumped generated conflict. The location of the only authorized depot was mentioned as cause of conflict, while 7 respondents linked the conflict with tribal

sentiments. 6 subjects claimed that personal interest was also associated with the conflict which affected refuse disposal. 3 of the respondents stated that the inability of the State Government to provide an alternative depot was the cause of conflicts. Those who abstained from giving their views numbered 21

Table 12

Respondents Opinion on Specific Conflict Linked with Refuse Disposal.

Specific Conflict	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land L. Londn	Etinnig G. R.	No	%
Land to dump refuse	1	-	1	34	6	42	46
Location of dump	-	1	-	8	4	13	14
Tribal sentiments	-	-	-	3	4	7	8
Personal interest	-	-	-	3	3	6	6
No alternative depot	-	-	1	1	1	3	3
No views	-	-	4	11	6	21	23
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Respondents commented on the only authorized refuse depot. A summary of such comments included the understated.

The place is not ideal. It is faraway from the various quarters. Refuse dump should not be sited along the main road. Passers-by inhale foul smell and sometimes the smoke emitting from refuse burning may be dangerous to drivers and passengers. As children are often sent to dump refuse at the depot, they may not take precautionary while crossing the road

to dump refuse. At times they do not get to the depot before they dump their refuse. Some of the children dump refuse close to their people's compound and even by the side of the road. Some of the people dispose of their refuse close to railway line and the sawmill along Sulu road. These contribute to the insanitary state of the Community and are sources of conflicts among people. Some individuals have even gone to Oyo State Refuse Disposal Board to complain about people who trespass into their lands and premises to dump refuse.

All those who expressed their views (100%) pointed out that the place was not ideal.

The Relation of Conflict to Poor Environmental Sanitation

- (a) The Mojaji considered the continuous use of the only authorized refuse depot as a penal measure against him by his antagonists. So he protested to I.M.G. against its further use. The area which served as depot is part of the Mojaji's inherited land.
- (b) There was resentment from certain quarters for I.M.G.'s refusal to use part of its acquired land in Adifase as refuse dump which it originally was. There are allegations that certain highly placed persons in the Community own parts of the land.
- (c) Land owners were not willing to give their land out for location of dumps.

(d) I.M.G's agents prevent people from using even the only authorized depot. Many people frown at this and viewed it as connivance.

(e) There were incessant quarrels by people who used others premises as dumping areas.

As a result of the listed situations, most people in the Community dump their refuse in any available space anywhere. Consequently there were several illegal dumps.

Decision Making

Respondents were required to give their opinion on who should make decisions for the community in respect of:

- (i) Allocation of land for projects
- (ii) Projects needed in the community.

Table 13

Distribution of Respondents on Views as to who Decides on Allocation of land for Projects

Decision maker	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land - Lords	Multiple Op Neo	No	%
Bale and his chiefs	1	-	5	28	16	50	54.3
Individuals who own land	-	1	1	15	4	21	22.8
Bale and landlords jointly	-	-	-	5	-	6	6.5
Landlords only	-	-	-	3	2	5	5.5
Development Committee	-	-	-	3	2	5	5.5
The Mogaji	-	-	-	1	-	1	1.1
Undecided	-	-	-	4	-	4	4.3
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

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Landlords only	-	-	-	3	2	5	5.5
Development Committee	-	-	-	3	2	5	5.5
The Mogaji	-	-	-	1	-	1	1.1
Undecided	-	-	-	4	-	4	4.3
Total	1	1	6	50	24	82	100

Table 14

Distribution of Respondents views on who should Decide on the need of Projects in the Community

Decision maker	Bale, Mogaji, Chiefs		Land-Ethnic		No	%
	Bale	Mogaji	Land	Ethnic		
Bale and his chiefs	1	-	25	15	43	46.7
Individuals	-	1	4	1	7	7.6
Bale and his chiefs and Landlords	-	-	6	-	8	8.7
Landlords only	-	-	19	5	25	27.2
Development Committee	-	-	3	3	6	6.5
Mogaji	-	-	1	-	1	1.0
Undecided	-	-	2	-	2	2.2
Total	1	1	60	24	92	100

It is the view of majority of the respondents (50 (54.3%) and 43 (46.7%) that the onus of decision making in respect to allocation of land for projects and projects needed in the Community rested on the Bale and his chiefs. (See Tables 13 and 14).

While the Bale is in favour of such decision, the Mogaji is of the opinion that individuals who own land and individuals in the Community should make such decisions.

One of the major sources of conflict in the community relates to allocation of land and the decision on what projects should be embarked upon. Respondents were required to say whether there is conflict over such decision making.

Table 15 revealed that 44 (48%) of the respondents to the question admitted that they generated conflicts.

Table 15

Respondents opinion on whether "The decision on type of project and allocation of land for it" generated conflict

Opinion	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land- Lords	Ethnic Gp. Rep.	No	%
Yes	1	-	1	33	9	44	48
No	-	1	4	27	7	39	42
No opinion	-	-	1	-	8	9	10
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Table 16

Respondents Views on who is really managing the Affairs of the Community.

Opinion	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land- lords	Ethnic Gp. Rep.	No.	%
Bale and his Chiefs	1	-	3	23	6	33	36
Landlord Association	-	1	1	29	6	37	40
Bale, his chiefs and Landlords	-	-	2	2	-	4	4
Individuals	-	-	-	1	8	9	10
Development Committee	-	-	-	4	4	8	9
Mogaji	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

The views shown in Table 16 revealed uncertainty on who to ascribe the management of the affairs of the community between Bale with his chiefs and landlords. The landlords association is favoured by 40% as against that for Bale with his chiefs which is 36%. This is indicative of confusion about who is actually stirring the wheel of management in the community. It was expected that the Bale with his chiefs who make decisions on vital issues should have been seen to be directly managing the affairs of the community.

Table 17

Respondents views on whether the present chiefs are as powerful as the previous Chiefs

Views	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land-lords	Ethnic Gp Rep.	No	%
They are not as powerful as before	-	1	3	27	19	50	54
They are still powerful	1	-	2	9	5	17	19
Expressed no views	-	-	-	18	-	18	20
Not sure	-	-	-	3	-	3	3
No basis for comparison	-	-	-	1	-	2	2
Have no association with them	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
Total	1	1	5	60	24	92	100

A question was directed to finding out whether the present Chiefs in the respondents views are still as powerful as those before them. As shown in Table 17, the views that they are not as powerful as before is in majority, that is 54%. This confirmed the claim by Cohen (1974) that the powers of the Chiefs have become weakened.

On further comments on the issue, the following remarks were made by respondents.

In the past the Chief of a Community used to be the paramount Head but this had been shattered by politics. People are getting more aware of their rights and of course, native laws and customs have been tampered with to such an extent that they render the Chiefs almost powerless. Nowadays the Chiefs worked doggedly to the dictates of the Government. Their functions have been taken over by Local Government

One of the respondents said that, "the Chiefs are not honoured or respected anymore." In the past, the Bales were feared because they marshalled out orders which were complied with without question. But nowadays the landlords defy and even by-pass the Bale in their decisions and actions. In the earlier days, the Olubadan can order people not to eat and they would not eat. Chiefs are only ceremonial now. There are several of them without clearly defined roles and means of livelihood so they become subservient to their benevolent benefactors.

A female respondent remarked that the Chiefs do not possess powers because they are not born in the area. "They just came and bought land so they can not claim to be indigenes of the area. Only the original owner or settler of Apata can have power over his domain as a Chief," she claimed.

Those who held the views that the Chiefs are still powerful 19% asserted that there had not been a Bale with a Council of Chiefs before the present Bale. The Bale and his Chiefs take collective decision which make them more effective. The current Bale is educated and so he listens to the viewpoint of others. He is unlike his illiterate predecessor. The Chiefs are still powerful in some respect. At least, they work through the Ulubadan to give help to the community. Their actions are backed by the Government.

Table 18

Respondents Views on whether the Moqajil is a recognised member of the Council of Chiefs or not

View	Bale	Magajil	Chief	Landlords	Ethiopic Co Rep.	No.	%
Not recognised as Chief	1	-	5	30	21	57	62
Recognised as Chief	-	1	1	3	3	8	9
No idea	-	-	-	27	-	27	29
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Majority of the respondents (62%) do not see the Mogaji as a recognised member of the Council of Chiefs in Aqata. The 9% respondents who claimed that they recognise him as a Chief may be members of his faction. Those who gave no views which is 29% were evasive of telling the fact. The Mogaji gave his view that he is a recognised Chief. But throughout the investigation no member of the Community referred to him as a Chief

Table 19

Respondents opinion ^{ori} whether having a Bale as well as a Mogaji enhances Effective Administration in the Community

View	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land-lords	Ethnic Gp Rep	No	%
Will enhance Administration	-	1	1	13	3	18	20
Will not enhance administration	1	-	5	22	21	49	53
No idea	-	-	-	23	-	23	25
There will be power tussle	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

The responses showed that 53% of the respondents had a feeling that it will have negative effect on the administration of the area. 20% felt it will have positive effect while 25% abstained from giving their views. Those who claimed that it may bring about power tussle were 2%.

In a further comment on the issue, the following views were expressed.

Bale and Mogaji are different titles. Whereas the Bale is the overall Head of the community, the Mogaji is only a Head of a family. The idea of having both as Heads with equal authority is a duplication of posts. Some did not see anything wrong with having both. Those with this view assumed that it is to ensure good administration. Some others said that the so called Mogaji does not take part in any activities that concerned Apata. "It is proper to have a Bale in Apata but Mogaji is an Ibadan affair" It was a mistake made by the elders in the past to have appointed a Bale for Apata instead of a Mogaji because Apata is regarded as part of Ibadan.

"The present Mogaji has no good intention for the people of Apata". The Olubadan was accused of being the brain behind the feud which exists between the Bale and the Mogaji because he appointed both. The strife between both has been seen as the source of conflicts in the area,

Some people said that it is nice to have both the Bale and Mogaji provided their presence does not debar the Community from whatever it wants to do and they both contribute towards the maintenance of peace of the area.

There was an allegation by a female respondent that the Bale is from Omin. To appoint him as Bale in Apata is not proper. Instead a Mogaji should have been appointed. The Bale refuted the allegation that he is from Omin. Despite the allegation, over 80% of the respondents regarded the Bale as the overall traditional head of the community.

Table 20.

Respondents Views as to whether they belong to any faction

View	Bale	Mogaji	Chiefs	Land-lords	Ethnic Gp. Rep.	No	%
Belong to faction	-	-	3	5	4	12	13
Do not belong to faction	1	1	3	55	20	80	87
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

The investigator wanted to know whether factions exist in the community and if there are, to know the leaders of such factions. The result showed that 87% of the respondents did not admit that there are factions. Only 13% of them did. When requested to mention the names of their leaders, 9 out of the 12 subjects claimed that the Bale is their leader, 2 said Mogaji and 1 named Ope Olu as the leader of the faction that he belonged.

Scope of interaction

Respondents were required to give their views on the

group in the community that they meet frequently or contact regularly to discuss issues which concern the welfare of their community.

Table 21

Respondents opinion on who they contact regularly to discuss Community Affairs

Groups	Bale	Knoll	Chiefs	Land-lords	Ethnic Group.	No.	%
The Bale and his Chiefs	1	-	1	15	2	19	20.7
Members of Land lords Asso.	-	1	-	36	14	51	55.4
Bale, Chiefs and landlords	-	-	4	-	-	4	4.3
Representative of ethnic group	-	-	-	2	-	2	2.2
All of the above	-	-	1	4	-	5	5.4
None of the above	-	-	-	3	0	3	12.6
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

The table above showed that majority of the respondents (51) interact mostly with the landlords. The Chiefs who are supposed to take decisions on community affairs is less interacted with. This could create gap in communication.

Table 22

Respondents Opinions on whether Landlords Association is another Decision Making Body

Opinion	Bale	Magaji	Chiefs	Land- lords	Ethnic Gr. Rep.	No	%
Yes	-	1	2	38	8	49	53
No	1	-	4	21	6	32	35
Not know	-	-	-	1	10	11	12
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Majority of respondents (53%) indicated that the Landlords Association is another decision making body apart from the Bale with his chiefs. Even the Mogaji agreed that the landlords association is a decision making body. 2 of the chiefs agreed to the claim that the association is a separate decision making body while 4 dissented. Majority of the Landlords who did not see the Landlords Associations as separate decision making body are those who felt aggrieved because of the actions of some individual landlords. Consequently they no longer associate with any of the associations. 10 out of 24 ethnic group representatives who could not give their opinions are the landlords who have withdrawn their membership from the landlords Associations.

Respondents' Opinion about the types of Conflict that fall within the realm of the various leaders to resolve

"Conflict will be averted if the Bale with his chiefs and other individuals who assume the position of leadership carry out their functions effectively realising their limits and bounds". This was an observation made by some respondents when asked about the types of conflicts that fall within the realm of various leaders in the community to resolve.

85% of the respondents said that most of the disputes except that of chieftaincy fall within the realm of the Bale and his Chiefs to resolve. They also claimed that the Chiefs should be blamed for not performing their roles efficiently over disputes in the community.

15% of the respondents were of the opinion that the Mogaji and the landlords should be blamed for whatever disputes that may be present in the community because most disputes fall within their realm to resolve.

Procedure for Conflict Resolution

In the opinion of the respondents 93%, the procedure for resolving conflicts in the community requires that the people should come together to talk over their problems. This approach ensures democratic procedure, voluntary cooperation, self help and development of indigenous leadership which form vital component of locality development (Dunnham, 1963) As health Education strategy, it places emphasis on taking a collective and collaborated decision which will have the authority and power to bind on every member of the community.

Table 23

Respondents opinion on how to Resolve Conflict in the Community in General

Responses	Bale Mogali	Chiefs	Land/ Lords	Elin. C. Gp. Reso.	No	%
All the people should come together to discuss and resolve conflict	1	-	2	16	27	29
Representatives from different groups/asso. should be invited to resolve conflicts	-	-	3	44	59	64
There is no conflict	-	1	-	-	6	7
Total	1	1	5	60	72	100

PROCEDURE FOR SELECTION INTO APATA WELFARE COUNCIL

Since majority of the respondents advocated that a forum should be created for a representative group to come together to discuss issues in the community, a Welfare Council was initiated.

In order to remove distrust and to repose confidence on members who are selected to represent the community, all the 92 respondents were required to give the names of two persons each. These should be persons whose influence and powers can contribute to solving problems in the community.

The names that were given were compiled based on tallied frequency and listed out in descending order depending on the number of respondents that gave such names.

Table 24

Selection of Members into the Welfare Council

S/No.	Name	Number of Respondents that Suggested the Names
1.	Ogundiran, T.A.	30
2.	Fasola, S.O.	24
3.	Amosun	13
4.	Adetola	13
5.	Rev. Ope Olu	11
6.	Alhaji Apapa T.A.	10
7.	Konolafe Ogr-Oluwa	10
8.	Makinde, T.F.	10
9.	Kassim, A.O.	6
10.	Akinfesan	2
11.	Dalinde	2

Selection of Members Continued

12.	Awe	1
13.	Abinile	1
14.	Akintola	1
15.	Onojie	1
16.	Abibola	1
17.	Sanindeni	1
18.	Famivesi	1
19.	Olu Olojo	1
20.	Orintoye	1
21.	Bamidele Umoru	1
22.	Abifarin	1
23.	Acogbola	1
24.	Ojoge Danie (Jr.)	1
25.	Muliyi	1
26.	Akinyi	1
27.	Iman Bakare	1
28.	Akinn	1
29.	Mos Tinuade	1
30.	Lamidi Adepoju	1
31.	Alhaji Awolumode	1
32.	Asiru	1

Note; Multiple suggestions of names.

Some of the respondents mentioned one name and some others refused to give any name because they felt that no

matter the calibre of people that are selected they will be influenced by some reactionary elements in the community. "They' could even be overpowered by the surreptitious activities of some few ethnic group members who do not see truth as a virtue" Some suggested that the landlord Associations should be given the mandate to serve the interest of the entire community. An informant even remarked that there is general distrust among the people. One leader suspects the other and so he found it difficult to suggest any name because he has lost faith in the people.

Respondents were told not to mention the names of the chiefs. The chiefs belong to a special group. They (the chiefs) and the listed people constituted the members of the Apata Welfare Council.

Table 25

Respondents' Opinions on how to resolve conflicts affecting Refuse Disposal

Responses	Bale Mogaji	Chiefs	Land-	Ethnic Gp. Rep.	No	%
Abrogate the use of refuse depot	1	2	26	6	35	38
Creat refuse depot in each quarter		2	20	10	32	34
Make a portion of I.M.G. acquired area in Adifase an authorized depot		1	4	1	6	7
Employ a contractor to do house to house collection			6	1	7	8
Refuse generated should be used for composting			1	-	1	1
Use present authorized depot but children under six years should not be allowed to dump refuse		2	3	6	11	12
Total	1	1	60	24	92	100

Majority (38%) of the respondents advocated that conflict about refuse disposal will be resolved if the idea of using any area as refuse depot is removed. This approach will go a long way to solve the perennial problem of where should be acquired to serve as depot. Although 34% of the

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Employ a contractor to do house to house collection				6	1	7	8
Refuse generated should be used for composting				1	-	1	1
Use present authorized depot but children under six years should not be allowed to dump refuse			2	3	6	11	12
Total	1	1	6	60	24	92	100

Majority (38%) of the respondents advocated that conflict about refuse disposal will be resolved if the idea of using any area as refuse depot is removed. This approach will go a long way to solve the perennial problem of where should be acquired to serve as depot. Although 34% of the

respondents favoured the creation of more depot but none is ready to give out land to locate depot. The 1% opinion of composting the refuse generated should have been in the right direction but there is no market for the manure which is the end product.

RESULT OF INTERVIEW WITH BALE AND MOGAJI

The result is presented in tabular form to highlight salient points of agreement or disagreement in their views.

Table 26

A summary of the investigator's Interview with Bale and Mogaji

Questions	Response by Bale	Response by Mogaji
A. Is there any special qualification for acceptance into your posts?	You must be an indigene of Apata	No
B. (i) What is your family lineage?	Patrilineal	Matrilineal
(ii) Does your lineage influence your ascendance into your post?	Yes	Yes
(iii) What qualities qualify you for the title?	Have no idea	My father was the Chief of the area
(iv) What is the main role of Olubadan in the conferment of a chieftaincy title on you?	Olubadan confirms or the advice of Oho, Awikun and Ogimi families	The family recommends and Oluba or approves

summary continued

	No	No
C. (i) Had there been a Mogaji in Apata before now?		
(ii) Would you regard the installation of a Bale and Mogaji in the same community as a source of conflict?	Yes - members of Apata Committee wrote protest letter against the appointment of a Mogaji	It is not
D. How much income does your post attract?	There is no salary	No salary
E. (i) Do you lobby to get what you want?	No	No
(ii) would you say that you have people who are highly placed related you	Only close relations	Have fellow business men members of interest groups and ethnic groups
F. (i) Are you a member of any social or voluntary organisation in the Community?	Belongs only to Egbe Omo Ibadan	Yes - Land-lord Association and Egbe Omo Ibadan
(ii) If yes, name the organization	Ditto	Ditto
(iii) Do you hold any position in the organization	No	Yes
(iv) what position?	None	President Egbe Omo Ibadan
(v) Is the organisation a local branch of state or national Association	Local branch	Local branch

Summary Continued

Q/ What are their objectives?	To Foster unity amongst Indigenes	To enhance the welfare of all To foster unity among Ibadan people
G (i) Do you belong to any Association in Apata	I do not	Yes
(ii) Are you a member of any interest group?	Yes-Egbe Omo Ibadan	Yes - Landlords Association and Egbe Omo Ibadan
Is such organization in the locality or outside?	Locality	Locality
H. (i) The Council of Chiefs is important decision making body in Apata. Do you belong to it?	Yes	Yes
(ii) Do you think there is another decision making body besides that of the Chiefs.	None	Yes
(iii) Name such a body	None	Landlords Association
(iv) Is there any group in the community upon which your personal decisions have great influence?	Yes	Yes - Social friends
I. What would you say that such influence is dependent upon	My position as Bale	My religious affiliation and ethnic association
J. What are your major roles?	Settle dispute Allocate lands and ensure the welfare of the Community	Advise the Chiefs

summary continued

<p>(ii) Do these roles conflict with other people's roles?</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>Do you think that the Chiefs and the landlords Associations are two different decision making bodies</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>NO</p>
<p>L. Do People in this area often come to see you about their problems?</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>
<p>(ii) Which group consults you when they want something done in the community?</p>	<p>Ethnic, Chiefs Landlords</p>	<p>Landlords</p>
<p>M. Judging Political experiences would you say you have control over majority of your community members?</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>
<p>N. (i) Who makes decisions for the community in respect of allocation of land and type of project needed?</p>	<p>Bale and his Chiefs</p>	<p>Individuals and land- lords Association</p>
<p>(ii) Would you say that such decision making often cause conflicts</p>	<p>Sometimes</p>	<p>No Conflicts</p>
<p>O. Would you say that the Chiefs are as powerful as they used to be</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>NO</p>
<p>P. If there is conflict in the Community whom would you blame for such?</p>	<p>Since land- lords are in charge of dif- ferent areas, conflicts aris- ing from their quarters must be blamed on them. The Bale could be blamed for others</p>	<p>Blame Bale Chiefs and Mogaji</p>

Summary Continued

Q.	How do you get your message across to Community members?	Personal contact and use of circulars	Circulars, personal contact and town center
R.	What are your suggestions for resolving differences in Apata	All the people must come to gether	Invite representatives from different groups and associations

From the above responses it is evident that in most crucial issues, the Bale and Mogaji expressed contradictory views meaning that there is disagreement between them.

In a situation where there is rapport, their views should have been complementary. Emphasis is placed on the Bale and Mogaji because they are seen to be at the core of the inherent conflicts prevalent in Apata.

They both see their roles as not conflicting with each other. While the Bale thinks that the Chiefs are as powerful as before the Mogaji sees the powers of the Chiefs as being waning. The Bale does not want to be blamed for the conflicts in the community. He felt that landlords who are in charge of the different quarters should be blamed for conflicts arising thereof from the quarters. This indicated that the Bale has lost full grip of the entire community. The Mogaji assumed a stance that he, the Bale and other Chiefs, should be indicted for whatever conflict that is

attendant in the community.

The investigator observed that the main source of disagreement between Bale and Mogaji is ascendance to the post of Bale in Apata.

Apata is a part of Ibadan. It should have a Mogaji who would have been an aspirant to the post of Olubadan rather than a Bale.

Results of Interview with Chiefs and Members of Landlords Association:

Respondents opinion on the relationships which exist between one group and another in the community revealed that it is friendly. 60 (90%) out of 66 (100%) respondents held this view. 5 Landlords (7.6%) expressed the view that the relationship is strained. Only 1 Landlord (1.6%) expressed strong feeling that the groups had nothing to do with each other. In a situation where almost every person is in friendly relationship with the neighbour, one would expect cooperation. But from observation the impression is contrary. Apparently there seemed to be lack of cooperation among the various groups in the Community.

Table 27

Respondents Opinion on Relationships Between the Various Interest Groups in the Community

	Chief.	Landlords	No	%
Friendly	5	54	59	90.6
Strained	-	5	5	7.8
have nothing to do with each other	-	1	1	1.6
TOTAL	6	60	66	100

Table 20

Reasons given by Respondents on the causes of Separation Among Groups During Self-help Projects

Cause	Chiefs	Landlords	No	%
Different groups embark on different projects	1	10	11	17
No Coordination in the activities of the various groups		4	4	6
The people are generally uncooperative		7	7	11
Activities (Projects) are limited to particular areas		4	4	6
People feel unconcerned	2	11	13	20
Illiteracy, ignorance and selfishness		3	3	4
Other groups are not invited	3	15	18	27
Government must do everything		6	6	9
		60	66	100

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Other groups are not invited	3	15	18	27
Government must do everything		6	6	9
		60	66	100

Responses indicated dissension among the groups in the community.

Cooperation in group project according to respondents views is subject to invitation given out by those embarking on the project. 27% of the respondents gave this as one of the reasons why there is segregation during self-help projects. 20% of the respondents expressed that some people "feel uncoordinated". Those who attribute the cause of segregation to be due to different groups embarking on different projects was 17%. 6% of the respondents gave the reason for the segregation among the groups as a consequence of no coordination in the activities carried out by the various groups.

The negative attitude of the people towards self-help project is reflected by 11% response that "the people are generally uncooperative. The reason that the Government must do everything for the community represented by us may be traced to illiteracy, ignorance and selfishness which 5% of the respondents gave as reason for the cause of segregation among groups in the Community. The reason given by another 6% of the respondents that because projects are limited to particular areas of the community, therefore other groups who are not directly affected may not be ready to partake in them showed uncooperative attitude. This is inimical to participation and involvement in self-help

programmes. Therefore, it is an unprogressive approach to community welfare.

Table 4

Distribution of Respondents' Opinion by Quarters on the Media are Used for Relaying Information to the People

Mode of Media Used	Alami	Kirana	Adfese	Idju
Circulars only	x	x		
Through ward leaders	x			
Announcement in mosque		x		
Town Crier only			x	
Personal contact and circulars	x	x	x	x
Personal contact and town crier			x	

X indicate media used.

Personal contact and circulars are widely used in the dissemination of information within the community. All the four quarters use these media to relay messages across to their people.

Town crier only is specifically used in Adfese quarters in addition to other means. It sometimes makes use of circulars.

The respondents have the opinion that use of town crier is a more effective medium because it keeps a larger number of the citizens aware of the information that is

communicated.

Only Alalaba make use of announcement in the mosque to pass on messages to its people.

While Alamu makes use of various media such as circulars, word leaders and personal contacts, I'upeju makes use of circulars and personal contact.

The fact of using different media within the same Community by sections of it is indicative of division.

Table 30

Responses as to whether or not Respondents use Lobbying to gain support.

Lobby	Bale	Ngaji	chiefs	Landlords	No	%
Yes	-	-	1	15	16	27
No	1	1	5	45	52	70
Total	1	1	6	60	68	100

Only 16 respondents out of 68 admitted that as leaders in the community who make high level contact with government officials or chiefs in the locality, state or national level, lobby or use local influential such as friends, school-leaves or business associates to get their cases across. But when questioned further to find out whether they have people in high administration or political circles who are related to them, 27% claimed that they have business associates, 26% said members of the same associations and 27% claimed they have close relatives or

kinsmen. Of the rest 21% agreed to having classmates who are related to them in some ways. There is a feeling that these different relations may be used by these leaders to get their cases across as the need arises.

Table 31

Respondents Views on how much Contribution the Bale and Mogaji have made to the welfare of the Community

Views	Chiefs	Landlords	No.	%
Both have contributed much	1	3	4	6
None has contributed anything	-	4	4	6
Bale has contributed more	5	40	45	68
Mogaji has contributed more	-	1	1	2
Do not know	-	12	12	18
Total	6	60	66	100

Respondents were required to give their personal assessment of the Bale and the Mogaji in terms of their contributions to the welfare of Apata Community.

The result showed that 68% of the respondents had the view that the Bale had contributed more. This no doubt has revealed that he shows more concern for the welfare of the community than the Mogaji. 6% of the respondents claimed that both of them had contributed nothing.

When asked about the traditional consideration for the appointment of either a Bale or a Mogaji, views were given as follows:-

Olubadan takes decisions on who should be made a Bale or Mogaji. But all the respondents agreed that what is of importance is that an aspirant should be an indigene who is from the land in Apata and must come from Foko Family. Either the father or mother of such aspirant must come from Foko. For example the current Bale's father is from Foko family in Ibadan. The mother of the Mogaji is from Foko too. In addition to being from Foko, the popularity of a candidate within the Community is also taken into consideration. An informant observed that the post of Mogaji or other chiefs is an unnecessary creation of the Olubadan.

Influence on Decisions

Respondents were required to agree or disagree with the opinion that they can influence or have a say in the decision about what the leaders in the community say and implement for the progress of the community. Their responses are shown on the table below.

Table 32

Respondents opinion^{on} whether they wield some influence over decisions made in Arata

Responses	No	%
Yes	50	76
No	16	24
Total	66	100

It was confirmed by 76% of the respondents that they had influence on the decisions made by the leaders in respect to the welfare of the community.

On a further questioning about the basis for such influence, 39% of the respondents claimed that their source of influence is dependent upon the social status which they command in the society. 41% of them said that their influence is due to their membership of Landlords Association whilst only 15% had the opinion that their influence is due to their objectivity and straightforwardness in community issues. Others (5%) felt that the influence they wielded stemmed from their religious affiliation

(Table 33)

Table 33

Reasons Given by Respondents for wielding Influence on Community Decisions

	No	%
Member of Landlord Association	27	41
Social Status	26	39
Objective and straightforwardness	10	15
Religious affiliation	3	5
Total	66	100

Result of Interview with Representatives of Ethnic Groups Who Are Neither Chiefs Nor Landlords

To determine the extent to which the representative of ethnic groups are involved in decision making, they were asked whether they were ever invited to any forum where important decisions concerning the welfare of the community are made.

Table 34

Respondents Opinion on Involvement in Decision Making

Opinion	No	%
Yes	5	21
No	19	79
Total	24	100

Only 21% of them admitted that they were invited while 79% said they were not. This means that majority of them are not involved in decision making. Those who claimed that they are involved in decision making explained that they did

so because they are either members of the Development Committee or officers to such a body. A few other gave reasons why they are not involved as mentioned hereunder.

They claimed that they are neither indigenes of Apata nor members of landlord association. There is generally an element of suspicion among the people. Some felt that their tribes are not recognised or reckoned with in the Community. Members of such tribes are not given the opportunity to play any role. But importantly, there is the view that there is no cooperation among the people. Therefore rigid individualism is operative in the community.

It was observed that although some respondents claimed to belong to a development committee, there was no time throughout the two years of the investigator's activities in the Community when the Committee ever held a meeting. In a discussion with the self-acclaimed secretary to the Committee, he said that the Committee hold meetings only when there is need for it. But when the issues of which local Government Apata belongs, the demolition of structures and the Nigeria Railway corporation lease order on inhabitants of Adifase and Alaraba came up, the investigator requested the Secretary to convene a meeting of the Development Committee but he did not.

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It was observed that although some respondents claimed to belong to a development committee, there was no time throughout the two years of the investigator's activities in the Community when the Committee ever held a meeting. In a discussion with the self-acclaimed secretary to the Committee, he said that the Committee hold meetings only when there is need for it. But when the issues of which local Government Apata belongs, the demolition of structures and the Nigeria Railway Corporation lease order on inhabitants of Adifase and Alaraba came up, the investigator requested the Secretary to convene a meeting of the Development Committee but he did not.

Based on this background coupled with views expressed by some respondents about it, the investigator was forced to assume that such organization is either defunct or it was non-existing.

Out of the 24 ethnic group representatives who were asked whether they are involved in the administration of the Community, 21 (87.5%) said that they were not involved in the administration while 3 (12.5%) claimed that they do so through their involvement in a non-existing Development Committee.

Table 35

Respondents views regarding involvement of Ethnic Group Representatives in Administration

Involvement in Administration	No	%
Yes	3	12.5
No	21	87.5
Total	24	100

Cultural Conflict Among Ethnic Groups.

When asked whether there were any of their culture which clashes with those of any other ethnic groups in the Community, all the 24 respondents but 2 said there was none. Of these two was an Hausa respondent who claimed that the "Kokuba" cultural display which involves wrestling done by Hausa clashes with some Yoruba Cultures.

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According to the respondent "Kokua" is only practised by the Hausas in Adifaso quarter. Although he explained that "Kokua" is a form of wrestling contest in which the contestants used wipe on each other but he was not able to define the nature of the clash. The other respondent who belongs to the Ijesha group stated that the Igbira and Ijesha had a conflict over the Igbira masquerade displays. The Igbira used to be out in a certain period of the year with their masquerade. During such period all the women were prevented from coming out of their houses until the masquerade has retired. The Ijesha people questioned the culture because it restricted people's freedom of movement. The issue was taken to Court. Of course, the Court gave its ruling in favour of Ijesha people and so the masquerade was banned. Since then the masquerade had not displayed nor performed in Apata.

Findings in this study revealed that conflict exist in Apata Community.

Table 36

Classification of Common Conflicts in Anata Community

Types of Conflicts	Findings from Cited Tables	
	Conflicts Exist	Conflict does not Exist
Issue oriented	10, 14, 15	12, 13
Structure Oriented	16, 17, 18, 20	19.
Communication Gap	21, 29	
Competition	22, 31	
Asymmetric endogenous	24, 32, 34, 35	
Symmetric	26, 27, 28	

N.B. It is difficult to group any conflict into a specific recognizable category devoid of the qualities of another. But in this study the nature of the individuals and their interactions within their various groups form the basis of the classification.

DISCUSSION

Background to the Conflict Situation

Fundamental to the conflict in Apata community is the leadership tussle which has affected many facets of organization in the area and therefore made it near impossible for those in authority to wield their powers and take decisions that ensure collaboration and harmony. This is further exasperated by rivalry amongst the four Associations of landlords and differences within the Yoruba speaking ethnic groups.

At the death of the first Bale of Apata Chief Tinuala, some fifteen years ago, there was the need to instal another Bale for Apata. There were two aspirants to the title, namely, the incumbent Bale and the son to the late Bale. Eventually, the incumbent Bale was conferred with the title. The opponent did not take kindly to or accept his defeat in good faith. So he used his office as President of Egbe Omo Ibadan and other influentials within and without Apata to be conferred with the title of a Mogaji. By tradition a Mogaji is the first step in the line of ascension to Olofin stool while the Bale is a caretaker. If Apata is regarded as a part of Ibadan as normally it is, the post of

Mogaji is redundant or otherwise should have been referred to as Head of a family. But because the Mogaji claims that he was appointed by Olubadan as well, he has similar rights and authority as any other chiefs in the area. This gave rise to the power tussle which has pervaded the community.

The Mogaji manipulated his few supporters to pursue and perpetuate his course. This led to cleavages within the community that frequently caused factional disputes. In such disputes each faction accused the other of wrongdoings.

Prior to ^{the} 1979 elections, a piece of land at Adifase which measures 21½ acres was acquired from the owners Odutola and Soule because they are from Ijebu. Some people from Ogun State were not happy about it. At the advent of party politics, the then Chairman of the ruling Unity Party of Nigeria in Apata who incidentally is from Egba ^{land} used the opportunity to invite the Government to build a school on part of the land. This action was not with consensus opinion, though the Bale consented for fear of being charged of playing politics. The school was originally supposed to have been built at Bora some kilometres away from Apata. The school, though at Apata still bears the name Bora High School. Some people used the opportunity too to grab part of the land as personal asset. But a faction, without the consent of the

chiefs went to Ibadan Municipal Government to request that the remaining part of the land be used as substitute place for the building of the burnt Dugbe market. They tagged the place "Dugbe Tutu" meaning New Dugbe. A prominent Unity Party of Nigeria women leader in the area then, collected money from some women. With the backing of some officials of Ibadan Municipal Government, she got treasury receipts and allocation letters to that effect. Treasury receipts number 8885152, 8885163, 8885174 for ten naira each and allocation letters reference numbers EV019A/35/5 and EV019A/2/5 were also shown as evidence to attest to these facts. To counter this move, the Bale gave the land to the Police to build a Police Post. The Police Post too was originally met for Iddo some ten kilometres away from Apata. In addition, the Bale, Iyalode, Abifarin and Deinde are accused of claiming ownership of part of the land. In an interview, with these people they refuted ownership of any portion of the land.

The involvement of the landlords in the conflict was also traced to the Mogaji issue. The Mogaji belongs to the Alaraba Landlords Association. This is the Association that claims that it is the central Association therefore all others should regard it as such. But other Associations felt that they have nothing to gain or lose by associating with

it and so a gap is created.

The appointment to the customary court in which the Bale was excluded from the membership was traced to be connected with use of people in position to intimidate and embarrass the chiefs and people of Apata.

The issue of which local Government Apata belongs to re-echoed in 1984. This caused differences in the community which broke it into two factions. One faction supported that Apata should join Akinyele Local Government while the other opted for Ibadan Municipal Government. The Bale and Mogaji belonged to either of the factions but not the same.

In summary, three important factors affected the conflict situation in Apata. They are:

1. Leadership and power tussle.
2. Interest groups rivalry.
3. Intra ethnic group differences among Ibadan indigenes.

Those identified to be at the centre of the conflicts are:-

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Bale | 5. Abifarin |
| 2. Mogaji | 6. Amosun |
| 3. Iyalode | 7. Adetola |
| 4. Wule Motu | 8. Deinde. |

Social, Economic and Educational Characteristics of the Leaders.

The influence, respect or authority which the individual commands is dependent to a large extent on social, economic and the educational status of such individual.

Social status as Worsley (1970) described it, includes using wealth to get power over others and respect from them to build up a political following or to maximize one's status. Rex and Moore (1967) classified and ranked people by income, educational level and wealth. This study revealed that the social, economic and educational standard of the accredited leaders in Apata fall averagely within the same level. That makes it difficult for one member to respect the viewpoint of the other. The Bale is observed to be inaccessible and he is withdrawn. He read up to standard five and he is a retired civil servant with the U.A.C. He is a muslim and belongs to no other social group other than the Egbe Omo Ibadan but does not attend their meetings. He has only a few relations who are close to him. The Mogaji on the other hand, tends to be socially disposed and makes more connections using fellow businessmen, members of his Associations and other influentials. He mixes with people and he is a christian. He also attended primary school. By virtue of his being the President of Egbe Omo Ibadan and a

member of a Landlords Association his social circle is wider. But compared to some of the chairmen and members of the Landlords Associations these standards of social disposition, economic status and educational levels, they are no means to reckon with in the presence of their subjects. Worse still, neither the post of a Bale nor that of a Mogaji attracts any remuneration. So they rely much on the sweat of their struggle to earn a living. The Chiefs require the cooperation of the Landlords in order to be able to carry their people along with them. This is in accordance with the opinion of Redfield (1955), that a community is made up of people with the individuals getting along with one another.

On the other hand, the other chiefs lack the features to exert authority. The only quality of asset which the Bale and Mogaji rely on is trace of their descent. Compared to the Scottish clans who trace descent through the father i.e. patrilineal or as in the former native state of Travencore in India where the ruler, the Maharaja traced descent matrilineally i.e. through the mother (Mandelbaur, 1971), the Bale belongs to the patrilineal descent and the Mogaji the matrilineal descent. In both cases either the son or daughter's son can claim right to the throne. In the case of Apata, it is not enough to claim descent from Foko or the families of Oho, Akakwo or Ojai. An aspirant to the post of Bale must be a son from

the family that will present a Bale. The incumbent Bale is a son from one of the Foko families qualified to choose a Bale for Apata while the mother of the Mogaji is also from the same family. By implication the Mogaji has no equal right as the present Bale to contest for the post of a Bale in Apata.

Power Structure and Leadership

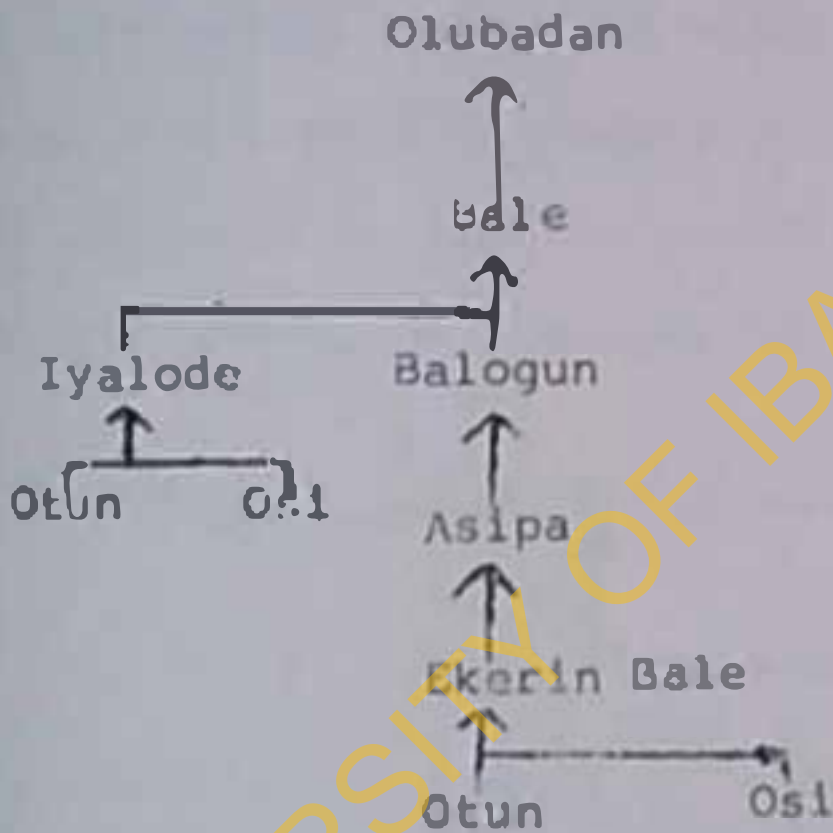
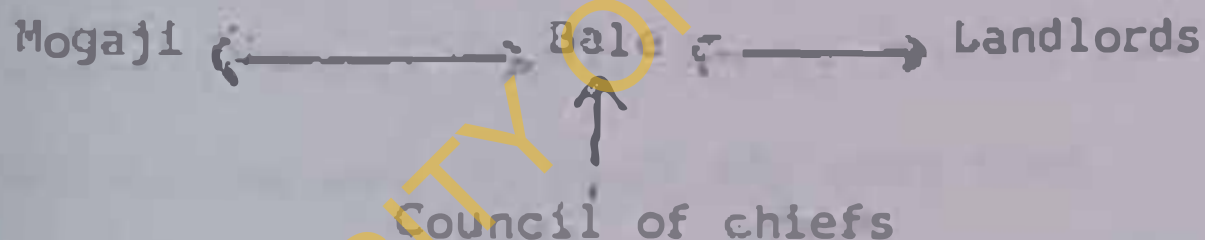


Fig. II: Vertical structure of Leadership in Apata

Originally there was only a Bale but on ascendance to the throne in 1974, the incumbent Bale decided to set up a council of chiefs which consists of the Bale as the traditional Head who is responsible directly to Olubadan (Fig. II). Directly responsible to him are the Balogun and Iyalode. Asipa is the next in command to Balogun followed by Ekerin

and Otun and Osi Bale. The Iyalode also has Otun and Osi. Power flows along that vertical order down to the community members.

But intense social interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds brought into the system some modifications which led to the creation of the post of a Mogaji that hitherto did not exist. In time, ethnic bond became weakened and new loyalties which transcended ethnic grouping predominated. This ushered in the formation of various interest groups. The various interest groups leaders now become interested in power and the struggle for it. These in effect modified the power structure in which the Bale, Mogaji and landlords operate horizontal system.



The equality of powers between Bale and the landlords was substantiated by 40% and 36% respondents views in favour of landlords and Bale with his chiefs, respectively when they were asked about who is really managing the affairs of the community (Table 16).

The kind of power wielded by those who take decisions determine the nature of involvement and the interests of

leaders and those who are led. When the power exercised by leaders are conflicting the coercive effect is lost and the led do whatever they liked. Then the custodian of power needed to be blamed for weakness. But (Cohen 1969) admitted that more than one type of power and involvement may be present in a set-up. These must be congruent in order to generate the type of compliance expected. The Bale and his chiefs should work with the landlords in order to wield concerted power to give good leadership.

Impact of Financial Standing on Leadership

The traditional chiefs have no gainful employment as 87.5% of them are traders and 12.5% representing Bale is a retired pensioner with a monthly stipend of about #200. As traders the chiefs try to maximize their profits.

This avaricious tendency has made them subservient to the more wealthy landlords though they are landlords as well.

The landlords are highly individualistic and some of them have charismatic traits that endeared them to their admirers and also encouraged their pursuit of wealth, prestige and political powers. Structurally they form a central point at which different sets or field of social relations intersect. They maintain large establishments which make it

possible for men of different occupational specializations to cooperate promptly and efficiently when any issue of interest is discussed. Because of their political and social roles they maintain a web of social relations. They also act as political leaders in their various quarters. Indeed, many of them are referred to as 'Big Men'. An informant told the investigator that Alaraba and Alamu Landlords Associations have already applied to Oyo State Government to be given recognition as institutional bodies similar to a Council of Chiefs.

In the circumstance therefore, the traditional native Chiefs are regarded as mere ceremonial Chiefs because they lacked the wherewithal or material possession to establish themselves as serious leaders.

Political Affiliation

According to well-corroborated accounts by informants, politics in Apata had vindictive motives and to a very large extent played a dominant part in the conflict situation and the relegation of the Chiefs. The dependence of modern complex societies upon political institutions for their operation is obvious (Redfield, 1955). The Chiefs operate within the frontier of rule-making and rule-observing where conflicts occur or at least differences of

opinion and the enforcement and interpretation of the rules helps to keep the people conscious of them.

During the governorship of Lord Lugard in Nigeria about 1914 he made use of chiefs (Lugard, 1922). The British Government wanted cheap rule and little involvement in the native politics of Nigerian communities. To achieve this aim, Lugard gave ^{power to} the natural rulers or appointed ones.

The British officials were around to protect the Chiefs and so enhanced their prestige but interfered little with their rules. The Chiefs were very powerful then. But with Nigeria's independence in 1960, political parties took over the control of Government. The Chiefs were then subjected to give their unflinching allegiance to the ruling party. They began to affiliate with the Government in power to the detriment of the choice of their mind. With the coming of party politics, indirect rule collapsed and the Chiefs lost a great deal of coercive power. The traditional Chiefs lost most of their powers. The only way out was to affiliate with any ruling party and so use it as weapon for prosecuting a course of vengeance.

The 1979 - 1983 politics revealed that the party alignment of the people was contingent upon their factional leaning. Even the Bale who claimed to have been neutral had his sympathy for a party and that was the reason it was

difficult for him and his Chiefs to make a conclusive decision over the use of the acquired land in Adifase for the purpose it was meant. As a reaction the appointments to the customary court in 1982 which excluded the Bale as a member was to show resentment to his action. Those actions and reactions resuscitated in 1984 the idea of which Local Government Apata belongs that was stage-managed by a factional group. It almost shattered the community and denied it of Government amenities.

Chieftaincy Role

The bane of disaffection that has plagued Apata derives from Chieftaincy. The creation by the Chiefs-maker of the title of Mogaji purported to be of equal status with Bale in a community which has a Bale with a right to recommend other Chiefs, does not augur well for effective administration. 53% of community members interviewed attested to this fact. The situation was made worse by conferring the title of Mogaji on the same person who had vied with the incumbent Bale for the same post and lost. Although the Mogaji claimed that his major duty is to advise a group that does not recognise him as a part. In fact, an informant hinted that since the battle for Bale was fought and won eleven years ago, the Mogaji and Bale had never met face to face with themselves

not talked together. The tussle for power stemmed from the fact that the Olubadan who conferred the title of ~~Male~~ also conferred that of Mogaji. Mogaji is mere self arrogation because he has no letter of confirmation to that effect from Olubadan as other Chiefs. Whatever the case, perhaps the suggestion of Strauss (1971), would go a long way to remove recurrence of a similar situation in future. He advised that since societies try to maintain their identity in the course of time, there should be a rule fixing the status of the children in respect to that of the parents.

Communication and Decision Making for the Community

The communication system in the community is not adequate and so the members are not generally aware of decisions taken by their leaders. Ademuwagun (1971), emphasizes social interaction. The understanding of communication leads to harmonious relationships among people as individuals, groups or nations in their cross-cultural setting while misunderstanding leads to animosities or strained relationships. In a multi-ethnic community like Apata, the leaders should exploit various channels and media to disseminate decisions in order to ensure meaningful social interaction rather than depend on use of circulars and non-existing ward leaders. The use of town

crier which used to be very effective is no longer in use except in Adifase quarters.

The strained relationships which appeared to exist among people and groups in the community is an indication that there is gap in communication. Representatives of various groups and associations are not sufficiently involved in decision making. The low educational level of the Chiefs and their weakened position had affected not only the organization of the functions of communication, decision making and coordination of action but also social interaction with other community members. So it is no longer possible for them to lead individuals to act in conformity to the corporate interest of the community.

In a well organized community, decision making follows an order. A political scientist Macridis (1955), distinguished between the three stages in the process of decision making as:

1. Problem formulation in the light of the information that is supplied through the channel of communication;
2. deliberation when the leaders try to find solution;
- and
3. decision.

Every stage requires cooperation and coordination and when a break occurs in the process, a gap exists and this leads to conflict. When the Chiefs, Landlords and ethnic groups

take decisions separately it is equivalent to individual decision. Individual decisions as the case is at present are never implemented because there is no authority to back such decisions.

Authority of Leaders

The problem of decision making is closely linked with authority. Decisions will be implemented only if they are backed up by authority which involves the legitimate use of power (Cohen 1969). The situation in Apata represents leadership with authority but lacked adequate power to carry the people along.

Power is nearly always inherent in social relationships and different kinds of social relationships are mobilized to support authority. There is formal power or ascribed power which is associated with an office such as Bale, and the personal network of power of the individuals occupying the office. In informally organized political system like that which obtains in Apata community the leader requires both. But at present, extensive use is made of the power of office only by Chiefs in a situation which require extensive use of personal power of the incumbent of a position of authority. This is one of the reasons why the Chiefs-maker should choose for the position of authority old settlers or descendants of such who have built for

themselves an effective network of social relationships in their own right, so that by their personally derived economic, moral and other relation within the community they can be respected and obeyed. By this criteria only few landlords are qualified not even any of the Chiefs.

In the same vein, it is not enough for families to recommend individuals for conferment of title of Bale/ ^{without} giving some considerations to the personal qualities of the individuals. Had the incumbent Bale had social, economic or educational edge over the Mogaji the crisis situation would long have been over. The Bale does not hold consultations with the influential landlords whom he should have used.

The people in the community have their own understanding of the class system, of the gradation of prestige and of the way power is distributed. They see the landlords as closer to them. They acknowledge this and reciprocate by working cooperatively with them. The landlords tend to be more concerned with the welfare of the people as was indicated by 55.4% respondents view. Therefore they see authority as radiating from the landlords.

ORGANIZATIONS/ASSOCIATIONS IN APATA

The various Organizations or Associations identified in Apata include Formal Interest Groups which are made up of the four Landlords Associations namely, Alamu, Alaraba,

Mifase and Ilupeju and Informal Interest Groups made up of the Council of Chiefs, Egbe Omo Ibadan, Igbira Progress Union, Association of Egba Sons and Daughters, Ijesha Union, Bendel Association and Ibo Union.

Organization of Interest Groups

The formal Interest Groups to which the various Landlords Associations in Apata belonged are organized on zonal basis. Membership is open to house owners who meet regularly to discuss and take decisions on the afflictions of their quarters. They subscribe to whatever project the quarters want to embark on. They belong to a class of their own. Within their set-up, there are officials like Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, treasurer and Public Relation Officer. They work in committees such as bridge and road committees. The Secretary does most of the correspondence. Living in close spatial proximity is significant for the development of their primary relationships. This arises from their intimate and constant communication with one another. To some extent and apart from the fact that they are a collection of people from different cultural backgrounds, they as a group share the same body of cultural norms, values and symbols. They organise themselves for political action in order to coordinate the political activities of their groups

and to develop institution of authority, leadership and decision making. They meet every Wednesday.

The Council of Chiefs consists of the Bale as the traditional Head who also recommends other chiefs to Olubadan for appointment. Prior to now, the Bale nominates his Secretary who is not a Chief. But now the Ekerin Bale who was newly appointed is educated and functions as the secretary to the Council. They meet every fifteen days. In other words, they meet twice in a month.

The Chiefs act as judges, regulate marriages, divorce and inheritance. They arbitrate in disputes and generally seek to uphold what the community regard as just and make decisions in respect of land allocation for projects.

The other groups are based on kinship association or tribal association sharing the same language as well or members from the same state such as Bendel Association and Ibo Union in Apata. Generally they are a weak association because the bond of unity is weak. Okonjo (1967) referred to affiliation to such tribal associations as a temporary measure taken by new immigrants to towns to get help to integrate within the new social milieu. In some cases such as Egbe Omo Ibadan their major objective is to promote

brotherhood and foster understanding. The group is yet to show overt manifestation of this objective because the conflicts in Apata stem from two brothers within this same fold. There is no much distinctiveness among the various groups as quite a number of them have become well acculturated and have therefore imbibed Yoruba culture by their years of settlement. They exert not much influence on the political functions of the community. Some of them meet fortnightly whereas others meet monthly and whenever the need arises. They have officials such as President, Secretary and Treasurer. In most cases the Secretary performs the role of Public Relations Officer. They subscribe monthly dues ranging from fifty kobo (50k) to one naira (N1) depending on individual Association. There are reported cases of embezzlement of funds which caused frequent quarrels among members. In some of the associations they hold an end of year get together in their president's house or any other appointed place.

Occupational Background of Members

The Chiefs are predominantly traders and the bulk of the population engage in trading. Quite unlike the Ibo traders in the area who are interested in making

little profit from the large quantity of goods they sold, the Yoruba traders are more interested in making as much a gain from an article sold than in the quantity sold notwithstanding the cumulative profit that may be derived from the quantity. They can allow their stock to remain in their stores for as long as possible but insist on maximum profit from whatever sales is made. This shows lack of familiarity with business acumen.

The landlords who are house- and landowners engage in varied businesses. Houses are a source not only of economic but also of political power.

Among the ethnic groups, the Igbira are mainly farmers (51.1%), 33.3% are native tailors and 16.6% engage in petty trading. Members from Yoruba speaking areas take up assorted jobs. The Ibos and Edos engage in hotel businesses, trading and some are civil servants. The Hausas, like their counterparts in Sabo Quarters of Ibadan (Coher 1969) are found close to motor parks engage in selling tea, and cigarette and others wander and roam around awaiting for any available contractor who might seek their services for the day. They engage in menial and unskilled jobs.

One of the Hausa informants queried a respondent who presented himself as one of the leaders of Hausas from Sokoto in Anata. According to the informant, the man is an alien from Niger Republic who has disguised himself as an Hausa from Sokoto. Until the extradition order of the Federal Government on illegal aliens many foreigners from Niger and Chad have always disguised themselves as Hausas.

Educational Status of Members

On the average 49% of members interviewed had no formal education while 51% had some form of education. The Chiefs except the Bale and Ekerin Bale had no formal education. These Chiefs are also part of the landlords who had not any formal education. Others attended various schools ranging from primary to University (Table 9).

Relationship of the Associations

Basically, 90.6% of those interviewed admitted that the relationship is cordial while 7.8% indicated that it is strained and 1.6% gave no views (Table 27) but from observation there is a large display of uncooperativeness most especially when any group embarks on a self-help project. This is attributed to either an averagely low level of education which breeds ignorance or the attitude of people

are too individualistic. Besides, inter-group and intra-group conflicts are common in the various landlords associations and the Chiefs' segments. A glaring example is the claim by the Alaraba Landlords Association that it is the central Association and so should be recognised as such and given with the responsibility of coordinating the activities of all the other Associations.

The forward looking Alamu Landlords Association made up of heterogeneous ethnic groups and occupations assume that it derives no benefit by coming together with other groups. But with persuasion and the high degree of enlightenment which reign in the association, representatives from the association including the Chairman made the coming together of various groups representatives possible in the community. The Adifase and Ilupeju Associations felt alienated. Thus, the landlords Associations are in continual competition and strife with one another therefore breeding unhealthy rivalry.

Although within the respective quarters the landlords associations have become the centre of a widespread network of social relationships. This provided Apata with a political organization and some coordinated processes of communication. For example, using towncrier to disseminate

Information in Adifase on deliberation, decision making and action. In Alamu Quarters for instance, the Landlords Association has used solo effort to construct a bridge over Alaro stream and has currently embarked on construction of road and drains along the road to Bembo Game Village. The Alaraba Association had engaged the service of a lawyer to help iron out the restrictive lease order on the members by the Nigeria Railway Corporation. These are activities carried out by individual Associations without help from other groups within the same community. These are marks of uncooperativeness which shows no rapport.

Intra group misunderstanding is common in the council of chiefs. The issue of which local government Apata belongs caused a division among the Chiefs. While some supported Ibadan Municipal Government, others opted for Akinyele. Indiscriminate sales of land and land acquisition without the consent of the Bale has also caused intra group conflicts. Most of the unfriendly attitude observed have their sources to be ignorance. The Mogaji/Bale feud is between two members of the same family and group. Within the ethnic groups there are pockets of conflicts resulting from distrust on the part of one ethnic group and the other. Only Ijesha had a clash with Igbira over

their obnoxious masquerade display which eventually culminated in its ban by a court.

Importantly, the strained relationships which existed amongst the various groups resulted from lack of consultation, involvement and participation in the administration and decision making process in the community.

Inter Groups Communication

There is no clear form of communication system in the community generally. In a heterogenous community like Apata where various tribal groups are dispersed in terms of residence, members of landlords association should have been used as liason between a central decision making body and their tenants. The Chiefs and Landlords Associations are regarded as different decision making bodies by 60.6% respondents views. The patterns of decisions making and their implementation processes vary. In the landords Association, the chairman take decision after delineration by members. The Committees implement the decisions.

Rituals which used to serve as medium of social intercourse or social interactions between groups are virtually absent except christian and muslim festivals. The functions of ritual is to bring together people who are in secular life to have social interaction and eschew potential disputes by conflicts of interests and of social principles in order to emphasize general social interests

and moral needs of cooperation as an on-going concern of every member.

Even the Friday prayers which in fact served a strategic political occasion of the first order in many other Yoruba towns were only exploited for gossips among friends. In the history of many islamic communities, the Friday prayers have been an issue as well as an occasion for resolving differences (Cohen, 1969). The churches where emphasis is laid on those who are in love and charity with their neighbours are required to come together in fellowship served no more than avenue for surpressing mounting grivances against individuals or groups. Series of clashes erupted over how the church money has been spent and who was given contracts for the new church building and the cost.

The two social occasions witnessed by the investigator showed factionalism. The one was the occasion marking the installation of a woman as the President of the Traditional Medicine and Herbalist Association in Apata. Because she is a muslim only members of the muslim community were invited. The other was the occasion to commemorate the tenth annivasary of the Bale in office. Only few trusted confidants, majority of them were Ibadan indigenes attended the ceremony. Situations like that dampen collective interest and to use them as channels for communication is

froth with doubts.

Perception of the Members of Interest Groups
about Leadership.

The various interest groups either formal or informal recognised the institution of the traditional rulers exemplified in the Bale and his council of chiefs. It is their opinion that the administration and organization of the community should remain within their confines. But the formation of different kinds of voluntary associations according to Lloyd (1966) has modified the structure of the previously homogenous Yoruba community. Today ethnic mixture is the rule rather than the exception in Apata Community (Okonjo, 1967). There was also dramatic changes in religious beliefs, practices and organization. These resulted in equally dramatic changes in the nature and organization of political authority as well as in the political relations in Apata. Politics brought about reorganization of administration which affected a shift of power from the traditional tribal chiefs to Western oriented elite group of landlords. The weakening position of the traditional chiefs and the emergence of new cream of leaders made people to undermine the effectiveness and legitimacy of the authority of the chiefs. The ability of the chiefs to serve as mediator between the people and various authorities dwindled as a great deal of functions passed onto the

landlords. Changes in culture and social organization in response to political changes brought in internal instability and lack of cooperation among the various segments of the community. The Chiefs are now seen as not having those decisive powers that they had previously. The Landlords associations have assumed the role of actually managing the affairs of the community, (Table 16) because the Chiefs lacked the potential qualities to sustain and exercise their authority. Though by design the Chiefs have the authority but the landlords have the power and are more effective. Things have fallen apart and so individual quarters now do whatever they liked. They take decisions on the projects they needed and executed then only merely inform the Bale if and when they liked. The idea of moral sanctions have gone through great changes too. The increasing social interaction within small primary groupings which the landlords brought about has subjected individuals to the continuous pressure of groups and to the norms and values which govern the relations between members of these groups. As such people have become more sensitive to collective pressure within the domain of the various Landlords Association. The Chiefs who are the presumed leaders of the community in the views of the various associations lacked authority. That is why they cannot be said to be in direct control of the affairs of Adala.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERVENTION AND CONCLUSION

PROCESS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND THE IMPACT OF THE SOLUTION ON ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION

Procedure for Conflict Resolution

The conflicts in Apata revolve around leadership with the resultant effect that the community had broken into camps and indulged in inordinate manoeuvres to out-wit each other. This trend is dangerous and inimical to collective involvement and participation in self-help programmes. The authorities of the traditional native Chiefs over their people are no more felt. This has given rise to the practice of rigid individualism among the quarters.

Of course, the causal factor of the conflict has been identified with the struggle for Chieftaincy title of the people of Apata and its aftermath. By the organizational set-up of the community, the gale and his council of Chiefs are arbitrators in cases of disputes. They have become incapacitated by their involvement in the conflicts and cannot play any vital role in resolving them. Therefore the onus of the resolution rested on the intervention of the investigator. Education, motivation and persuasion were used.

In pursuance of the objective of bringing the people together the investigator adopted the following approaches:

- (a) persuaded the gale, Mognji and the Chiefs to come together for discussion.

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Of course, the causal factor of the conflict has been identified with the struggle for Chieftaincy title of the people of Apata and its aftermath. By the organizational breakdown of the community, the Bale and his council of chiefs are arbitrators in cases of disputes. They have become incapacitated by their involvement in the conflicts and cannot play any vital role in resolving them. Therefore the onus of the resolution rested on the intervention of the investigator. Education, motivation and persuasion were tried.

In pursuance of the objective of bringing the people together the investigator adopted the following approaches:

- (a) Persuaded the Bale, Mogaji and the Chiefs to come together for discussion.

- (b) Invited representatives from the different groups and associations to a meeting with the Chiefs.
- (c) Educated the people to realize that Apata community consists of multi-ethnic groups therefore both natives and non-natives should be involved in decision making.
- (d) The Bale should be regarded and respected as the Head of the community by all.
- (e) Initiated the idea of establishing a unit of practice for all the units of identity in the community. This will encourage intimate interaction.
- (f) Encouraged all the people to be alive to their responsibilities, avoid gossiping about themselves and shame rumour mongers.
- (g) Advised the leaders to always face the problems of the community realistically and to speak the truth in case of any conflict.
- (h) The Bale and his chiefs and chairmen of the Landlords Associations were led to see the need for consultation in issues that affect their people.

Outcome of the Intervention:

The following outcomes resulted from the investigator's intervention.

- (a) A meeting of representatives of the units of identity in the community was held on 17/11/84. This was the inaugural meeting. Other subsequent meetings were held on 15/12/84, 3/2/85, 17/3/85 and 6/5/85 respectively. The Bale presided as the chairman and his Secretary took records of the meeting. This was the consensus opinion of the members.

- b) The Chairmen of the various Landlords associations except that of Alaraba who was hospitalized attended the meetings. In his place the Secretary to the Association attended. All the Chiefs, Bale and ethnic groups representatives were present but the Mogaji was perpetually absent.
- (c) The bane of the Chieftaincy conflict was reviewed. But since the Mogaji was not present conclusive decision could not be reached about it. Besides, many people viewed the conflict as intra-ethnic one that could best be resolved by members of the particular ethnic groups which the Bale and Mogaji belong. It was therefore resolved that since it is a Chieftaincy conflict, it should be referred to Olubadan, Chiefs - Makers and the Foko families.
- (d) The aspect of the conflicts which affected refuse disposal was critically considered. The people see refuse problem as a Community based problem. Therefore its both individual and community affairs. Realizing that refuse problem is a serious environmental problem which causes serious health problems in addition to conflicts in the community it was regarded as everybody's concern.

(e) Formation of Welfare Council: A major achievement which arose from the intervention is the formation of an interaction forum for the Chiefs, Landlords and ethnic groups representatives tagged "Apata Welfare Council". To remove bias from the selection of representatives to the deliberation forum, the members who were in any way linked with conflict in the community including all those interviewed were required to suggest two names each of individuals within the Community whose influence and power can contribute to solving problems in the area. The Chiefs who by virtue of their standing as traditional custodians of the land are members. Therefore, membership cut across status, occupation and ethnic belonging. It provided a free and healthy atmosphere for exchange of views.

In fact, it was at a meeting of this Council that the Bale hinted the people about the Commemoration of the tenth year of his installation as Bale of Apata. Ogundiran, the Chairman of Alamu Landlords Association told Bale and other members about the progress that has been made so far in the quarter in their efforts to construct a bridge, road and drains. The Chairman of Alaraba, Fasola who was unavoidably absent due to ill-health sent his Secretary Aihaji

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to represent his quarter. Representatives came from
Chief Kasali who is the Chairman of Ilupeju
Landlords Association was always present both in his
capacities as a Chief and a Chairman. He also acted as the
secretary.

Through this Council the Bale was reassured of the
loyalty of his subjects and reminded of the leadership
role he has to play. The landlords promised to always
consult with him in their dealings. These restored confid-
ence in the Traditional native leaders and established an
effective Communication system where the landlords and
ethnic groups representatives form liaison between tradi-
tional rulers and the citizen.

Impact of Conflict Resolution on Environmental Sanitation

Hitherto the formation of Apati Welfare Council on 17th
November, 1984 there had not been a record of collaborative
action in the Community. The efforts of the investigator
was then geared to deal specifically with refuse disposal
which is a problem common to the people in Apati. The
important effect of a clean environment cannot be over-
emphasized and in fact, for this same reason in 1966, U.S.A.
National Commission on Community Health services focused on
the relationship between individuals health and the environ-
ment (Ademuwagun, 1970).

Findings in this study revealed that there is only one authorized refuse depot located on a piece of land that is inherited by the Mogaji who has not been pleased about its continuous use as dumping ground. It has been a source of conflict between him and some people in the community. For this reason he has protested to Ibadan Municipal Government several times yet, it is still being used as a dumping place. Landowners refused to give out a portion of their land for location of dump because part of I.M.G's acquired land in Adifase which used to serve as a depot had seized to be because some highly placed person in the area have acquired the land. Consequently people dump refuse in places close or within other people's premises. Such people whose premises were used as dumping places queried such acts. This has contributed in no small measure to the insanitary condition of Apata. However, the essential aspect of the conflicts in the community which affected refuse disposal relates to where to locate additional refuse dumps.

After two meetings of the Welfare Council, the investigator observed that the situation was then conducive to motivate the community to take firm decision in respect of the refuse situation in the community. This would serve as a mark of the Community agreeing to take concerted decision on issues which affect the

entire people. The investigator then went through some influential members to raise the issue at the meeting held on 3rd February, 1985.

It will be pertinent to note that out of all the community's problems this was the only issue in which every member expressed concern and the only issue in which the Bale and Mogaji had expressed strong agreement. They expressed concern most especially over what should be done to the so called only authorized refuse depot. The Bale expressed unhappiness about the smoke and abominable stench which emits from the depot to his house and so he wanted it to be abrogated. The Mogaji on his part claims ownership of the area and does not like it to remain a dumping area. He also wanted it to be abrogated. The Community members on their part had either shown resentment toward it because it was an eyesore or because it was danger zone for children or that the area was too far from the masses since it was sited at almost the outskirts of the town.

After giving a serious thought to it, the Council took decisions as follows.

(a) Since records have shown that few individuals about 20 (Gbade 1985) had been using the services of a private contractor in clearing refuse from their compounds in the Community, every compound or household should engage the services of a contractor as this method will restrict dumping to individual compound and children and adult alike can dump refuse within their premises.

(b) A delegation should be sent to the State Government to intimate it about the Community's decision so that resources can be provided as necessary and also to find out the implication of such decision and what legal backing the Government can give to the decision in the process of its implementation in the Community.

(c) To find out the extent of involvement of the Community in the area of finance.

In the delegation Messers Adetola and Ogundiran and the Mogaji were nominated, although the Mogaji was absent from the meeting, he was nominated in absentia. The reason for this action was to encourage the use of "co-operative inclusion techniques" (Warren 1965), as a way of drawing the Mogaji closer to other members of the Council or Community in the

in the pursuit of amicable resolution of the Community's conflicts and also to encourage his involvement and participation in the decision reached by the Community on refuse disposal. The Mogaji served in the delegation to Oyo State sewerage and Refuse matters Department, Ibadan, but did not come along with others to the meeting to give report of their mission.

The other delegates gave report of their visit as follows:

The Government welcomed the decision and promised to cooperate and encourage Communities who are ready to assist Government in its efforts to keep the State tidy. It then recommended Ideal Environmental Services to Apata.

The contractor was also contacted in respect of what the community or individuals would be required to pay. In the terms of agreement, every house-hold was required to pay ₦10.00 a month for weekly collection of its refuse and to buy a refuse bin or barrel which could be by private arrangement or from the contractors on payment of ₦25. The ₦10.00 monthly charge sparked off some arguments as those who employed Gbade before then paid only ₦5 per month. But at the end the members reached a compromise and agreed to the payment of ₦10 after a thorough explanation had been given. Letters of introduction of the contractor and agreement forms were distributed among members and they in turn were required to discuss the issue with their various associations and

groups. (Appendices E and F)

(Fig III)

By this process, the Government, Contractor, Community members and the Health Agent which the Investigator represents were brought together to deal with the refuse situation in Apata.

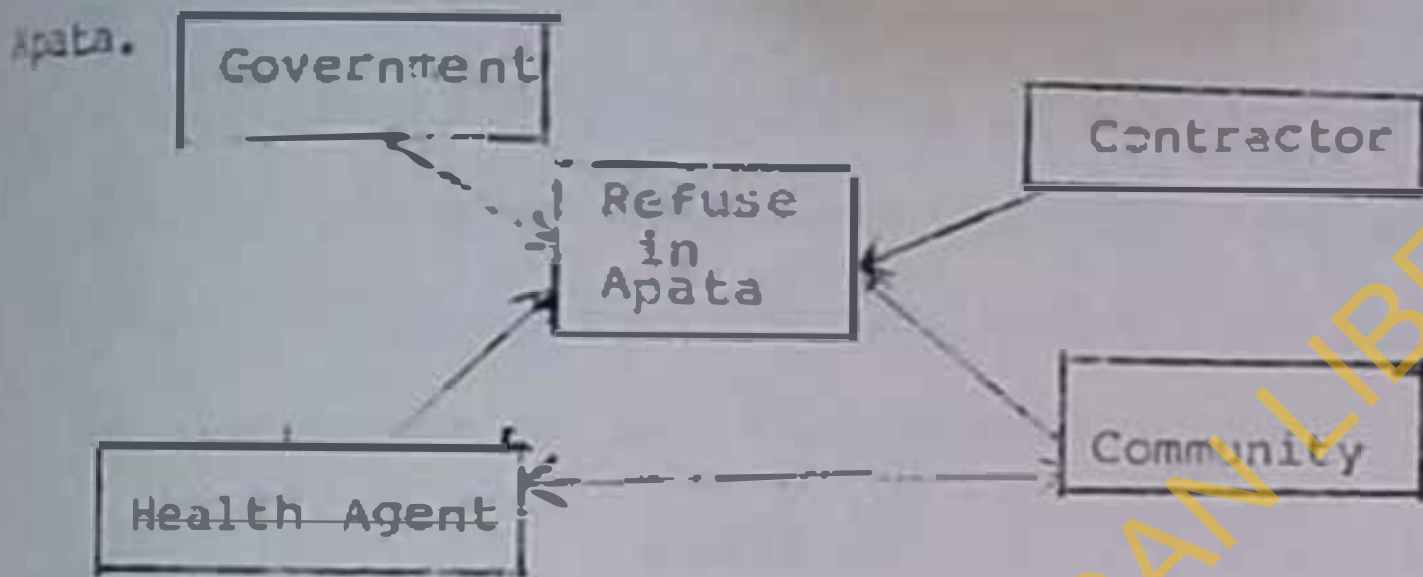


Fig. III: Agents Responsible for controlling refuse in Apata.
Adoption of the Use of Barrels for Refuse Collection.

The time to embark on the use of refuse bin or barrels could not have been better appreciated than now when the realities of the situation in the Community favoured the innovation. On the one side the Government is all out for clean environment, the investigator wants improvement on the environmental sanitation in Apata and on the other, the Community is anxious to adopt an alternative method to the use of a single depot which made nuisance of the place and created petty conflicts among people in the Community. But as always is the case with the introduction and acceptance of innovation, some members were ready to adopt it while ~~one~~ complained about the financial involvement. Those who are living in the areas that are not accessible also questioned

now the contractor can reach them. For those with financial problems, a suggestion that two or three households could team up to pay for one barrel and also share the monthly payment in order to lighten their burden was made. Those in areas that are not accessible were encouraged to place their barrels in the nearest convenient locations where the contractor can collect their refuse. Meanwhile, many of those who attended meetings regularly, the wealthy ones, the opinion leaders and the enlightened ones have begun to use the barrels.

Table 37

Improvement in Environmental Sanitation before and after conflict Resolution

<u>Environmental Sanitation before resolution</u>	<u>Environmental Sanitation after resolution</u>
1. There was only one authorized refuse depot which has been a source of nuisance and conflict	1. The only authorized refuse depot was abrogated as a result of the Welfare Council's decision
2. Only 20 landlords in Alamu Quarter used Gbade private contractor to dispose of their refuse.	2. Within three months of the introduction of the use of a contractor and barrels, 226 compounds and households have adopted the use of barrel to store refuse for collection (Idial, 1995)
3. There were 12 illegal or unauthorized dumping areas.	3. The growth class dumps have been abrogated and the refuse cleared.

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Improvement in Environmental Sanitation Continued

4. There were indiscriminate dumping near to people's houses or premises which have caused petty quarrels.

5. The refuse dumped at the only depot was left for 6 weeks without regular collection and disposal.

6. Eating places or canteen situated close to the dump are fly infested. Dogs lust around there. These are disease carrying agents which are dangerous to people.

7. Children and women have to wake up early (sometimes 4.30 a.m.) to dump refuse after trekking long distance from their homes.

8. The people living in the inaccessible areas make use of dunghills.

9. Disuse plastic bowls, old buckets and basins, baskets, trays either wooden or metal, bags made of raffia or polythene material, carton or papers were used for carrying stored refuse to the dump. Even some tie up refuse in rags or plastic jerry cans cut to shape.

10. Most places were littered with refuse. In other words, about 75% of the area was littered.

4. Indiscriminate dumping near to people's houses or premises is checked. This has contained clashes between people.

5. Collection of refuse in Apata is done weekly by Ideal Refuse Disposal Company.

6. Inhabitants of this area are free from flies and dogs as the dump is no more there.

7. Children and adults now find it more convenient and easier to dump whatever refuse is generated into the barrels within their premises.

8. The people living in the inaccessible areas keep their barrels with lid and lock in the nearest accessible location for collection.

9. Individual households use barrels to store refuse for the evacuation of their refuse by the contractor.

10. About 85% of the area is now clean and the sanitary condition is highly commendable (evident from the checklist).

Problems Connected with use of Contractor to Dispose of Refuse in Apata.

11) In other communities as well as in Apata, the adoption of new innovation which carry with it monetary involvement requires some coercive force in order to ensure compliance. The use of barrel for storage of refuse is an example of such innovation. In order for the people to really appreciate the effect of this innovation in their health, they need motivation which may be from either external or self. Three motivational components as highlighted by (Kelman, 1961) are compliance, identification and internalization. In order to ensure that there is compliance, the Government was brought into the use of this strategy but contrary to expectation, some unscrupulous Public Health Superintendents who are agents of Government go about to tell some members of Apata Community that using barrels for storing refuse and the use of a contractor is not a Government order. Consequently, some members are reluctant to get their barrels.

2. Those who have got barrels are not happy at the complacent attitude of the Government about those who fail to obtain storage barrels. They want Government to enforce the use of barrel by all members of the Community. They feared that whatever efforts may have been made by those citizens who have their barrels to insure sanitary premises may be frustrated by those who do not

an barrels.

3. Some members of the Community hold the notion that even in Ibadan metropolis there are still refuse depots where people dump refuse and the Ibadan Municipal Government refuse disposal vans collect them for disposal. So some of those who live along the road are still seen on using a depot and have not got their barrels.

4. The Ibadan Municipal Government is unnecessarily exploiting the contractor as a source of generating revenue. It collects ₦1 on every barrel per month notwithstanding whether the barrels owners pay their dues to the contractor or not.

5. The contractor on his part employed canvassers who go out to sell their business to willing clients. Their remuneration is ₦3 commission per client for each new client won. The unfortunate thing is that if a canvasser had for example, 10 clients in May, his June commission will not be based on that number but the additional new client won in June. There is the likelihood that the contractor may lose his canvassers more especially as they are secondary school leavers who have not got jobs or suitable alternatives.

6. There is shortage of staff. Ideal Environmental Services has as per 31st July, 1985 only one Director, one Manager and four Canvassers working in Apata and

estate. On collection days, daily paid workers
only houses are employed to do the job.

For effective collection, there should be a ready
vehicle but Ideal services still charter tipper vehicles to
dispose of refuse in Ibadan.

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C O N C L U S I O N

Conflict management as Burke and Hornstein (1972), put it means examining the effectiveness of individuals and groups relationships exposing the unproductive conflicts and seeking ways of maintaining of collaboration.

Therefore this study examined the background and interaction process in Apata which resulted in conflicts. It also sought the answers to the prevalent conflicts by examining the various structures of the community's organization and evolved ways to establish cooperation.

Apata community is a transitional one. As a transitional community is passing through gradual phases of maturity which could be analogous to the maturity of a person. As a maturing community, Apata can resolve its internal conflicts, mobilize its resources and take intelligent action only if it has a means for consensually validating its experiences.

Hence a unit of practice in form of Welfare council was set up. It consisted of chiefs, landlords and

ethnic group representatives. The council achieved
as an element of integration in the community.

All the units of identify in the community share
common interest. But this does not mean that they
automatically act in conformity with the general
interest of the community.

The sale and his chiefs have the impression that
the chairmen of the institutionalized Landlords Associations
in Apata are a threat to their authority. This is because
they are oblivious of the fact that they have failed to
exhibit appropriate disposition demanded by their position.
Whereas the Landlords Association strive to direct their
efforts to provide for the immediate social needs of the
people within their domain. Since the existence of
voluntary groupings or associations was not threatened
and since the interests and membership of social groups
was not restricted, it appeared as if all the social
conflicts in Apata are mere competitions centred on
basically adhoc issues. However, the locality develop-
ment strategy has drawn together the traditional native
chiefs and the powerful members of the institutionalized
landlords associations. In effect, this has contain the
frequent tendency to generate inter-cine conflicts in

the community system of administration which involved a system of institutionalized opposition and the conflicts generated thereof.

The disabilities of orderly succession to the post of B. 1 was highlighted as a core in the prevalent conflicts in Apata. Consequently there is unhealthy rivalry between the incumbent Bala and the Mogaji. The chieftaincy conflict arising therefrom still remained unresolved although the aspect of the conflicts which affected refuse disposal have been resolved.

However, no matter how lacking a central authority is, the community require one specifically assigned with the function of decision making to improve on the welfare of Apata. The choice of locality development as a health education strategy to deal with the situation in Apata is apt. Through the use of this strategy the standard of environmental sanitation has improved tremendously. The emphasis which had hitherto been on Government provision of technology to ensure clean environment has shifted to consumers cooperation with government to provide clean and healthy environment in Apata community.

By extension, this study demonstrates to a reasonable degree that much can be achieved in the pursuance of clean environment in Nigeria or any where else in the world if as much emphasis that is placed on technology and finance is also given to the organizational system and structure of the various communities.

The willingness of the consumer to contribute to improved standard of clean environment will be better enhanced when the consumer is given a greater stake in the planning and execution of programme which are of public health importance.

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APPENDIX A

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Direction: Assess whether each guideline was met from fully (2 points) to not at all (0 points) by ticking the appropriate column.

Rating is as follows:

0 - Not met at all

1 - Partially met

2 - fully met.

	2	1	0
<p>1. Leadership structure is hierarchial</p> <p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0 - There is no council of chiefs consisting of Bale and other chiefs 1 - There are different forms of leaderships patterns such as Bale Mogaji, landlords who vie for leadership. 2 - There is a Bale who has other chiefs and subjects responsible to him 			
<p>2. Leadership is based on authority only.</p> <p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0 - Leaders orders are not obeyed 1 - Leaders orders are obeyed by only close associates 2 - Leaders are obeyed because of office they held 			
<p>3. Leadership is based on social power.</p> <p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 0 - Leaders lack personal qualities, education and wealth. 1 - Leaders are sociable, have minimum of primary education and means of livelihood 2 - Leaders have personal qualities, good education, leadership capacity and possess wealth. 			

4. Traditional native leaders possess adequate power and authority.

Indicators:

- 0 - Bale and his chiefs are given the meanest regards
- 1 - Bale and his chiefs are just respected because they are traditional rulers
- 2 - Bale and his chiefs decisions on land and projects are respected and honoured

5. Landlords Associations are very powerful groups:

Indicators:

- 0 - Have powers over their tenants only
- 1 - Implement decisions in respect of activities carried out in their quarters only.
- 2 - Implement decisions in respect of activities carried out in the whole community.

6. There is high regard for traditional leaders.

Indicators:

- 0 - Bale and his chiefs are not consulted by any group when embarking on any project.
- 1 - Bale and his chiefs are merely informed by groups embarking on any project.
- 2 - Bale and his chiefs give consent on any project before any group embarks on such project

7. There is no struggle for leadership among chiefs.

Indicators:

- 0 - Every chief decides on what he does
- 1 - Some chiefs take some joint decisions and carry them out in their own way.

2 1 0

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2- All the chiefs take collective and collaborated decisions which is binding on all members

8. There is cooperation in the community.

Indicators:

- 0 - Community had never embarked on joint self-help programme
- 1 - Community had only subscribed to but had not embarked on group programme.
- 2 - Community had planned, contributed and implemented joint programme.

9. There is cooperation among interest groups.

Indicators:

- 0 - Members had never contributed to any programme embarked upon by other groups.
- 1 - Members had contributed to programmes only when invited to do so.
- 2 - There is evidence of projects carried out by the interest groups.

10. Co-operation exists among the chiefs

Indicators:

- 0 - There are open quarrels among chiefs
- 1 - There is not effective interaction but no quarrels among the chiefs
- 2 - The Chiefs meet regularly to discuss and make decisions over issues of common interest.

11. Communication is effective.

Indicators:

- 0 - No defined medium of relaying information
- 1 - Only one medium is used for relaying information to the people.
- 2 - Several channels are used for relaying information to the people.

	2	1	0
12. There is no conflict Indicator: 0 - There are clearly defined disagreement between people or units of identity. 1 - Units of identity meet in their respective domain and take decisions which affect their sections. 2 - A unit of practice exists where collective decision is made by units of identity.			
13. Conflict over refuse disposal is resolved Indicators: 0 - People still dump refuse illegally around depot or others houses 1 - Depot is removed from its original place to another and the numbers are increased. 2 - Refuse depot which has been a source of conflict is abrogated and individual house to house collection is done.			
14. Storage of refuse has improved Indicators: 0 - Refuse is stored in dunghill around generating premises. 1 - Refuse is stored in any container for collection. 2 - Refuse is stored in covered refuse bins or barrels with Tocks.			
15. Collection of refuse has improved Indicators: 0 - Refuse is dumped indiscriminately around nearby bush 1 - Refuse is dumped in depot and collected at will. 2 - House to house collection is done weekly by a contractor.			

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	2	1	0
16. There is improvement in environmental sanitation. Indicators: 0 - Refuse is dumped indiscriminately in unauthorized areas. 1 - Individual compound own barrels for storage of refuse but collection is not done weekly. 2 - Individual compound own barrels for storage of refuse and house to house collection is done weekly by a contractor.			

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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR BALE AND MOGAJI

- A. Name
 - B. Address
 - C. State of origin
 - D. Tribe
 - E. Occupation
 - F. Religion
1. How long have you lived in Apata?
 2. What is your status in the community?
- Bale/Mogaji
3. Educational status:
 - (i) No formal education
 - (ii) Had primary education
 - (iii) Had post - primary education
 - (iv) Had post secondary education
 - (v) Had University education.
 4. Is there any special qualifications for acceptance into this position? Yes/No
if 'yes', what are the qualifications?
 5. (a) what is your lineage in the family?
Patrilineal/Matrilineal
 - (b) Does your lineage influence your ascendance into your position or title?
 - (c) Explain briefly the qualities which enables you to vie for the title which you are holding?
 - (d) what is the main role of Olubadan in the conferment of a chieftaincy title on you?
6. (a) Had there been a Mogaji in Apata before now?
 - (b) would you regard the installation of a Bale and a Mogaji in the same community as a source of conflict?

7. How much income does your post attract?
8. (a) As a leader in this community who makes high level contact with government officials and chiefs at State or national level, do you lobby or use local influentials such as friends, school mates or business associates to get your case across? Yes/No
- (b) Would you say you have people who are highly placed in high administrative, business or chieftaincy circles who are related to you in any or all the following ways?
- i) Fellow businessmen
 - ii) In the same club
 - iii) Members of the same interest group.
 - iv) Members of the same ethnic group.
 - v) Close relations or kinsmen
 - vi) Any other (please specify)
9. (a) Are you a member of any social/voluntary organization(s) in the community? Yes/No
- (b) If your answer to (a) is 'yes', name the organization(s)
- (c) Do you hold any position in the named organization(s)? Yes/No.
- (d) What position?
- (e) Is the club/organization a local branch of State or national association? Yes/No
- (f) What would you say are the objectives of the organization in which you are a member?
10. (a) Do you belong to any of the associations in Apata community? Yes/No.
- If 'yes', name the association
- (b) Are you a member of any interest group or movement (e.g. Egbe Omo Ibadan, Landlords association) organized for business/welfare of the people in the locality or outside the locality?
- This locality. Yes/No
- Outside the locality. Yes/No

11. (a) The Council of chiefs is an important decision making body in Apata Community. Do you belong to this body? Yes/No
- (b) Do you think there is another decision-making body besides the chiefs who represents the interests of the people in this community? Yes/No Name such a body.
- (c) Besides the collective decision of the chiefs, do you think there is a section or group of people in the community upon which your personal decisions can have great influence? Yes/No
12. Would you say that your influence on such people is dependent on
- i) Your religious affiliation
 - ii) Ethnic association
 - iii) Wealth
 - iv) Your being a landlord
 - v) Any other reason (specify please)
13. (a) Your chieftaincy title confers certain powers on you in this community, what would you say are your major roles?
- (b) Do these roles conflict with other peoples roles?
14. Do you think that the chiefs and the landlords are two different decision making bodies? Yes/No Give reason.
15. (a) Do people in this area often come to see you about their problems? Yes/No
- (b) Which of the following groups consult you when they want something done in this community?
- i) mostly people of same ethnic group with me.
 - ii) mostly people from other tribes living in the community
 - iii) chiefs
 - iv) Landlords
 - v) All of the above.
16. Judging from your political experience in the past, would you say that you still have control over majority of your subjects? Yes/No.

17. Who makes decisions for this community in each of the following areas of decision-making.
- (a) Allocation of land for project such as market, school, refuse depot?
 - (b) Deciding on what project is needed in the community?
 - i) The Bale and his chiefs
 - ii) The landlords
 - iii) Representatives of ethnic groups
 - iv) All the above.
 - (c) Would you say that such decision-making often cause conflicts in the community?
 - (d) What are your roles and views about the land at Adifase which was originally acquired for the purpose of building a market but few people have now converted it to be their private property?
 - (e) What is the impact of appointment to court membership by I.M.C. on the stability of Apata?
18. If you think about the past, would you say that the chiefs of today are as powerful as they used to be? Yes/No
Give reasons for your answer.
19. If there is any conflict in this community who would you say that must be blamed?
20. Can you give the names of two persons whose influence and powers can contribute to solving disputes in this community if there are occurrence of such.
Name/Address.
21. How do you get your messages across to the community members?
22. What are your suggestions for resolving differences in Apata?
23. (a) We have discussed several conflicts, does any of these affect refuse disposal in the community?
Yes/No
(b) which of them?

24. (a) Many people in this community have complained about the location of the only authorized refuse depot as contributing to the insanitary condition of Apata, what are your views about this?

(b) Do you think that having a centrally sited refuse depot in addition to the existing one or employing a contractor to handle the refuse in Apata would improve the sanitary condition of this area? Yes/No

(c) Are there other suggestions to deal with refuse in this community?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHIEFS AND LANDLORDS

- A: Name
- B: Address
- C: State of Origin
- D: Tribe
- E: Occupation
- F: Religion
1. Status in the community: Chief/landlord.
 2. Educational status of respondent:
 1. No formal education
 2. Completed primary education
 3. Had secondary education
 4. Had post secondary education
 5. Had university education.
 3. How long have you lived in Apata?
 4. (a) What is the organizational system of your group/association: Hierarchical/linear or horizontal.
(b) What is the medium of relaying messages across to other members?
(c) What qualifies a person to become member of the organization/association?
(d) What is the relationship between your group and other groups in the community?
friendly or antagonistic.
(e) If it is a friendly relation do you help each other in time of need? Yes/No
(f) Why is it that when one group embarks on a project, it receives no support from the others?
 5. (a) As a leader in this community who makes high level contact with government officials or chiefs in the locality, state or national level, do you lobby or use local influentials such as friends, school-mates or business associate to get your case across?
(b) would you say you have people who are in high administrative or political circles who are related to

you in one or all the following ways?

- 1) Fellow businessmen
- ii) Members of the same association
- iii) Close relations or kinsmen
- iv) Others (please specify)

6. The Chiefs Council is an important decision-making body in this community. Do you think that the landlords - association as well, is another decision making body who represents the interests of the people in this community? Yes/No

Comment on your answer.

7. If you think about the past, would you say that the chiefs of today are as powerful as they used to be? Yes/No

Give reasons for your response.

8 (a) What are your views about having a Bale as well as a Mogaji in Apata at the same time?

(b) Does this augur well for effective administration in this community?

(c) Is the Mogaji a recognised member of the Council of Chiefs in Apata?

9 (a) From your personal assessment of contributions to the welfare of Apata community, who between the Bale and Mogaji is more concerned about the community welfare?

(b) What are the traditional considerations for the appointment of a Bale or Mogaji?

10. (a) Who should make decisions for this community in each of the following areas of decision making:

1) Allocation of land for projects such as market, school, refuse depot?

ii) Deciding on what project is needed in this community?

(a) The Bale and his chiefs

(b) The landlords

(c) Representatives of ethnic groups

(d) All of the above.

(b) Would you say there is conflict over such decision-making? Yes/No

If 'Yes', which persons or group is master-minding

(c) What are your views about the allocation of land Apata?

- (d) What role did you play in the land at Adifase that was originally acquired for the purpose of building a market but few people have now converted it to be their private property?
- (e) How has the appointment into court membership in Apata affected you and the stability of the community?
- (f) Do you belong to any faction? Yes/No
If 'Yes', who is the leader of the faction?
11. Please tell me which of the following groups in this community you meet either more frequently or can have contact with regularly when you want to discuss issues about the welfare of the community.
- (i) The Bale and his chiefs
 - (ii) Members of landlords associations
 - (iii) Representatives of ethnic groups
 - (iv) All of the above
 - (v) None of the above.
12. (a) Would you say you can influence or have a say in the decisions about what the leaders in this community say and implement for the progress of this community?
Yes/No/Not sure
- (b) Could such influence be determined on the basis of
- (a) Your religious affiliation?
 - (b) Ethnic association
 - (c) Wealth
 - (d) Because you are a landlord
 - (e) Any other reason (please specify)
13. In your opinion which of the following groups do you think is actually managing the affairs of this community
- i) The Bale and his chiefs
 - ii) The landlords associations
 - iii) Representatives of ethnic groups
 - iv) All of the above
 - v) None of the above.
14. Could you give the names of two persons whose influence and powers can contribute to solving the problems in this community?
15. (a) From your experience, what type of conflicts fall within the realm of
- i) Bale and his chiefs to resolve
 - ii) Mogaji to resolve
 - iii) Landlords to resolve
 - iv) Ethnic group to resolve
 - v) All of the above to resolve.

(b) Would you blame any group for not performing their role efficiently?

(c) List such group(s)

16. What are your suggestions for the resolution of conflict in this community?

17 (a) We have discussed several conflicts, does any of these affect refuse disposal in this community?

Yes/No

(b) Which of them?

18(a) Many people in the community have complained about the location of the only authorised refuse dump as contributing to the insanitary condition of Apata. What are your views about this?

(b) Do you think that having a centrally sited refuse dump in addition to the existing one would improve the sanitary condition of this area?

Yes/No

(c) Suggest a site for such location.

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF ETHNIC GROUPS

- (A) NAME
- (B) ADDRESS
- (C) STATE OF ORIGIN
- (D) TRIBE
- (E) OCCUPATION
- (F) RELIGION
- (G) HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED AT APATA?
- (H) STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY.
- (I) EDUCATIONAL STATUS
 - (i) No formal Education
 - (ii) Completed Primary education
 - (iii) Had Post Primary Education
 - (iv) Had Post Secondary education
 - (v) Had University education

In what aspect of Community affairs is there a lot of cooperation between one group and another? Give reasons for your response.

2. From your personal and group experiences in the Community and your interaction with other groups and people, would you say that conflict exist in the area between

- (a) The various landlords Associations
- (b) The Landlords and chiefs
- (c) Among the chiefs
- (d) The ethnic groups and landlords
- (e) The ethnic groups and the chiefs.
- (d) None of the above.

3. In your opinion who should make decisions in respect of:

- (a) Allocation of land for projects such as market, school, refuse depot.
- (b) Deciding on what project is needed in the Community.
 - (i) The Bale and his chiefs
 - (ii) The landlords/
 - (iii) Representatives of ethnic groups.
 - (iv) All of the above.

(c) Presently who makes these decisions?

4. Are you ever invited to a forum where important decisions concerning the welfare of the community are made? Yes/No
If "Yes", in what capacity?

If "No" what do you think is responsible?

5. What do you know about the dispute over the land at Adifase which was originally acquired for the purpose of building a market but few people have now converted it to be their private property.

Did you play any role? Yes/No

If yes, comment.

6. Are you aware of the appointments to Court membership in Apata in 1979? Yes/No

If 'Yes', what do you think is the impact of this issue on the stability of the Community?

7. Would you say that either 5 or 6 above or both are source of conflict in the area.

8. Is there any of your culture which clashes with that of any other ethnic groups in the Community?

If 'Yes' in what area of interest in your culture does this occur?

9. Are you involved in the administration of your Local Community? Yes/No.

If 'Yes', in what capacity do you do this?

10. If you think about the past, would you say that the chiefs of today are as powerful as they used to be? Yes/No

Give reason for your response.

11. Have you ideas of any issue in this Community that has caused dispute amongst the people? Yes/No

If 'Yes' mention such issues.

12. Can you please give names of two person whose influence and powers can contribute to solving disputes in the community if there is an occurrence of such. Name/address.

13. (a) Given the opportunity to speak your mind on the chieftaincy affairs in Apata do you think the chief-makers are justified to have installed a Monaji in this Community

along side with a Bale? Yes/No Comment on your views.

(b) Do you belong to any faction? Yes/No If 'Yes', who is the leader of your faction.

14. What are your suggestions for resolving differences in this Community if they arise?

15 (a) We have discussed several conflicts, does any of these affect refuse disposal in the community? Yes/No

(b) If 'Yes' which of them?

16. (a) Many people in the community have complained about the location of the only authorized refuse dump as contributing to the insanitary condition of Apata, what are your views about this?

(b) Do you think that having a centrally sited refuse dump in addition to the existing one would improve the sanitary condition of this area?

Yes/No

(c) Suggest a site for such location.

WASTE AND REFUSE MATTERS DEPARTMENT
(FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION DIVISION)
P.M.B. 5411, SECRETARIAT, IBADAN, OYO STATE OF NIGERIA

Our Ref. NO. WDC. 192/219

.....MARCH, 1985

The Landlord/Lady, Tenant,
Apata/Owode Estate,
.....
.....

Introduction of the Registered Refuse
Contractor of Oyo State

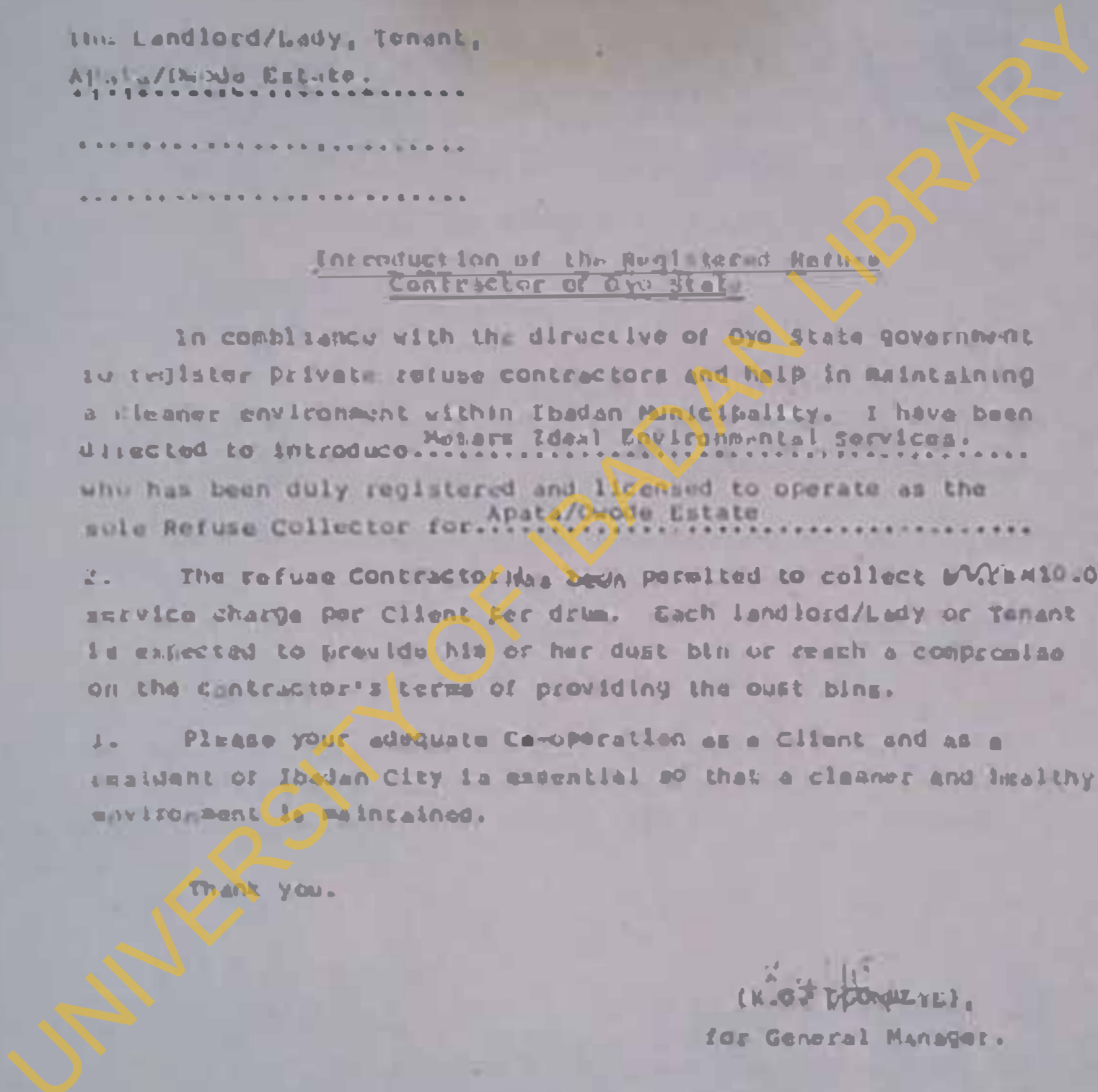
In compliance with the directive of Oyo State government to register private refuse contractors and help in maintaining a cleaner environment within Ibadan Municipality. I have been directed to introduce Motors Ideal Environmental Services, who has been duly registered and licensed to operate as the sole Refuse Collector for Apata/Owode Estate.

2. The refuse Contractor has been permitted to collect ₦10.00 service charge per Client per drum. Each landlord/Lady or Tenant is expected to provide his or her dust bin or reach a compromise on the contractor's terms of providing the dust bins.

1. Please your adequate Co-operation as a Client and as a resident of Ibadan City is essential so that a cleaner and healthy environment is maintained.

Thank you.

(K.O. Ogunye),
for General Manager.



M. IDEAL ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES
Septic Tank Evacuators, Refuse Disposal
and Pollution Control Services

OFFICE ADDRESS:
329/71B
Doko Iba Stop
Apata Ganga - Ibadan

INTRODUCTION / INTRODUCTION

Following the Directive of the Oyo State Government to register refuse contractors in collecting refuse in Ibadan Municipality, we are now introducing ourselves to you as Messrs M. IDEAL ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES who is fully registered and licensed to operate as the Sole Refuse Collector for Area 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. This firm is particularly concerned with environmental sanitation.

However, we are essentially involved in the following areas of activity:

- SEPTIC TANK EVACUATION
- DOMESTIC, INDUSTRIAL WASTE COLLECTION
- AND POLLUTION CONTROL SERVICES.

TERMS OF SERVICE

- (i) Household waste collection: Refuse collection once weekly or twice weekly ₦10.00 and ₦20.00 respectively/Refuse bin/month.
 - (ii) Prices for emptying of Septic Tanks, Industrial Waste Collection etc would be fixed after assessment.
- REFUSE-BINS: Well Treated/Anti-lust bins are provided on request at ₦25.00 each.

AGREEMENT

CLIENT'S COPY

I,
of
agree to employ the Services of M. Ideal Environmental Services in
Clearing my/our domestic/Industrial Waste times monthly.
I also agree to pay ₦ /Refuse bin/month for the Services
rendered.

Thanks.

.....
Director of Operation

.....
Customer's Signature and
date

AGREEMENT

M. IDEAL'S COPY

I,
of
agree to employ the Services of M. Ideal Environmental Services in
Clearing my/our domestic/Industrial Waste times monthly.
I also agree to pay ₦ /Refuse bin/month for the Services
rendered.

Thanks.

.....
Director of Operation

.....
Customer's Signature and Date