

A STUDY OF LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES IN AYEDADE AND  
IMPLICATIONS FOR LOCAL INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION  
IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT  
PROGRAMMES FOR HEALTH PROMOTION

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A STUDY OF LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES IN AIYEDADE AND IMPLICATIONS FOR  
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PROGRAMMES FOR HEALTH PROMOTION

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A DISSERTATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PREVENTIVE AND  
SOCIAL MEDICINE

Submitted to the Faculty of Medicine in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements of the:

MASTER OF PUBLIC HEALTH (HEALTH EDUCATION) DEGREE OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

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ABSTRACT

The power and influence of traditional leaders over their subjects need to receive attention if they (the traditional leaders) are to assume new leadership roles as agents of community health workers in rallying general participation in community based programmes. The effectiveness of traditional leaders in these roles would vary from community to community. It would also depend to a large extent on how close or how remote they are connected with decision-making in the community and the nature of community participation required. This is because the amount of power leaders exercise over their followers can be measured by their ability to make or influence decisions that affect the day-to-day activities of the subjects. Also, if participation of the general community is the goal of a community based health programme, then, the chiefs must be popular with more than half the population of the community.

With regard to the power of the chiefs, one thing is important. It is this, new decision-making structures have been established in the Aiyedade community. But as power and influence have come to depend on other variables, (education, wealth, occupation) and the chiefs position is based on the traditional kinship relations, the power and influence of the chief will depend on his possession of some of these new variables. In the Aiyedade community, the chiefs almost match other leaders on occupational and social background

but to the extent that he sometimes lacks the more modern forms of power base such as education and wealth his traditional monopoly of leadership is open to serious challenges.

In the final analysis the degree of popularity a leader enjoys is a function of individual qualities of the leader as opposed to his position or status, qualities such as trustworthiness, service to the community and identification with the wishes and aspirations of the people lead to an individual's popularity with community members. But it is one thing being identified with these qualities and another thing being in a position to direct government resources to satisfy the needs of the people. The latter is the function of the key decision-makers in the community. In the Aiyedade community the traditional leadership was not found to constitute the key decision - making body representing the central government. It was also observed that even though the traditional ruling elite was still popular, it had no monopoly of this popularity in the community.

As the traditional leadership roles have been eroded by the newly emerged leaders it is no longer appropriate to organize popular following around the chiefs alone. Also as community based programmes may need resources other than the resources of community members alone, it is essential that persons controlling outside resources are involved jointly and simultaneously with other community members.

This study then shows that if general community participation is the goal of the health educator in Aiyedade then the chief is only one of the leaders around whom popular following could be rallied.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Many governments and agencies providing services in communities have come to see the logic of solving social problems through the involvement of the client population. It has also been perceived that national development (social, economic and political) can be achieved through citizen participation. The strategies, methods and techniques of community organization or community development offer a good opportunity of involving citizens in the solution of social problems of various kinds. But despite the spread of community organization and community development ideas and the resort to their use, little success has been made in meeting the social needs in many of the non-industrialised countries (Khinduka, 1969).

This fact of limited successes has aroused the interest of many well meaning people and organizations.

There is an on-going search for an explanation for this and as Newell (1975) has put it, there is need to find out "what really happened and why this effort was a success in one place while it was a failure somewhere". WHO/UNICEF approach to understanding the situation as it relates to health promotion was to get a detailed and somewhat comparative account of it as it happened in various countries (Newell, 1975). These sources seem to show that where remarkable progress was made in health promotion, it was achieved through community participation and involvement. The sources also indicate that the process of ensuring community participation and community involvement varied from country to country, and health promotion was linked with socio-economic development.

Other sources which will be discussed later in this paper also indicate that there are various forms and degrees of community participation and involvement. A critical analysis of the literature available suggests that community participation and or community involvement in any activity has administrative and political undertones which are related to leadership and leadership structures in a given community.



The question of leadership is a very important issue in community organization and community development. Ross (1967) said the participation of leaders is necessary because of their influence and because they are able to communicate with individuals. Cox, et al., (1977) said "the lack of overall direction in modern communities has drawn attention to community power as an important aspect of community structure". According to Nix (1969) successful community action depends in large measure upon finding and involving the key community leaders.

There cannot be arbitrary selection of leaders. There must be adequate identification of leaders whose participation in community activity encourages the involvement of the community members (Ross, 1967). Presthus (1971) and Nix, et al., (1977) argued that leadership cannot exist in a vacuum, it is in all senses related to both the local community and national power structure of a country. Presthus suggested that identifying leaders goes with an understanding of how power is allocated in the community system. Nix et al, (1977) think that in addition to understanding the allocation of power in the community, a study of various groups and organizations will help to locate and describe the leaders.

Schwartz, (1977) emphasised that consumer participation and community organization are central issues in health education and he discussed the role of community organization in achieving consumer participation. He said that the relationship between consumer participation, community involvement and community organization may be stated in the following way:

Bringing people together to work on problems ..... is a complex process involving (1) analysis of the validity of the objectives of the group, (2) relations of objectives to various levels and kinds of power structures in the community and the concept of leadership held by professional workers.

This raises the questions as to the concept of leadership held by community workers in Africa.

One objective of this research is to show that the question of leadership in some non-industrialised countries is not as simple as it is sometimes discussed in the health education and community development fields.

If leadership is to be seen in a power-structure context, then, it is a greater problem in what Rostow (1971) described as the transitional societies than in the industrialised countries. Seen in the political context, leadership is a problem in many developing countries. Funnell (1972) discussed the problem in the Asian context. His enquiry was concerned with whether there is a recognizable political system in any of the Asian countries as defined in the 'Western Sense'. Funnell showed that in such Asian countries as Indonesia and Burma (he described them as 'broken-back' states) the introduction of alien political institutions weakened the indigenous political institutions and the leadership based on them. One such alien political institution is local government in the western form based on educated leadership. Funnell showed also that in India, China and Japan the indigenous local institution based on traditional leadership resisted the western form of local government and to this extent the indigenous leaders maintained their popularity with the members of the community. We can surmise from this that the position of traditional leaders in communities with western and traditional forms of political institutions is open to serious leadership challenges.

From available evidence (Presthus, 1971; Nix et al., 1977) it can be argued that the leadership structure of a given local community in a given developed nation is embedded in the economic, political and administrative structures. The riddle, however, is that in many non-industrialised countries the leadership structures are variably defined in terms of sex, age and descent as well as in the political, economic and administrative context. In such countries of Africa, therefore, one sees the modern or the emerging leadership structure based on economic political and administrative variables co-existing with the traditional leadership structure. The latter form of leadership structure has different criteria of recruitment which include sex, age, descent and kinship relations. If community participation and community involvement could be promoted through community leaders there is a need to determine which of the two leadership groups is respected and could be used more effectively. Ajaegbu (1976) argued that the educated elite in the developing societies are best to take the leadership. Rostow (1971) sees eventual progress in not only the educated elite leading but also the complete erasing in one way or the other, of traditional structures.



Many authorities have compared the processes of development in different countries (United Nations, UN, 1971; Newell, 1975; Schwartz, 1977). It is usual of these sources to talk of countries like China and Russia which were late to develop and such veterans like the U.S. Britain and France. Of late, among the African countries, Tanzania has become a topic of interest (UN, 1971; Collins, 1972). One point is recurrent in all these discussions - the participation and involvement of communities in the solution of problems under one or another form of leadership. What appears to be missing from these discussions is the critical analysis of the leadership position in these countries. It can be assumed that the absence of two types of leadership structures in some developed nations removes some conflicts which can be found in many developing countries between the traditional and the non-traditional leadership groups.

Rostow (1971) showed that even at one point in history, the now developed countries had suffered under the yoke of dual leadership (one modern and the other traditional). A critical analysis of Rostow's work, (1971) relating to some important issues on leadership will be useful at this stage. This could be summarised as follows:

1. Changes in both social and political structures are a prerequisite for massive development and progress.
2. These changes must be embodied in some form of institutional, social and psychological setting so that societies can react positively to the new ideas.
3. The process of change normally starts with the intrusion of traditional societies by colonial, military and economic concerns of a different kind.
4. This leads to the fracturing of traditional societies - they lose their unity, cohesion, prestige and self-respect - thus pushing them to the transitional stage and from thence, the painful and sometimes turbulent take-off to economic growth.

Rostow (1971) listed some countries and the dates of the take-off as follows:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Initial date long sweep</u>	<u>Initial date short period</u>	<u>Take-off begins</u>
England (U.K.)	1688 (Glorious Revolution)	1750	1780s
France	1660	1789	1830s
Russia	1696	1861	1890s
China	1842	1895	1950s

To discuss Rostow's take-off periods, one point among many others stated by him needs to be stressed:

Before a society sufficiently modernized for a take-off can be achieved, before the modern elements within it can become dominant, and effective even over a limited economic range - a profound and positive series of changes must take place at every level.

He said men must adapt or transform the old culture in ways which make it compatible with modern activities and institutions.

The dates stated by Rostow approximate important periods of major political movements in each of the countries. During these movements the traditional leadership and power structures were either transformed or adapted to through evolution or revolution. This suggests that the existence of two leadership structures (traditional and modern) inhibits progress. But it might not be logical to say that the problem of dual leadership may necessarily be solved through a revolution: In France, the French Revolution (1787 - 1830) swept away the ancient regime. Russia and China transformed the traditional structures through the same revolutionary process. The case was, however, different for the United Kingdom.

Here the traditional institutions of administration based on feudalism adapted and adjusted with the changes to the extent that it was worked into the modern parliamentary system. In Uganda an attempt was made to marry the traditional chieftaincy institution with parliamentary government when the Kabaka of Buganda was made the President and Milton Obote was made the Prime Minister. This failed because the chiefs of the various tribes of Uganda did not speak with one voice and also because the modern political elite did not want it (Young, 1966; Low, 1971). In Ethiopia the monarchy was swept away by a revolution. Thus possibly except for Tanzania and Ethiopia, many of the African countries South of the Sahara have two political structures (traditional and modern) running side by side. Each structure appears to have its own hierarchy of leadership.

This study examines the leadership structure in the Aiyedade community against the background that there are two institutions of power (one traditional and the other non-traditional) co-existing. The non-traditional leadership institution is the Irewole Local Government Council. The 2nd Republic of Nigeria has a three-tier system of government - the local, state and federal governments (1979 Constitution).



Each of the above has exclusive functions. The main functions of a local government council are set out in the Fourth Schedule of the 1979 constitution. The Management of the local government councils is carried out by councillors chosen through democratic elections. The traditional power and leadership institutions are the chieftaincy institution. The functionaries in the chieftaincy institution are the chiefs and obas. Before and during colonial rule, the obas and chiefs played a major role in the local administration (Cole, 1975). Under the present constitutional arrangement, the chiefs have no function in the administration of the locality.

The purpose of this study is to examine how the present arrangement has affected the leadership position in the Aiyedade Community and how it may facilitate or complicate the prospects of promoting community participation through leaders at the grass-root level (i.e. local community).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY BASED PROGRAMMES AND  
THE LEADERSHIP QUESTION

Consumer Participation and Community Involvement

Community development programmes were founded on the belief that indigenous leadership and resources could be discovered and developed in the community (Davies, 1973). The only way this can be achieved is through the participation of the citizens in the development programmes (Biddle and Biddle, 1965, Ross, 1967). Today, some agencies providing services in communities are making citizen participation an integral part in the provision of these services. The health agency emphasises consumer participation in all health programmes. In the health care setting, Galihier, et al., (1971) defined the consumer as "any user of the health care system". They also defined consumerism as citizen involvement.

The health care delivery system is designed to restore, promote, maintain and to prolong life (Rogers, 1960; Lucas and Gilles, 1976). The services of the health agency therefore include prevention, control and cure of diseases of all kinds. This suggests that the health consumer is not only the sick; every individual in a given community is a health consumer.

Consumer participation in the health setting therefore calls for the involvement of the entire community.

There are many reasons why some community service providers want the involvement of communities in the provision of services. Traditionally who should get what services, where they should get them and how they should be got rested with whatever agency providing the service (Galiher, et al., 1971). This situation could lead to inefficient and or ineffective utilisation of the service so provided. Ademuwagun (1972) observed that it contributes to the ineffective utilization of the "public health service". And according to Galiher et al., (1971) it also contributes to deficiencies in the health care system. They noted that consumer participation in the health care delivery system is an important factor for change not only in the attitudes of the consumers but also in the attitudes of the providers.

The work of Ademuwagun (1972) suggests that non-utilization or underutilization of the health services may be due to ignorance\* on the part of the health consumers.

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\*Ignorance in this context means lack of knowledge of the existence of something (e.g., hospital) or of the method of doing something.

Failure on the part of individuals or communities to provide certain health facilities may be due to ignorance. It may also be due to lack of resources (King, 1972). But an analysis of the works of such professional community workers as Biddle and Biddle (1965), Ross (1967) and Batten and Batten (1978) will suggest that the root cause of poverty itself is ignorance. The problem of ignorance can be removed through education. Community involvement in the provision of community services provides the greatest opportunity for doing this. When the people work on and complete a programme they will know about it, they will value it and in the end they will know the process involved in doing the specific task. This makes community involvement a practical education process (Biddle and Biddle, 1965).

Galiher et al., (1971) indicated that higher educational levels of the general population is responsible for the prominence of consumers in the health care system of America. Other factors mentioned as being responsible for increasing consumer participation were, greater expectations derived from improved communication, a somewhat higher standard of living and the stimulus this will provide for removing the frustration arising as a result of imbalance between the demand for and the supply of services.



It can be argued that these latter factors could not have surfaced if the consumers were ignorant or uneducated. When this happens, when a large pool of citizens becomes well informed, the government's health programmes is usually more responsive to the needs of the people, thus paving the way/a better communication between the providers and the consumers.

Securing community participation in community based programmes is not an easy task (Biddle and Biddle, 1965; Ross, 1967). It could be achieved through the strategies methods and techniques of community development or community organization (Galiher, et al., 1971).

## 2. Degrees and Forms of Community Participation

The literature available on community work indicates that the idea that citizens should be involved in all community development programmes is popular with service providers. What is not clear-cut is the degree of citizen participation required and the form it should take. According to Davies (1973), when promoting citizen participation in community programmes first became an official policy in North America, it was vaguely defined.

Davies indicated that at one end the more vocal citizens agitated for complete managerial control of all projects established under the Economic Opportunities Act., 1964. At the other end, the municipal authorities thought managerial control should be in their hands. This raised the debate: "Did participation mean that the poor will work on programmes or that they will share in the policy making role?".

Morley (1968), describe one type of participation as qualitative participation and he wrote:

In an age which works on the principle of throw-away-things for throw-away people an opportunity to contribute to the creation of a new environment should be rapidly, enthusiastically and actively accepted.

This implies that participation involves taking of concrete steps (i.e. physical and material contribution) to help in the development process.

Arnstein (1969) conceptualized participation in a hierarchical order indicating the degrees of participation as follows:

3.

Ladder of Citizen Participation

1. Manipulation	}	Non-Participation
2. Therapy		
3. Informing	}	Degree of tokenism
4. Consultation		
5. Placation	}	Degree of citizen power
6. Partnership		
7. Delegated Power	}	
8. Citizen Control		

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation suggests various relationships that could exist between an agency and a citizen body in community development programmes.

a. The agency could manipulate the members of a given community to work on programmes. Manipulation in this context means using clever means to make the citizens to act in the way the agency wishes. It is not different from therapy. This implies that the decisions, planning and implementing of the programme could be made by the agency. All it requires is tact to make the citizens work on the programme. This equates citizen participation with their working on programmes. Arnstein describes this as non-participation.

- b. The members of the community could be consulted, informed and placated so they will accept a pre-planned programme. They may eventually accept a given programme but one cannot be sure of their physical and material contribution. This is short of the other aspect of participation described as 'qualitative participation' by Morley (1968).
- c. In the context of Arnstein's concept of citizen participation we can surmise that citizen participation exists under the following relationships:
- (i) The relationship between the community service provider or agent and the community members is that of partnership. This suggests that the two parties shall be jointly involved in deciding on and planning and executing a programme.
  - (ii) Delegated power implies the backing and support from whoever is delegating the power to the one exercising the power. The support could be physical, material, moral and spiritual or all combined. Power could be delegated to a body elected by the subjects of a given community or even to the service providing agency. But whatever the case is, the whole process assures complete citizen involvement in not only working on programmes but also in deciding on the type, nature, the course and the form of the programmes.



(iii) Citizen control implies citizens taking over complete control of not only any community programmes but also the administration of service organizations initiating the programmes (Panzetta, 1972). This indicates a situation where the citizens will dictate to the staff or agencies working in the community. According to Panzetta (1972) this would not work because it will lead to dismemberment of the organization's manpower. From the above analysis, participation may be considered as including citizens involvement jointly with formal decision-making bodies in making decision and in planning and implementing physically and materially projects or programmes decided upon.

Literature in the community work field suggests one area of conflict which can be a constraint to citizen participation. This is the area of decision-making. Buttel and Flinn (1976) said decision-making is misleading viewed as an abstract process removed from the substance of any decision and in this way when a community discriminates among policies and rejects participation in some programmes, policy-makers tend to see flaws

in the community's ability to make decisions or innovate. This seems to suggest that formal decision-makers do not involve communities in the decisions that affect them (Gaston, 1975). This had led some authorities to give meanings to the motives of formal decision-makers. Khinduka, (1969); Alinsky, (1971); Freiry (1972) and Brown and Margo, (1978) appear to say that people in the formal decision-making have interests to protect and involving citizens in decisions cannot guarantee this. Khinduka for instance speaks of irreconcilable interests ('Haves and Have-nots') with the Haves' in control of decision-making.

These ideas seem to suggest that citizen participation if preached by formal decision-makers and their agents is at best a lip-service and at the worst an attempt to manipulate the general public to work on programmes. These ideas appear to have gained ideological significance. To this extent many authorities on community development observe and suggest different forms of community mobilization in order that citizens could achieve the desirable level or degree of participation. Among these authorities are Alinsky (1971), Freiry (1972). They preached radical actions through which the citizens or the oppressed can gain the attention of the rulers.

Another factor which appears to suggest the form community mobilization should take is the nature of the problems that need solution. This factor could be analysed under two related disciplines in the community work field (community development and community organization). The conceptual framework of the 'British School of Community Development' (table 1) illustrates the variables under which certain forms of community mobilization can be prescribed.

Table 1:

MODELS OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND POSSIBLE STRATEGIES ON THREE LEVELS OF OPERATION (LEES AND SMITH) 1977

Level of Operation	Basic Assumptions/Strategies		Structural Conflict
	Consensus	Pluralism	
National	Social Planning	National Lobby	National Pressure
Local	Organizational Service Development	Local Lobby	Local Pressure
Grass-roots	'Traditional' Community Development	Community Organization	Community Action

By definition, the participation expected from the community members include participation in decisions, planning and execution of all projects. The execution of any programme involves physical and material contribution. While physical and material contribution of all community members is possible, it might be impossible to involve every one at the decision-making and planning levels. It is therefore suggested that the leaders or the representatives of the people should be used for decision-making and planning (Ross, 1967; Galiher et al., 1971). Galiher et al. (1971) indicated that in the U.S. leaders of such organizations as the Welfare Rights Organizations, labour unions and Patent Rights organizations are used.

Looking at points 6, 7 and 8 of Arnsteins ladder of citizen participation against Panzeta's (1971) expectation of which form the citizen participation should take, there appears to be one conclusion. It is being suggested that service providers and the leaders of the community should decide and plan together.

#### 4. The Leadership Question

Mehta (1968) identified the community leaders of six India villages by their specific functions in some community institutions.



These functionaries in socio-economic institutions (schools, co-operative societies, etc.) which are "departures from the traditional landmarks of the community" are non-traditional leaders. By this definition, those serving in institutions which are the landmarks of the community are traditional leaders. These institutions shall include the chieftaincy institutions and such leaders shall include fetish priests and chiefs in the African context, i.e. holders of all traditional offices.

Again, Mehta (1968), Nix et al, (1977) refer to the senior staff of establishments providing services in communities as formal leaders. It may be surmised that some of such leaders are elected representatives either as members <sup>of</sup> parliament or councillors. Others are appointed officers in organisation and establishments in the community. Informal leaders may be described as distinguished citizens who do not hold any formal office. It could therefore be concluded that some offices which are traditional landmarks of the community are formal. By this definition it could be argued that in the African context, such office holders as chiefs and fetish priests are formal leaders. In many African communities therefore one is likely to find the following types of leaders:

#### 4.1. Formal Leaders

- (a) Non-traditional formal leaders, i.e. incumbents of non-traditional community offices.
- (b) Traditional formal leaders, i.e. incumbents of traditional offices.

4.2. Informal Leaders: These are distinguished citizens neither occupying non-traditional nor traditional community offices.

The interesting point is that in many cases community workers are employees of non-traditional community offices (i.e. modern bureaucratic organizations). Their employers are the non-traditional formal leaders in the African context. This appears to have some influence on community workers in Africa. In terms of mobilizing communities through their leaders, there is the tendency to concentrate on finding persons not holding formal traditional offices. Khinduka (1969) saw this from the ideological perspective. He noted that though the community development movement received great attention in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the achievements, if any were limited. He blamed this on some assumptions which were biased in favour of citizen involvement as against the involvement of administrators and policy-makers.

But as observed by Ross (1967) and emphasised by Galihier et al (1971) citizens could be mobilised through their leaders to participate in community based programmes. The problem may be that while in places like the U.S. mobilising leaders of organisations is tantamount to rallying decision-makers and administrators, the same cannot be said of Africa. It may be argued that in many developed countries, leaders of voluntary organizations invariably hold some formal offices and it is only in their private capacity as private citizens that they can be called informal leaders. On the contrary traditional leaders in many African countries who may be leaders of the various traditional, cultural, and social groups may not be in key administrative positions in the communities. This may suggest that when these leaders are used for community organization purposes, the leaders in the non-traditional organizations may be left out.

It is expected that community workers should find out whom community members perceive as their leaders (Mehta, 1968; Brieger and Adeniyi, 1980). It seems persons identified as leaders by members of the community are so identified because of their power and ability to exercise influence on community affairs. But in the Foko area of Ibadan, Nigeria, Brieger and Adeniyi (1980) found the accepted pattern of leadership,

a traditional community council of elders, helpless against a non-traditional one. This raises a question as to whether community members will identify as leaders those who exercise or can exercise effective influence on community affairs. This may depend on their understanding of the local political system and their knowledge of who does what in the locality (Court, 1972).

5. The role of Leadership in Community Work

For community work purposes, community leaders have been grouped into types. Nix (1969) identified three main types of leaders, Mehta (1968) identified two. Nix's identification was based on the dimensions of function, scope of influence and basic orientation, and the types of leaders were presented in a hierarchical order. Nix called the highest group of leaders on the hierarchy the legitimizers. According to Nix, the approval of the legitimizers must precede any community work. The second group of leaders identified by Nix are the effectors. The effectors are mostly government officials and employees of large private corporations directed by the legitimizers. The effectors occupy positions vital in the planning of community change. The last group of leaders are activists. The activists are those Nix described as 'doers' and 'joiners'.



Mehta distinguished between recognised or established and programme leaders. According to Mehta the social approval and moral support of the recognised leaders must precede any health or family planning programme. Mehta said the programme leaders are determined by their initiative, interest and the lead they provide in programmes. Mehta and Nix are agreed on the specific functions of type of leaders in community work except that Mehta's 'recognised leader' is a wider concept than Nix's top influential or institutional leader, it embraces Nix's legitimizers and effectors. The important point, however, is that whatever the type of leader, he has some relationship with the community power structure. For instance in America it is observed that the participation of businessmen and other influentials in civic affairs encourages community participation (Banfield and Wilson, 1971). But the businessman and the other influentials in America have a place on the community power structure.

Several studies have been made on community power structure (Hunter, 1953; Nix, 1969; Skills, 1975 and Nix, et al, 1977). Though these studies vary in scope and perspective, they all tend to point to the same facts:

- (a) That there is increasing need for a change agent to understand more about the community and its leadership structure.
- (b) That leadership in a given local community is not independent of the leadership structure of the nation and
- (c) That at the grass-root level (be it the village, farm-hut or the factory) community workers can work through indigenous leaders and local influentials to promote participation and involvement in community based programmes. But a synthesis of Funnel's (1972) findings on the Asian political system and, studies on power and leadership structures generally suggests that:

- (i) What might be called an 'indigenous' leader in one country may not be the same in another country. In countries where traditional political systems co-exist with a modern political system the indigenous leaders are the incumbents of the traditional offices.
- (ii) When the traditional and modern political systems are coexisting (i.e., not integrated), there will be two leadership and power structures coexisting.

An analysis of community participation and involvement in countries like China, Tanzania and the U.S. with single or an integrated political system \* suggests that influencing community participation through local leaders is less problematic because leaders are identified along the same leadership and power structure.

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\* An integrated political system is used to describe one in which the traditional leadership and the modern leadership are placed in the same political structures of the country, e.g., in Britain, we refer to the 'Queen-in-Parliament'.

Studies on leadership structures have focused on the concept of leadership in the west where traditional political institutions may not co-exist with modern political institutions. In the African setting, though various discussions in sociology, history and political science focus on the existence of traditional leadership, the western concept of leadership structures predominates. This situation gives rise to four strands:

1. By the western concept of leadership an indigenous leader refers only to local men and women identifiable with the modern economic, political and administrative structures. In the African setting indigenous leader tends to be used to refer specifically to the traditional leaders (chiefs, fetish priests, etc.). Thus in the same local community in the African scene there may be two types of indigenous leaders. Without distinction between these two groups of leaders, high ranking government officials and community workers tend to approach the 'indigenous traditional leaders' when they want to initiate programmes that need physical, material and spiritual involvement of the community.



It is hoped that by speaking through the chiefs the subjects will, in their numbers, follow.

2. It is not realised that the existence in the locality of 'non-traditional' local influentials may cause the decline of the power and influence of the 'traditional' local influentials.
3. It is not realised that the local people might base their leadership choice on the ability of any alleged leader to influence the allocation of resources (rewards or punishment) at the local and national levels.
4. It is not realised that the continued acceptance of an indigenous traditional leader might depend on his continued ability to influence decisions and allocation of resources at all levels.

There is therefore a need to explore the relationship between the traditional and non-traditional leadership structures in the African local communities in terms of finding out community members perception of them before adopting a strategy for mobilizing ~~community~~ members through leaders.

CHAPTER THREE

A. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1. Interstitial Groups and Individual Leadership

Nix (1969) made the following observation.

The social facts of which communities are made are the exchange and coordinative relationships between special interest groups and organizations within a locality. The hypothesis is that individuals tend to gain or lose potential community power by the nature and extent of their exchange relationships; the exercise of real community influence depends on their involvement in key coordinative interest groups.

Therefore Nix (1969) and later Nix, et al (1977) identified the following three groups as components of communities:

- a. Exchange interstitial or in-between groups.
- b. Coordinative interstitial groups.
- c. Special interstitial groups.

1.1 Exchange Interstitial or In-Between Groups

Here individuals, groups, and organizations exchange their specialized goods and services, etc. merchant - customer or professional - client relationships. Nix (1969) hypothesised that the individual may lose or gain potential power by the nature and extent of the exchange relationships.

### 1.2. Coordinative Interstitial Groups

This is the relationship between two or more individuals, groups and/or organizations. Here individuals, groups and organizations with potentially differing and conflicting interests come together to transact business. Examples of coordinative interstitial groups are a local chamber of commerce, a community development council and an informal decision-making clique. Members of such groups are described as representing such several differing special interests as a bank, a law firm, an association of teachers and a medical council.

### 1.3. Special Interstitial Groups

Here the relationship between the individuals making up a group is mainly interpersonal. Also the role behaviour of their members is culturally determined or ideally reciprocal and each member is supposed to be orientated to the basic goal of the group or organization he represents. Examples of this type of group include the family, a single firm or a company and a school.

A summary of the three types of groups is shown in a table on the next page.



A Table Summarising the Three Types of Interstitial Groups

Descriptions	TYPE OF INTERSTITIAL GROUP		
	I Exchange interstitial groups	II Coordinative interstitial groups	III Special interstitial groups
1. Examples of groups in each type	Merchant-customer or Professional-client	A local chamber of commerce or community development council or decision-making clique	A single family or a single firm or a school or Medical Council etc
2. Composition of group/nature of relationship	Individuals of type III groups in a formal business-type relationships with other groups and individuals from the other groups	Groups/bodies comprising individuals acting as representatives of various interstitial groups and organisations	Individuals with mainly interpersonal/informal relationships within the group membership
3. Characteristic feature of the relationships	Role behaviour is competitive and conjunctive	Role behaviour is competitive or conjunctive	Role behaviour is reciprocal or culturally determined



Interstitial Groups and Individual Leadership

Nix (1969) and Nix, et al. (1977) suggested that unless an individual is engaged in a key coordinative group or organization in his community, he is not likely to exercise effective influence on community affairs. Presthus (1971), Wilson and Banfield (1971) seem to suggest that members of a community find leadership in those who have transactional influence at the level of coordinative relationship. Presthus (1971) contends that individuals have come to see the state as the main distributor of rewards and punishments and that all individuals, groups and organizations seek to influence this. It could be inferred from this that the leaders in a local community, if they are to be seen as such, may have to be involved in coordinative relationships not only at the local level but also at intermediate and national levels. Further, the individuals with the resources and influence to operate at the coordinative relationship level have certain attributes - economic, political, educational etc., which afford them the chance and which others can identify and may aspire to get.

From this perspective it is necessary to investigate the attributes which local residents in a rural community (like that of Ayidade) identify their leaders with so as to find out who the real leaders are and what attributes (sex, age, clan relationship, education, wealth, high administrative office) they must possess to be recognized and accepted as leaders. Nix (1969) has suggested that to understand community leadership we must focus attention on the existing types of groups in the community and dispel the notion that communities are basically systems of co-operating individuals, groups or organizations.

Based on Nix's propositions (1969) sticking to the old notion of rural communities (of the size of say Ikire, Apomu and Ikoyi) as made up for ruling systems of extended family or clan relationships is to miss the point. It amounts to saying that such communities are special interstitial groups orientated basically towards reciprocal goals.

This notion appears to have outlived its usefulness. From this perspective, it seems reasonable to suggest that the influence and power of chiefs and elders will depend on whether or not they also function effectively at the coordinative and exchange interstitial relationship levels.

According to Nix, et al., (1977) the concern with power or leadership structure is system centred while the concern with leaders is person centred. They said leadership structure studies examine the nature of the community in terms of the number, type and organizations of interstitial group networks. The question here is whether there are two or more power foci within the community.

## 2. Basis of Community Leadership

The basis of leadership is social power and social power has been defined as the capacity to determine the action of others (Nix, 1969; Presthus 1971).



The sources of social power are authority and influence (Nix 1969). Authority is the right which persons who occupy particular positions in groups have to control other members of the group. According to Nix, part of an individual's power is based on authority.

Influence is not associated with any particular office. According to Nix (1969) the influence of any individual derives from:

- a. His personal qualities - appearance, age, family background, special skills and communication abilities, etc.
  - b. His access to scarce resources -- jobs, goods, services.
  - c. Prestige and commulative influence growing out of all positions and office held.
3. Community Power Structure and Community Leadership

Bansfield and Wilson (1971) defined community power structure as made up of those who set the policy of the community on line. In Atlanta, Georgia (U.S.) those who set the policy on line were identified as mostly businessmen. Bansfield and Wilson (1971) described the businessmen who "set the Policy on line" in Atlanta as the power



leaders; those who carried out the policies were the elected and appointed officials (the bureaucrats). Reviewing other researches on community power structure, Banfield and Wilson noted that while in some communities, the bureaucracy held ample power, in others, e.g. New Haven, power was found to be highly pluralistic. They concluded that whatever the form of power structure, one thing was common to all, i.e. "persons not elected to formal offices play very considerable part in the making of important decisions".

Nix (1969) identified four main forms of community power structure.

3.1. Focused or Unitary Form:- This form of power structure is pyramidal. At the apex of the pyramid may be found a person, a clique or an organization "which unquestionably exercises power in a patterned way through the descending levels of the leadership".

3.2. Split or Bifactional Form:- This describes a situation where the community is divided into two major groups each with its own leadership which may be a person, group, a clique or an organization.

- 3.3. Multifactional Form:- This describes a situation where there are many factions each with its own leadership which may be a person, a clique or an organization.
- 3.4. Amorphorous or Disorganized Form:- This describes a situation where no structure of leadership is recognised in the community. This condition according to Nix (1969) could be associated with absentee ownership and the dominance exerted over the community by a metropolitan regional centre.

B.

AREA OF STUDY

I Land Area and Population

The Aiyedade community comprises the towns Ikire, Apomu and Ikoyi. It is one of the community groups under the administration of the Irewole Local Government in the Oyo State, Nigeria. The community is just about 30km. north-east of Ibadan, the capital of the Oyo State. Covering an area of about 13.90 sq.km, the community had a population of 163,953 (1963 census). A more recent population estimate makes the population of Ikire 120,000, Apomu 50,000 and Ikoyi 30,000 (or a total of about 200,000)\*. Ikire, Apomu and Ikoyi are predominantly Yoruba speaking areas.

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\* Sources: Irewole Local Government Council

## 2. Administrative Set Up

Ikire is the administrative headquarters of the community and it houses the following administrative institutions and organizations.

- 2.1. The Irewole Local Government offices.
- 2.2. Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Departments
- 2.3. Ministry of Education
- 2.4. The Urban Health Centre
- 2.5. Police Station
- 2.6. Local Court
- 2.7. Postal Agency
- 2.8. Banks
- 2.9. Trade and co-operative unions.
- 2.10. Each local community has a traditional administrative institution under the respective obas and the general community level, there is a chieftaincy committee.

## 3. Educational Set Up

- 3.1. Ikire has eight primary schools and three post-primary schools.
- 3.2. Apomu has five primary schools and three post-primary schools.

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\* The traditional administrative institution under the respective Obas is referred to as Ilu (i.e. Obas' Council)



3.3. Ikoyi has four primary and one post-primary schools.

4. Health Education Activities

There have been some degree of intense health education activities organized by the staff of the Rural Health Centre (Government) and four generations (1975/76 to 1978/79) of students of the African Regional Health Education Centre (ARHEC) of the University of Ibadan. While the health education activities of the Rural Health Centre Staff can be described as patient-education, the ARHEC students have been engaged in community health education through community organization.

C. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1. Setbacks During the Field Practice In the Aiyedade Community

One of the setbacks in the Aiyedade community was the inability of the field practice team to generate the desired community participation through the community leaders. Another setback was the problem faced in attempting to coordinate the activities of the local government council in a way that would bring together the efforts of the people and the council.



When field practitioners could not make a headway in various communities, it could be traced to their failure to take steps in line with community development principles (Ross, 1965; Batten, 1975; Brieger and Adeniyi, 1980). With specific reference to the community health practice programmes of ARHEC\* students, Brieger and Adeniyi (1980) noted that the deviations from the community development principles were at two stages - the diagnostic stage and the intervention stage.

According to Brieger and Adeniyi, at the diagnostic level, problems occurred when:

- 1.1. Students defined the community in terms other than the residents' own conception of it.
- 1.2. Leadership that was acceptable to and respected by the community members was not accurately identified.
- 1.3. Existing values and motivations which could inhibit or aid community action were not properly taken into account.
- 1.4. Social dynamics such as factionalism were not considered.

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\*Students of the African Regional Health Education Centre.

They also observed that at the intervention stage the selected goals were out of tune with the available resources, the entry into the community was done through inter-mediaries rather than the beneficiaries and community participation was not promoted through the existing acceptable leadership.

## 2. The Leadership Problem

Aiyedade is a rural community.

Rural communities are identified with closely-knit kinship system, i.e. they are integrated (Ross, 1967). Leaders in rural communities are seen as collaborators in a common venture (Rothman, 1971). In some rural communities, the leadership structure is described as that of a local potentate (Funnel, 1972). In the Aiyedade community, the field practice team entered through the traditional leaders in an attempt to promote community participation. The failure to achieve general community participation by working through the indigenous leaders raises some questions. Are the traditional indigenous leaders representative of all the interests in the locality? What is the sphere of influence of the traditional ruling elite? Are there any interests in the community with other Leaders? Are there any other types of leadership structures in a rural community?

2. Objectives of the Study

- 2.1. To identify the types of leadership groups in the Aiyedade community.
- 2.2. To identify the power leaders in the community.
- 2.3. To explore the relationship between the types of leaders in the community in terms of their popularity with community members.
- 2.4. To determine how community members with different occupational and educational background identify with the leadership groups in the community.
- 2.5. To attempt to determine the factors accounting for the strength or weakness of the leadership groups in the community.
- 2.6. To explore and consider the implications of the findings for promoting general community participation in health programmes through leaders.

D. ASSUMPTIONS

The basic assumptions upon which this study was based included the following:

1. That consumer participation and involvement in community health programmes can be improved if health workers understand the leadership system in Aiyedade.

2. That there is more than one leadership group in Aiyedade.
3. That the traditional leadership is the only type of leadership community workers seem to be aware of.

E.

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses dealing with the effects of the coexistence of a traditional and a non-traditional leadership which this study was designed to test were:

1. Subjects opinions as to which authority is responsible for the local administration will depend on whether or not they received some formal education.
2. Subjects' opinions as to which authority is responsible for the local administration will depend on their occupations.
3. There will be significant difference among the occupational groups in their conceptions as to whether the chiefs or the councillors or any others are the most powerful leaders with strong voice in community affairs.



4. There will be a significant difference between those with and those without formal education in their conceptions as to whether the chiefs or the councillors or any others are the most powerful with strong voice in community affairs.
5. There is no significant difference among the occupational groups in their preference for types of leaders they interact with.
6. There is no significant difference between those with and those without formal education in their preference for the types of leaders they interact with.
7. The distribution of respondents by their preference for the type of leaders they interact with is independent of their distribution on their opinions as to whether they can influence decision made by the leaders.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

STUDY DESIGN

The study has three closely interrelated aspects:

1. A study of leadership in the Aiyedade community in terms of the basis of the power and influence of the traditional leaders and non-traditional leaders represented by the chiefs and the councillors respectively.
2. A study of the subjects perception of those who exercise leadership (chiefs and councilmen) in the Aiyedade community.
3. A study of informal leaders i.e. local influentials. Different techniques were used in the selection of the respondents for each aspect of the study and in the measurement of the variables of interest.

1. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

1.1. Procedure for Selecting  
The Councillors and the Chiefs

Aiyedade had 17 councillors, 9 from Ikire and 4 each from Apomu and Ikoyi communities. These three communities make up Aiyedade included in the Irewole Local Government Council area.

The Local Government Council was already dissolved at the time of the study and this made it difficult to get all the 17 councillors for interview. Only 12 were available for the interview. Of these 12, six were from Ikire, four from Apomu and two from Ikoyi, representing 66.6%, 100% and 50% of the councillors in the three communities respectively.

A total of 24 chiefs were interviewed - eight from each of the three communities under study. Three of the chiefs were the paramount chiefs - the Alakire of Ikire, the Alapomu of Apomu and the Onikoyi of Ikoyi - of the three communities. The remaining 21 chiefs, seven for each community, were chosen randomly from each community's 16-member council of chiefs (the Ilu).

#### 1.2. Procedure for Selecting Community Members (Subjects)

##### Sample size - Statistical Consideration

1.2a In determining the size of the sample, the investigator took into account the subject under study and the variables of interest. The theoretical and conceptual framework on which this study is based show that individuals acquire the basis of leadership, i.e. power and influence, from certain exchange relationships. The chances that a given individual will gain an upper hand in these relationships are enhanced by his



possession of certain status symbols. The status symbols which appeared to be relevant to this study were education and occupation and these constituted the main independent variables in the cross-tabulations.

The second factor in the determination of the sample size was the analytic tools to be used which included  $\chi^2$  (chi-square tests). It is said that where some of the cases per cell in the cross-tabulation fall below 5, analysis is difficult and also chi-square tests would not show the tendencies clearly.

With these guidelines and basing the sample size on the formula  $r^n \times 10$  (where  $r$  = the average number of values per variable,  $n$  = the number of variables of interest and 10 = the least number of cases per cell) it was estimated that the sample size should not be less than 250 (i.e.  $5^2 \times 10 = 250$ ).

The estimated population of Ikire is 120,000, Apomu 50,000 and Ikoyi 30,000 (the source is the Irewole Local Government Council). The sample size for each township was to be drawn in proportion to its population. These proportions were 12:5:3 for Ikire, Apomu and Ikoyi respectively. It was also decided to exceed the minimum sample of 250 by 164 or 45% thus a total of 364 persons were proportionately drawn from the three townships - 216 from Ikire, 93 from Apomu and 55 from Ikoyi (Table 3).



TABLE 3

Distribution of Respondents in the sample by Towns

TOWN	SAMPLE SIZE	% AGE OF TOTAL SAMPLE
Apomu	93	25.6
Ikire	216	59.3
Ikoyi	55	15.1
	364	100

TABLE 4

Distribution of Respondents in the Sample for each town by Occupations

	Apomu	Ikire	Ikoyi	Totals
Farmers	63 (67.7%)	141 (65.3%)	40 (72.2%)	244 (67%)
Traders	7 (7.5%)	37 (17.1%)	4 (7.3%)	48 (13.2%)
Unskilled Workers	5 (5.3%)	13 (6%)	2 (3.6%)	20 (5.4%)
Skilled Workers	15 (16.1%)	11 (5.1%)	6 (10.9%)	32 (8.8%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical Workers	3 (2.2%)	14 (6.5%)	3 (5.5%)	20 (5.4%)
Totals	93	216	55	364

### 1.2b Stratification

Each population comprised five occupational sub-categories - farmers, unskilled workers, skilled workers, traders and the professional administrative class and the respondents were interviewed in each category. However, it was difficult to establish a basis for occupational stratification from the population census in order to select a representative sample of the population. But a recent study (e.g. Makinwa, 1978) indicated that the rural population of Nigeria is made up of 70% agricultural producers (farmers). The remainder are made up of different occupational categories. The sample size for each township was therefore decided in the ratio 7:3. The proportional representation of farmers, and other occupational groups put together, in the sample (table 4) was approximate to Makinwa's i.e., farmers 67% and other 33%\*.

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\*During the analysis of the result it was found that some subjects indicated they were engaged in two occupations, e.g. worker-cum farmer. As they were full-time employees the researcher decided to count them as employee rather than farmers. This gave a distortion to the expected 3:7 proportion for farmers and other occupations.

Table 4 shows that Ikire has a larger proportion of the other non-farming occupations than the other two communities and this was due to the following reasons:

- i. The administrative/professional/clerical class was mainly found at Ikire which is the administrative headquarters of the Aiyedade community.
- ii. Being the largest of the three communities and also the administrative headquarters, Ikire had a greater proportion of the elite population in the study area and this probably explained why it was more commercial than Apomu and Ikoyi.

### 1.3 Selection of the Final Sampling Unit

#### 1.3a Drawing of Farmers

The Ikire township was made up of 266 compounds with many houses built in rows and columns. Others were arranged in the traditional rectangular or circular forms. A random sample of 40 compounds were selected from the 266 compounds. A compound was usually made up of a number of housing units ranging from 20-30. Four interviewers were assigned 10 compounds each. They each interviewed 35 farmers by visiting every fifth house in each compound.



If there was no farmer in the fifth house interviewers went to the next house.

### Apomu and Ikoyi

At Apomu 20 compounds were drawn from 60 and at Ikoyi 15 compounds were drawn from 38 and interviewers through the same procedure used at Ikire picked the final sampling units who were farmers.

#### 1.3b Drawing traders and Skilled Workers

The traders and skilled workers in each community were located along the principal streets. In each town interviewers were assigned to streets to interview a trader in every eighth shop or kiosk and skilled workers in every eighth workshop. Workshops included carpenter's shops, blacksmith's shop, etc. The category also included tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, etc.

#### 1.3c Drawing the Unskilled Workers and the Administrative and Professional Class

##### i. Administrative/Professional/Clerical Class

There were 24 educational institutions as against others in the Aiyedade community. Teachers therefore formed the largest professional group in the area. Five teachers were interviewed at Ikire, 3 at Apomu and 2 at Ikoyi in randomly chosen schools.



In each school, the interviewers were asked to interview any one teacher who stayed longest in the community.

The remaining 10 subjects interviewed in the administrative, professional and clerical categories were chosen from 10 randomly selected establishments in which interviewers interviewed any worker who stayed longest.

ii. Unskilled Workers

These were persons such as labourers, messengers etc. without specific skills in the performance of any jobs and who have been employed for miscellaneous duties by government departments, and agencies in the community. Interviewers were directed to randomly chosen establishments to interview any unskilled worker who stayed longest in the community.

1.4. Influential Persons or Informal Leaders

10 persons were interviewed from the names given by the chiefs, councillors and the community members. These persons were only those who were named by at least one chief, one councillor and one community member.

2 INSTRUMENTS FOR DATA COLLECTION

2.1. Interviews

The interview schedule for the chiefs and councillors was cast in the form of questionnaires including both closed and open ended questions. The chiefs and the councillors were interviewed by the investigator himself with the help of an interpreter.

Close-ended questionnaires were used to interview the subjects. The questionnaires were administered by trained interviewers. It took 10 days to interview the 364 respondents.

2.2. Observation

Some of the information was obtained through observation of social and other activities.

2.3. Pre-testing

The questionnaires were pre-tested in the three communities with 50 respondents from the occupational groups of interest. The result showed that subjects understood the questions.

2.4. Test of Reliability

Two weeks after the study 50 subjects were re-interviewed with the same questionnaires and they responded the same way they did during the actual study. This suggests that the measuring instruments were reliable.

3. ANALYSIS - METHODS/TOOLS

Responses were counted manually and a hand calculator was used in the statistical work.

In some cases some cells were merged to make the use of chi-square tests possible, as some of the cells frequencies fell below 5. The traders category and the skilled workers' category were merged under 'skilled worker - trader' while the administrative/professional and clerical class was merged with the unskilled worker class (e.g. table 13.1).

The following factors were taken into account in deciding on which cells to collapse:

- a. All traders interviewed and all skilled workers interviewed were self-employed and were in the modern economic sector. They were located in the same parts of the towns - i.e., along the major streets.
- b. The administrative/professional and clerical workers as well as the unskilled workers were in the employment of agencies and organizations in the locality. They were subsets on the same population.

4.

LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

a. Language

As a non-Yoruba speaking researcher in Yoruba speaking areas, the main problem was how to interact with the respondents. In interviewing the chiefs and the councillors an interpreter was used since many of them were illiterates. No other method could have been better because most issues need further exploration through further questioning and using an interviewer would make this impossible. The use of an interpreter posed a problem because it was not possible to involve those interviewed in an informal conversation which would have revealed certain issues. However, it was possible to interact freely in a conversational mood with the literates among those interviewed and this appeared to have filled the gap somehow.

4.2. Use of Interviewers

The main limitation here is the uniformity that might be lacking in the way the interviewers explained points to subjects. This may exert different influences on respondents with respect to answering the same questions.

To solve this problem the questions were translated into Yoruba so that there would not be the need for interviewers to explain some questions with different emphasis and stresses.



The interviewers were trained and were asked to avoid interpreting the questions beyond what were put down.

#### 4.3. Culture

There was need to gather information through observation during my interview with the chiefs and councillors. As a foreigner with different cultural background and meaning to most phenomena, the use of observation was very much limited. This implies that data from this source may have been inadequate.

#### 4.4. Resources

The Aiyedade community is 40 km away from Ibadan. It costs ₦1.40 for a return journey. This costs plus the cost of employing interviewers put a limit on the intensity of the study, e.g. many more subjects should have been included in the sample.

To solve this problem the investigator tried to interview fewer subjects (364) but made sure that the sample was as much representative of the population as possible.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The results are presented in two sections - Section A and Section B. Section A is a report of the findings from the interview with the chiefs and the councillors. Section B deals with the findings from the interview of the 364 community members who do not occupy any formal community offices and 10 persons named as being very influential by the chiefs, the councillors and the subjects.

SECTION A

1. SOCIAL-ECONOMIC/EDUCATION CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE CHIEFS AND THE COUNCILLORS

1.1. Educational Background of the 24 chiefs  
and the 12 councillors

Only 6 (25%) of the 24 chiefs interviewed had any formal education at all. The remaining 18 (75%) had no education at all. In contrast all the 12 councillors interviewed (100%) were educated. In terms of the quality of the education received, 41% of the councillors went beyond post-primary and 25% had post-secondary education respectively. The 25% of the 24 chiefs who had formal education reached only primary school.

1.2. Membership of Local Voluntary Organizations or Associations

10 chiefs (41.7%) were found to be members of some voluntary associations in the Aiyedade community. The Onikoyi was found to be a member and the chairman of the 'Oredegebe Society' at Ikoyi. It was observed that the society is basically a friendship society which has as its main objective, the giving of mutual support and help to members during times of need. The Alapomu was found to be a member and the chairman of a Muslim religious group called "Ansar-Ud-Deen". 8 other chiefs were found to be members of other voluntary organizations.

8 (66.7%) of the councillors were found to be members of a "Star Recreation Club" at Ikire. The club provides recreational facilities to its members. Membership of the club appears to be restricted in the sense that it is subject to the payment of yearly subscriptions. The members include mostly senior workers in the Aiyedade community.

1.3. Occupational Background of the Chiefs and the Councillors

The chiefs (24) and the councillors (12) interviewed combined their formal offices with other occupations. (71%) of the chiefs said they were farmers, four, (16.7%) were traders and two, (8.3%) said they were businessmen and one, (4%) said he was a local court judge.

The Alapomu of Apomu was a clerical officer in the Ministry of Local Government before ascending to the throne.

Two (16.7%) of the councillors said they were farmers. At the time of the interview one of them was getting ready to travel to Europe to negotiate for the purchase of agricultural machinery. The researcher met him at the central revenue office arranging for his tax clearance certificate for the purpose of the intended trip. This suggests that he is a prosperous farmer. Two, (16.7%) of the councillors were drug sellers, 6 (50%) were traders and three, (25%) were dealers in timber products. The chairman of the local government council was legal practitioner and he had his chambers at Ife (Oyo State).

#### 1.4. Membership of Occupational/Professional/Business Groups

Five, (20.8%) of the 24 chiefs interviewed said they were members of the local branch of the farmers co-operative society. The two councillors who said they were farmers also belonged to the farmers co-operative movement and one of them said he was a member of the 'Jagun Group Farmers Union'.

#### 1.5. Financial Standing

The sub-chiefs complained bitterly about the poor salaries they received. Information from the Irewole Local Council treasury showed that the Paramount Chiefs (Obas) were paid relatively high salaries ranging between ₦1,832 - ₦3,385 per annum as compared



with the sub-chiefs who were placed on salaries ranging between ₦121 - ₦882 per annum (according to seniority). The ordinary councillors were placed on fixed monthly allowances of ₦100 i.e. ₦1,200 per annum. Supervisory councillors who were full-time councillors in charge of education, works and health were on a salaries of ₦4,800 per annum. The chairman of the council earned ₦6,000 per annum.

#### 1.6. Political Affiliations

All the 12 councillors interviewed showed great interest in politics and boasted of having links with top politicians at both the state and national levels. The dominant political party in the locality is the Unity Party of Nigeria. Information indicated that one of the councillors was elected into the Oyo-State House of Assembly on UPN ticket.

The chiefs claimed they were prevented from partisan politics because of the position they occupy in society. They however maintained they have good relations with politicians of all political leanings and they were visited by highly placed political leaders in the country.

2. THE ROLE OF THE CHIEFS AND THE COUNCILLORS IN THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The chiefs and councillors were asked a series of questions that would lead to understanding their relative positions and roles in the administration of the area.

2.1 Decision-making for the General Community

The chiefs and the councillors were asked to say whether or not the Irewole Local Government Council and the Chieftaincy Committee were two different decision-making bodies and to give reasons for their answers.

All the 12 councillors (100%) interviewed said that the two institutions were different decision-making bodies. Both groups stressed that while the local government council is concerned with policies and administrative matters of the community, the Obas' councils and the chieftaincy committee are concerned with chieftaincy matters such as succession disputes, enstoolment, destoolment, etc. and the settlement of minor disputes between community members.

All the chiefs claimed that they play no part in making policies and decisions for the general community. The Alapomu has this to say "civilization and politics have taken away the influence of the Obas". Another chief, the Onikoyi of Ikoyi said this: "My own opinion about the role of chiefs in the

local administration is that the chiefs are on lookers. No participation, no nothing, the councilmen appear to be lords, they decide and give us information".

While the chiefs attributed all the power of community decision-making to the councillors, the councillors said they had no power. This information was revealed in a question put to both groups: "If there are any deficiencies in the policies and administration of this locality would you say this must be blamed on the chiefs or councillors or both?" They were asked to give their reasons.

The chiefs said the councillors controlled the purse and policy and so they should be blamed. One councillor's statement summarises the position of the councillors on this issue. He said "you cannot blame us, you cannot blame the chiefs. We the councillors just don't have the power. We work according to central government directives". According to him it is one thing making decisions and it is another thing having the power to implement the decisions made. He said while they were not given the initiative to make the decisions since the decisions they made fell within a framework worked out by the central government, the implementation of their decisions was in the hands of the councils administrative class against whom they, the councillors were powerless.

Two of the chiefs (sub-chiefs), one at Apomu and one at Ikoyi were councillors in the now dissolved local government council. They served on many of the council's committees. One of the two chiefs was the Balogun of Ikoyi town, he said he was a petty trader. During his tenure of office as councillors, he served on the 'Education Committee', 'Finance Committee', 'General Purpose Committee', and the Health Committee. The other, a sub-chief at Apomu who said he was a businessman, served on two committees - Finance and Health Committees. These two men therefore have working knowledge of the council. They, like the other chiefs, said the council is more involved in making decisions that affect the general community than the chieftaincy institution. The chiefs concluded that the chief is now reduced to reporting the needs of the community to the councillors. As to whether or not the new decision-making arrangement has affected their standing in the community, the chiefs replied 'yes'. They said in their present position they were not better placed than any citizen with regard to decision-making and implementation and this directly affects their status.

The following question was put to both the councillors and the chiefs. "In your opinion which of the following two institutions are the people living here more familiar with?"

1. Chieftaincy
2. Local Government Council!



All the councillors except one said the subjects were more familiar with the council system. The only councillor with a different view said the subjects "understand almost nothing". All the 24 chiefs said the subjects were more familiar with the chieftaincy system and understood its functions better. Both groups claimed all classes of people irrespective of their education and occupation consult them with their problems. This seems to contradict the earlier claim by the chiefs that the council has taken all their powers.

During the study there was an occasion for installing a chief at Apomu. This researcher, with the permission of the Alapomu had the opportunity to watch the proceedings. The researcher's interest was focused on attendance and the persons that attended. Only a few hundreds, about 200 persons were in attendance. Those present were mostly illiterates. All the sub-chiefs attended but there was the conspicuous absence of other community leaders, i.e. the non-traditional leaders.

## 2.2 The Impact of the Individual Leaders on Council Decisions

To get this information each chief and councillor interviewed was asked to name two councillors of the Irewole Local Government Council who have great influence on decisions reached by the council.

The names given were compiled according to whether they were given by the chiefs or by the councillors. The total number of persons indicating that a particular individual councillor had great influence on decisions reached by the council has been shown in the last column of table 6, appendix A:3. Two things were observed - the individual councillors impact on decisions and the pattern of naming persons with influence on decisions.

(i) Impact of the Individual Councillors on Council's Decisions

In this analysis all the 28 councillors who served on the now dissolved Irewole Local Government Council were considered. The 28 councillors were drawn from the council areas as follows:

Ikire (9), Apomu (4), Ikoyi (4)  
and Gbonga (4), and Odeomu (4).

Orile-Owu (3).

Out of the 28 councillors, 19 (67.85%) were named as persons having great influence on decisions made by the council. The chairman of the local government council was named by 15 persons, six chiefs and 9 councillors. Two supervisory councillors were named three times each among the chiefs and two times each among the councillors. This analysis suggests that the chairman dominated most of the decisions that might have been reached by the council.

(ii) Pattern of Naming

The chiefs and the councillors were drawn from only three of the six communities under the administration of the Irewole Local Government council but they named persons from the other council areas, i.e. Gbongan, Odeomu and Orile-Owu. This suggests that the persons identified as having great impact on decisions were not so identified because of their ethnic connections with the chiefs and councillors interviewed.

The chiefs tend to mention the same persons as the councillors. This indicates that some of the chiefs have insight into decision-making in the council. It also points to a fact that the chiefs could make their voices heard through some councillors.

SECTION B

This section presents data on selected demographic characteristics of the subjects interviewed and the results of the interview with the subjects on their perception of the traditional and the non-traditional leadership structures and institutions in the Aiyedade community.

1. SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE RESPONDENTS

1.1 Resident Status

Table 7 (appendix A:3) shows the distribution of the respondents by their resident status. Of the 364 subjects interviewed 77.7% were persons born and bred and staying in the Aiyedade community. Only 2.2% were born and bred in the community but lived elsewhere. 11.8% were immigrant workers living in the area and 8% were immigrants who have settled permanently in the area. Only one (0.3%) was a visitor.

Of the 43 subjects interviewed at Apomu 74.2% were made up of indigens resident in the town, 4.3% non-resident indigens, 12.9% immigrant workers and 8.6% settled immigrant. 79.6% of those interviewed at Ikire were resident indigens, 1.4% were non-resident indigens, 9.7% were immigrant workers, 8.8% were settled immigrants, only one (.5%) was a visitor. At Ikoyi, 76.4% of those interviewed were indigens resident in the town, one or 1.8% was non-resident indigen, 18.2% were immigrant workers and only two or 4% were settled immigrants.

1.2 Religious Composition

Table 8 (appendix A:3) shows the religious composition of the total sample (364). 68.1% of respondents were muslims, 22.8% christians and 9.1% belonged to other religions.



69.9% of the 95 subjects interviewed at Apomu were muslims, 22.6% were christians and only 7.5% said they belonged to other religions. At Ikire, the subjects interviewed were made up of 69.4% muslims, 20.8% christians and 9.7% belonged to other religions. Of the 55 subjects interviewed at Ikoyi, 60% were muslims, 30.9% christians and 9.1% belonged to other religions.

### 1.3 Educational Background

56.6% of the 364 respondents had no education at all, 22.5% had primary school education, 11.5% received post primary education and 9% received some post secondary education.

63.4% of the 93 subjects interviewed at Apomu had no formal education at all, 22.6% received primary school education, only 7.5% and 6.5% finished post primary and received some post secondary education respectively.

Of the 216 subjects interviewed at Ikire, 55.1% had no formal education at all, 21.8% finished primary school, 13.4% received post primary education and only 9.7% had some post secondary education.

At Ikoyi, 55 subjects were interviewed of which 50.1% had no formal education, 28.5% finished primary school, 10.9% received post primary education and 12.7% received some post secondary education (table 9, appendix A:3).

2. SUBJECTS KNOWLEDGE OF THE  
LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

Three questions were designed to explore the community member's knowledge of the local political system and of the personnel involved in the local administration.

Five hypotheses were developed to determine whether or not community members understanding of the local political system was dependent on their occupations and the forms of education they received.

2.1 Question:

In your opinion which of the following authorities is actually managing the affairs of this locality?

1. The Irewole Local Government Council (ILGC)
2. The Obas' Councils (The Ilu);
3. Both '1' and '2' above.
4. Others (specify)

2.2 Hypotheses:

(i) Subjects opinions as to which authority is responsible for the local administration will depend on whether or not they received some formal education.

(ii) Subjects' opinions as to which authority is responsible for the local administration will depend on their occupations.

Table 10.2 (appendix A:3) shows that the hypothesis that subjects' opinion as to whether it is the local government council or the Obas' councils or both that are responsible for the administration of the Aiyedade community will depend on their level of education was not statistically supported by the data ( $0.30 < P < 0.50$ ).

It will be observed from table 10.1 and 10.2 that irrespective of the form of education received, over 60% of the respondents felt that it was either the local government council or the Obas' councils which were responsible for the local administration. Only a few of those with and those without any formal education (20.3% and 16.9% respectively) felt that the Aiyedade community was under a joint administration of the local government council and the Obas' councils. But the majority in each case (37.3% of those with formal and 45.6% of those without formal education) indicated that the local government council was in charge of the local administration.

The hypothesis that subjects opinions as to which authority is responsible for the local administration will depend on their occupations is also not supported by the statistical analysis ( $0.10 < P < 0.20$ , table 10.1 appendix A:3).

It will be observed from table 10.1 that while majority of the farmers (44.67%) and the administrative - clerical class (37.5%) indicated that local administration is the responsibility of the

local government council, majority of the skilled worker - trader class (41.25%) said the Obas' councils were responsible for the local administration.

### 2.3 Question:

Among which of the following groups of leaders in this community can one find the most powerful leaders who have strong voice in the affairs of this town?.

1. Chiefs
2. Councillors
3. Both the chiefs and the councillors
4. Others (specify).

### 2.4 Hypothesis

(iii) There will be a significant difference among the occupational groups in their conceptions as to whether the chiefs or the councillors or any others are the most powerful leaders with strong voice in community affairs.

(iv) There will be a significant difference between those with and those without formal education in their conceptions as to whether the chiefs or the councillors or any others are the most powerful with strong voice in community affairs.



- (v) Whether or not subjects perceive the chiefs or the councillors or any others as powerful leaders with strong voice in community affairs will depend on whether or not that group is identified as being responsible for the local administration.

The study shows that the differences among the different occupational groups and between those with and those without formal education in their conceptions as to whether the chiefs or the councillors or any others are powerful and have strong voice in community affairs are statistically significant ( $.02 < P < 0.05$  and  $p < 0.001$  respectively, tables 11.1 and 11.2 appendix 4:3).

A breakdown of the responses among the occupational groups shows that majority of the farmers (38.1%) and majority of the administrative-unskilled worker class (38%) identified the chiefs as the most powerful with strong voice in community affairs. However, while 32% of the administrative - unskilled worker class said both the chiefs and the councillors were powerful, less (26.6%) of the farmers said both the chiefs and the councillors had power and strong voice in the affairs of the Aiyedade community. In contrast to the stand of the farmers and the administrative-unskilled worker class, majority of the skilled worker - trader class (38.75%) said the councillors were the most powerful with strong voice in community affairs. Only 18.75% of them said both

the councillors and the chiefs were powerful with strong voice in the affairs of the Aiyedade community.

The hypothesis that whether or not the subjects perceive the chiefs or the councillors or any others as powerful with strong voice in the affairs of the community will depend on whether or not that group is identified as being responsible for the local administration was not statistically supported by the findings ( $0.20 < P < 0.30$ , table 11.3, appendix A:3).

It could be observed from table 11.3 that only 29.6% of the 135 subjects who identified the chiefs as the most powerful with strong voice in community affairs said the Obas' councils managed the affairs of the community. 40.2% of the 112 subjects who said the chiefs were powerful identified the Irewole local government council with the actual management of the affairs of the community.

The findings (table 10.1 to 11.3) suggest that the members of the Aiyedade community could distinguish between the functions of the local government council and other institutions in the community. The findings also suggest that social power and influence in the Aiyedade community does not necessarily go with administrative authority. These findings are supported by the findings on table 11.4 and 11.5 (appendix A:3). It will be observed from table 11.4 that majority of the respondents (39.6%) said the chiefs had more say in the way things happen in the community. And yet majority of

respondents (34.9%, table 11.5) claimed also that decisions as to what projects were needed in the community were the responsibility of the councillors.

The findings on the subjects perception of the local political system and the men involved in the local political system (i.e. that the chiefs have a share in decisions that affect the community) contradicts what the chiefs said about their own position). The chiefs consider themselves as playing no important role in the local administration.

One possible deduction that can be made from what the chiefs said and what the subjects said is that either the subjects do not understand the local political system or that the whittling away of the chief's powers has not taken full effect. But it appears the chiefs still enjoy some social power which the subjects are aware of.

3. ACCESSIBILITY OF THE CHIEFS AND  
THE COUNCILLORS TO MEMBERS OF THE  
AIYEDADE COMMUNITY

Two questions were designed to explore the nature and extent of interaction between the community members and the two types of leadership groups in the community.

Two hypothesis were developed to determine whether or not education and occupation have influence on the pattern of

interaction between the community members and the leadership groups. A third hypothesis was developed to explore the relationship between the leadership groups and the subjects in connection with community decision making.

### 3.1 Question:

Please tell me which of the following groups in this community you meet either more frequently or can have contact with regularly and more easily.

1. The Chiefs
2. The councillors
3. All of them (i.e. both chiefs and councillors)
4. None of them (i.e. neither the chiefs nor the councillors).

### 3.2 Hypotheses

- (i) There is no significant difference among the occupational groups in their preference of types of leaders they interact with.
- (ii) There is no significant difference between those with and those without formal education in their preference for the types of leaders they interact with.



That there is no significant difference among the occupational groups in their preference of types of leaders they interact with is statistically supported by the data ( $0.05 < P < .10$ , table 12.1 appendix A:3).

Table 12.1 shows that while majority of farmers (32.79%) interact more with chiefs, majority of skilled workers and traders (38.75%) and majority of the administrative and unskilled workers (42.5%) interact more with councillors. But there is an indication that more farmers (25%) than skilled workers and traders (18.75%) and the administrative and unskilled workers (12.5%) interact with either leadership.

The hypothesis that there is no significant difference between those with and those without formal education in their preference for the types of leaders they interact with a rejected ( $0.02 < P < 0.05$ , table 12.2 appendix A:3).

It will be noticed that majority of those who have received formal education (39.9%) interact more with the councillors than with the chiefs. In contrast, majority of those who had no formal education (36.4%) interact more with the chiefs than with the councillors. Given that 75% of the chiefs in the Aiyedade community had no formal education (table 5, appendix A:3) we can conclude from the present finding that there is a relationship between a person's education and the persons he may interact with. In the Aiyedade

community those without formal education were found to be more likely to interact with the chiefs than with the councillors.

### 3.3 Question:

Would you say you can influence or have a say in the decisions the leaders in this town make and implement for the progress of the general community?

### 3.4 Hypothesis

- (iii) The distribution of respondents by their preference for the type of leaders they interact with is independent of their distribution by their opinions as to whether they can influence decision made by the leaders.

Tables 13.1 and 13.2 (appendix 4:3) show that the positions of the respondents as to whether or not they could influence decisions made by the leaders in the community were independent of their occupation and their education ( $0.70 < P < 0.80$  and  $0.30 < P < 0.50$  respectively). But the hypothesis that the distribution of respondents by their preferences for leadership types they interacted with is independent of their distribution by their opinions as to whether they could influence decisions is rejected ( $P < .001$ , table 13.3 appendix A:3).

An analysis of table 13.3 will show that 36.7% of those who have access to the chiefs only, said they could not influence decisions compared with 58.9% of those who have access to both councillors and chiefs. From this it can be concluded that more people will look forward to a councillor than to a chief if and when they want to influence decisions.

4. SUBJECTS PERCEPTION OF THE CONCERN OF  
THE CHIEFS AND THE COUNCILLORS TOWARD  
COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

4.1. Chiefs

The respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they considered the chiefs as being concerned with the problems of the community.

Table 14.2 (appendix A:3) shows that 171 out of 364 (i.e. 47%) of the respondents found the chiefs helpful in the solution of general community problems. But 99 out 364 (i.e. 27.2%) felt chiefs were more concerned with their own problems and 94 out of 364 (i.e. 25.8%) were not sure. The respondents' views were however independent of their occupation and education ( $0.30 < P < 0.50$  and  $0.30 < P < 0.50$  respectively, tables 14.1 and 14.2).

#### 4.2 Councillors:

The respondents were asked to indicate whether or not the councilmen listened and attended to their problems. It can be observed from table 15.1 that majority of the respondents 162 (44.5%) felt their problems were listened and attended to by the councilmen.

Tables 15.1 and 15.2 shows that the respondents opinions as to whether the councilmen listened and attended to their problems were contingent on their occupation but not on whether or not they had formal education ( $0.001 < P < 0.01$  and  $0.20 < P < 0.30$  respectively). It will be observed from table 15.1 that while majority of the occupational groups except the skilled workers said the councilmen listened and attended to their problems, majority of the skilled workers (59.4%) said the councilmen did not care about the problems of people like them.

#### 5. SUBJECTS' PERCEPTION OF SOME SELECTED SOURCES OF SOCIAL POWER

##### 5.1 Kinship and Friendship Affiliation:

Tables 16.1 and 16.2 (appendix 4:3) show the distribution of opinions on the view that some families and some people in the Aiyedade community thought leadership was the prerogative of their kins and friends.



It will be observed from table 16.1 that majority of the respondents (49.2%) was of the opinion that some families in the community think of Leadership as their prerogative. The findings further show that respondents' opinions were not contingent on their occupations or the form of education they received ( $0.05 < P < 0.10$  and  $0.20 < P < 0.30$  respectively).

### 5.2 Education:

It will be observed from table 17.1 that a high percentage (54.1%) of the subjects preferred educated leadership to non-educated leadership. The statement they reacted to was, "today leadership in this town must be given to the educated ones, illiterates or uneducated people cannot lead us in these modern times". Table 17.1 and 17.2 show that subjects' responses to this question were not dependent on their occupations or whether or not they were educated ( $0.70 < P < 0.80$  and  $0.90 < P < 0.95$  respectively).

### 5.3 Other Sources of Social Power, e.g. Wealth

The approach to getting this information was indirect. 10 citizens in the Aiyedade community who were neither chiefs nor councillors and who held no positions in either government or quasi-government establishments were interviewed by the investigator to collect information on their ages, levels of education, occupations, and income.

The 10 citizens were selected through questions designed and included in the interview schedules addressed to the chiefs and the councillors and the questionnaires to the community members.

1. Questions Addressed to Subjects:

Name one or two very very influential people you know personally in this town. Please give the most popular names with which everybody in this town knows them.

- i. Name of the influential person .....
- ii. Address: House No./Name of the part of this town where he stays (compound/work place.
- iii. Profession if any.....
- iv. Nature of work .....

The question addressed to the members of the Aiyedade community was designed in the first place to explore the relative positions, in terms of popularity, of the traditional office holders (chiefs), non-traditional office holders and non-formal office leaders, and secondly to identify local influentials without formal offices for interview.

Analysis:

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The names were compiled, grouped and counted\*. The results are shown below (table 18).

Table 18

An index of the Popularity of the Traditional, Non-traditional and Non-formal Office Holders In the Aiyedade Community

Towns	Traditional	Non-Traditional	Non-Formal	Total
Aponu	40 (53.3%)	25 (33.3%)	10 (13.3%)	75 (100%)
Ikiro	41 (21.6%)	95 (50%)	54 (28.4%)	190 (100%)
Ikoyi	32 (41.6%)	25 (32.5%)	20 (25.9%)	77 (100%)
Total	113 (33%)	145 (42.4%)	84 (24.6%)	342 (100%)

\*Many of the names were repeated and the counting of names was done irrespective of the number of times a particular name recurred.

Table 18 shows that of the 342 names compiled chiefs' names appeared 113 times (33%), office holders in the local government and other agencies 154 (42.4%) and non-formal office holders 84 (24.6%). While at Apomu and Ikoyi chiefs' names appeared most often than others, at Ikire, the names of office holders in the local government and other agencies appeared most often than the names of chiefs and others. This reflects the status of Ikire as the administrative centre of the Aiyedade community. This status makes the population of Ikire to be elitist in character.

These findings seem to suggest that holding of formal offices enhances an individuals position of being known and identified as a leader in the Aiyedade community. This deduction is supported by some of the findings in the study. In all cases where respondents had to make choices that had implications for the positions of leaders in the community, the respondents tended to say that either the chiefs or the councillors rather than others have much influence and power in the community (see tables 10.1 to 11.3).

2. Question Addressed to Councillors and Chiefs:

Please name two persons who are neither councillors nor chiefs and whom you consider as very very influential in this community?



- i. Name of the influential person
- ii. Address: Home No./Name of this town where he stays (compound)/work place
- iii. Profession if any
- iv. Nature of work.

The names given by the chiefs and the councillors were compiled and grouped according to whether the nominees held formal office or not.

The names of the non-formal office holders given by the chiefs, the councillors and the community members were compared. 10 persons whose names appeared in each case among the chiefs, councillors and community members were selected.

The 10 nominees were interviewed to obtain information on their ages, sex, level of education, occupation and income.

The results are shown on tables 19.1 to 19.3 below.

Table 19.1

Age and Sex Distribution of selected local Influentials in the Aiyedade Community

Age Group (Years)	Male	Female	Total
Under 25	0	0	0
26 - 35	2	1	3 (30%)
36 - 45	5	0	5 (50%)
46 - 55	1	0	1 (10%)
56 and above	1	0	1 (10%)
Total	9	1	10 (100%)

Table 19.1 shows that majority of the persons interviewed fell in the age group 36 - 45 years.

Table 19.2

Distribution of selected local Influentials in Aiyedade  
By Level of Education

Education	Number	%
No Formal Education	0	0
Some Primary Education	1	10
Some Secondary School Education	4	40
Post Secondary Education	5	50
University Level Education	0	0
Total	10	100

It may be observed from table 19.2 that majority of the identified local influentials went beyond secondary education.

Table 19.3

Distribution of Selected Local Influential in  
Aiyedade

By Incomes

Income Per Month	Number	%
₦300 - ₦400	3	30
₦401 - ₦500	4	40
₦501 - ₦600	2	20
₦601 - ₦700	1	10
Total	10	100

$$\bar{X} = ₦460.35$$

Table 19.3 shows that majority of the non-formal office holders identified as very influential (40%) earn between ₦401 - ₦500. The  $\bar{X}$  income of the non-formal office holders interviewed was found to be ₦460.35. This is comparable to the monthly salaries of middle level senior public servants in Nigeria. This level of income affords some degree of affluent style of living.

Six of the identified local influentials without formal offices own businesses employing between 50 - 100 workers.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

DISCUSSION

Two groups of people were studied in the Aiyedade Community - (1) community leaders: traditional, non-traditional and informal, and (2) community members. The results have been presented in sections A and B, Chapter Five, of this study. Because of the interrelated nature of the study, this chapter combines the results presented in Sections A and B of Chapter Five.

The study has provided an objective data on the leadership groups and their popularity with the members of the Aiyedade community. It has also given information on how the different occupational groups and, those with and those without formal education identify themselves with two main leadership structures (the traditional and the non-traditional) in the community.

Over 70% of the community members interviewed were indigens resident in Aiyedade. This gives some validity to their views on the types of leaders in the community.



### 1. Leadership Groups

The investigator grouped the community leaders into three categories as follows:

- i. Formal traditional leaders.
- ii. Formal Non-traditional leaders.
- iii. Informal leaders.

The study shows that in the Aiyedade Community we can talk of two leadership structures, a traditional and a non-traditional, in so far as the two have not been integrated into a single decision-making machinery. This is because a community's power structure is defined in terms of those who set the policy of the community on line (see page 36). Those who set a community's policy on line could be the appointed officials (bureaucrats) or influential persons outside the bureaucracy or both. Whoever sets a community's policy on line is described as a power leader (Banfield and Wilson, 1971). Where the bureaucrats are not the power leaders, they are said to be carrying out the policies of top influentials acting behind the scenes. Nix (1969) calls the top influentials 'legitimizers'. The 'legitimizers' are described as the employers of the bureaucrats. Though the traditional leaders were not found to be formally vested with

the power to make decisions for the community they regard themselves as having the legitimate right to do so.

The concept of a traditional and a non-traditional leadership as used by this investigator has brought out clearly, a way of exploring the relationship between the two in terms of who sets a community's policy on line. It has made this study a contrast to the studies conducted by Adeyeye at Ikire (1977) and Edozien at Ikoyi (1978). Both investigators tended to see leadership in these two communities in terms of traditional leadership structures only. From this perspective Edozien (1978) saw the weakness of the leadership at Ikoyi as due to 'changing values'. This investigator attributes it to the emergence of another leadership.

The emergence of a non-traditional leadership in addition to the existing traditional one may have led to a divided loyalty among the community members to the two types of leadership. The study shows that at Apomu and Ikoyi majority of the respondents identified chiefs as more influential in the community than non-chiefs. However, at Ikire, the respondents considered non-chiefs occupying non-traditional offices as more influential in the community than the chiefs (table 18, page 85). Ikire is the administrative headquarters of the Aiyedade community. Apart from the population of Ikire being more elitist in character than that of Apomu and Ikoyi, it also has the largest population of persons

working in senior positions who may, like the chiefs, be considered as leaders. This suggests that the status of traditional leaders as the sole leaders is open to more serious competition at Ikire than at Apomu and Ikoyi.

Further, the study suggests that in Aiyedade, formal leaders (traditional and non-traditional) are more popular than informal leaders. Given that the sources of social power are authority and influence, the latter of which derives from such variables as personal qualities and access to scarce resources (See Page 38 ), one could account for the relative unpopularity of informal leaders as due to their insignificance in numbers.

The mean income of the identified informal leaders was found to be ₦460.35 per month. This is comparatively high considering that the per capital income of Nigeria is around ₦50.00 (Oluwande, 1976). Six, (60%) of the 10 informal leaders interviewed own businesses employing people. Social power has been defined in terms of the capacity to determine the action of others (Nix, 1969), and persons who identify others as leaders look for this capacity (Presthus, 1971). It may be that because of the economic structure of Aiyedade, there are not many such people with the resources that will enable them to build the desired influence. This suggests that community workers to a large extent would have to work through formal leaders to mobilize the Aiyedade community members.



2. The Power Leaders and the Leadership  
Structure of Aiyedade

From the theoretical level, this researcher has been unable to describe the traditional leaders as the power leaders of Aiyedade. In the first place the traditional leaders were found to be payees of the Irewole Local Government Council. They are therefore neither the employers of the Council Officials nor any other officials functioning in any of the establishments in the community. This is contrary to the proposition that the legitimizers or the top community influentials whom Banfield and Wilson (1971) identified as the power leaders, are business magnates who employ the bureaucrats (Nix et al., 1977). In the second place the traditional leaders themselves described the council officials as the persons having the power to make important decisions that affect the general community. The chiefs indicated that the present political and administrative arrangements made them no better than their subjects in terms of functioning as decision-makers for the general community. It will be interesting to note Oba Oyekan II's\* reaction to this state of affairs.

Oba Oyekan II was reported to have said that Obas should be called "traditional keepers of customs instead of rulers". He noted:

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\*Oba Oyekan II is the Oba of Lagos.



Before, traditional rulers were regarded as above other citizens in their domain and they served at the head of the local councils. But now, they are no longer competent to decide who should be chief nor to talk of whom to honour with a title (Daily Times, March 17, 1980).

This supports the conclusion that the traditional leaders do not form part of the decision-making machinery and that they are not the power leaders.

The study however, suggests that the traditional leaders can influence decisions. Table 6, (appendix 3), shows that some of the chiefs and Obas are familiar with the councillors. They also tend to mention the same names as the councillors studied did when they were asked to indicate which of the council members had great influence on decisions. However, from the information available it is doubtful if the traditional leaders will be very effective in influencing the decisions of the council.

One finding shows that subjects who claimed to have access to the traditional ruling structure are not likely to be connected with decisions made in the community (table 14.3, appendix 3). It may be because, subjects' interaction or contact with leaders is personal rather than for decision-making reasons.

But in view of the fact that majority of the subjects, 170 (46.7% of 364) claimed they could influence decisions, it can be

hypothesised that this will be impossible if the subjects do not have contact (directly or indirectly) with the decision-makers. In both cases if the chiefs were the most powerful with strong voice in community affairs, majority of subjects who interact with chiefs should be in a position to influence decisions. The finding is contrary to this. Of the 120 subjects who claimed they interacted with the chiefs, 44 (36.7%) said they could not and 36 (30%) were not sure they could influence decisions made in the community.

### 3. Community Members Preference For Types of Leadership in Aiyedade:

The study shows that the education of the community members is likely to determine their association with the leadership types in the community. It was observed that while all the councillors (non-traditional leaders) had some formal education, 75% of the chiefs had no formal education at all (table 6, appendix 3). This information suggests that illiterates find illiterate leaders accessible. This raises a question: Is finding leaders accessible a function of education? This question needs further exploration.

Though subjects interaction with leaders was found to be independent of their occupation, a breakdown of the responses shows some differences. The highest percentage of farmers 32.79% said they had access to the chiefs. In contrast, the highest

percentage of the skilled worker-trader and administrative-unskilled worker categories (38.75% and 42.5% respectively) have access to the councillors.

It has been observed from the study that the chiefs are not the power leaders in the Aiyedade community. But one interesting finding shows that majority of the subjects (37.1% of 364) still regard the chiefs as the most powerful leaders with strong voice in community affairs. This might be due to subjects lack of understanding of the local political system and of the extent to which the chiefs (traditional leaders) and the councillors (non-traditional leaders) are involved in the local political system. This might lead community workers who see leadership in terms of what community members think without regard to the power position to initiative programmes with and through a popular but a powerless leadership. However, for community work purposes leaders are used not only because they are popular and they can communicate with the community members but also because they have the power (Ross, 1967).

The study suggests reasons for majority of the subjects identifying the chiefs as powerful in community affairs. Education may be considered as a source of social power. Education has an intrinsic value in that it helps to develop the intellect and world-view of the educant. It also has an instrumental value in that it opens lucrative job opportunities for the educant - all of which enhance an individual's chances of getting access to scarce



resources. As majority of the chiefs in the Aiyedade community (75%) were found to have no education at all, they stand the chance to lose in this one seemingly important source of social power. The study shows that majority of the respondents (54.1%) sees formal education as a prerequisite for effective leadership these days. However, it is interesting to note that though majority of the chiefs did not have any formal education, the chief is popular with some community members. Also, the study suggests that community members without any formal education may find the chiefs more accessible than the councillors.

The study suggests that the popularity of the chiefs may not be explained in terms of their kinship relations with community members. Many of the respondents 179 (49.2% of 364) were of the opinion that some families in the community think that leadership is their prerogative. This may be an expression of some opposition to leadership based on descent, kins and the like. This finding is contrary to the view that societies in the non-industrialised countries and especially, rural communities are closely - Knit Kinship Systems (Ross, 1967). And in the opinion of Funnell (1972) this type of relations makes for effective traditional leadership in the form of 'a village lord' being respected and obeyed by the whole village.



The finding that kinship relations are weakened in Aiyedade conforms to Panzetta's observation (1972) that as against a 'gemeinschaft' community, the dominant type of community today is 'gesellschaft' in nature. In a 'gesellschaft' community bonds are formal and explicit and affection and dependence on one another for survival are rarely operative. According to Presthus (1971) a striking feature of the 'gesellschaft' community is plurality of groups and leaders. This further supports this investigators view that the popularity of the chiefs of Aiyedade may not be explained solely in terms of their kinship relations with the general community.

Considering that occupation could be a source of social power, one can, from this study, possibly indicate an area where the chief is handicapped. Occupation in a large measure determines an individual's financial standing. The information on the occupational background of the chiefs and the councillors, shows that except in one case, the chairman of the local government council, neither the chiefs nor the councillors have an advantage over the other. Both groups combine their formal offices with other occupations. The chiefs were predominantly farmers but two councillors were also found to be farmers. The councillors were found to be predominantly either traders or businessmen but among the chiefs were found traders and businessmen also.

The chairman of the local government council belongs to the legal profession. Given this information, we can conclude that it is only the chairman of the local government council, a member of an all powerful legal body with a strong bargaining position, that stands at a clear advantage when it comes to considering occupation as a source of influence.

While it could be argued that councillorship is a non-pensionable and temporary office, a reason for which councillors could engage in other vocations, the same cannot be said of the chiefs who may hold office for life. But information on the incomes of the chiefs shows that they cannot afford but be engaged in other vocations. The study shows that the chiefs who are at the apex of the traditional ruling structures receive far less in incomes than the chairman of the local government council who is at the apex of the non-traditional ruling structures. The essential point on the occupational and financial standing of the chiefs and the councillors is that the poor salary of the chief might be an explanation for his engagement in other vocations.

The poor salaries may throw the chiefs into competition with others for scarce resources. This may lead the chieftaincy institution to lose the pomp, the pageantry and integrity associated with it. In Ghana, it is observed the chief is corrupt and owes blind allegiance to the government of the day (Essilfie-Codua, 1980).

The chiefs of the Aiyedade community claimed they had no political affiliations but they work in harmony with people of all political leaning. This may not help the chief to carve his own identity. It may also point to the Aiyedade chiefs' predisposition to owing blind allegiance to the government of the day.

The study shows that unlike the councillors, the chiefs tend to belong to the same voluntary associations and organization with the subjects. The councillors tend to belong to clubs which are elitist in character. This may give the chiefs one advantage over the councillors. This is because by mingling with their subjects, the chiefs will be in a position to identify more with the wishes and aspirations of the people than the councillors will do. This may explain why subjects without any formal education find the chiefs more accessible than they find the councillors.

The study then suggests that in spite of such handicaps as lack of formal education and poor salaries, the chiefs have some basis for building influence which could be a source of social power. What is lacking is the authority that will make the chiefs power leaders in the community. It is arguable that the chiefs have been dispossessed of this authority by a constitutional arrangement that does not reflect the socio-economic structure of communities at the grassroot level.



This appears to be an artificial arrangement which favours the non-traditional leaders. In the opinion of this researcher, this will not aid the development of leadership in the local community. Secondly it may have some implication for leadership in the local community.

The leadership in terms of the power to do things may not reflect the level of socio-economic and political development of the community. This may ultimately create a situation where power may be in the hands of persons who are far removed from the aspirations and wishes of the general community because the leaders may belong to a presumably higher socio-economic structure and many of the subjects, another, a lower one. This as Alinsky (1957) has suggested may lead to unorganised apathy on the part of many subjects towards participation in community affairs.

#### 4 Relevance of the Findings for Community Participation Through Leaders

The riddle that this research was designed to bring to light is not to find which leadership structure has power in the Aiyedade community. The importance of the findings however is that subjects identify with either the traditional or the non-traditional leadership whatever the power and leadership position in the community and this needs attention.



Another important aspect of the findings was that subjects identified different groups with leadership and they also found different groups accessible. Given this, one cannot hope to promote general community participation through only one leadership group.

These findings have implications for local involvement and participation in community development programmes for health promotion. For the community to participate it must first be mobilized. Specific strategies of community mobilization are identified under three main models of social change (see table 1, p. 21). Community organization is one of the three models of social change. Rothman (1971) described it as the social action model.

The social action model presupposes that there is a disadvantaged segment of the population that must be organized to make demands on the larger community for more resources, equitable treatment etc. This model is not concerned with the entire community. It aims at mobilizing only the disadvantaged segment.

Under this model, the power structure of a community is seen either as lying outside the client system (Rothman, 1971) or, is in the client system but its decisions work only in the interest of the power leaders (Khinduka, 1969). The citizens

in these circumstances are seen as being powerless to control or influence the decisions of power leaders. The possible way the community worker can solve the problems of such a group is to give it hard information, expertise and financial support and it would work to direct the attention of the power leaders to its problems (Lees and Smith, 1977). According to Hodges (1972) this problem could also be solved through precipitation of action around life issues and this is where the community worker can be described as an organizer, an advocate and a broker in direct confrontation with the authorities.

The important point is that the disadvantaged segment being organised has leaders but the leaders do not form part of the leadership structure of the general community.

A second model of social change is community development. This model presupposes that community change is possible "through broad participation of a wide range of people at the grassroot level in goal determination and action" (Rothman, 1971). Rothman described the power structure where this model is used as being:

included within an all embracing conception of community. All segments of the community are thought of as part of the client system. Hence, members of the power structure are considered to be collaborators in a common venture.

Unlike the community action model, the leaders to be identified under the community development model form part of the leadership structure of the client population.

It has been suggested that community health workers should work with and through the accepted and respected pattern of leadership in the community (Brieger and Adeniyi, 1980). The accepted and respected pattern of leadership may be a community council of elders or chiefs (i.e. traditional leaders). In Aiyedade, the community practitioners worked through and with the chiefs and the elders. The problem is that, in the first place, as the study has shown the traditional leaders do not represent all interests in the community. Secondly, there are many community members who are more associated with the non-traditional leaders than the traditional leaders. Thirdly, as the non-traditional leaders constitute the main decision-making machinery for the whole community, they are in control of the allocation of scarce resources in the community.

The study shows that working with and through the traditional leadership may promote the participation of mostly farmers or mostly illiterates (tables 13.1 and 13.2 Appendix A:3). This will mean that there will be less than the expected broad participation of a wide range of people at the local level. With the powerless leadership and less than general community participation, community action rather than community development will have been the answer. But community based health education programmes require general participation (see p. 12 to 15).

The educational approach to community mobilization indicates that the felt-needs of the subjects must be the starting point of the community development process. This is to be used as a motivating factor. But as it was indicated in the Aiyedade community, the felt-needs of the people might be beyond the resources of the people. This would mean that to start with, certain resources might need to come from the government machinery. This is where a powerless group identified as leaders by community members may be found wanting when it comes to moving "the wheels of government machinery" to supply the equipments and the resources which the community may need in order to start work on any community programmes.



The concept of traditional and non-traditional leadership used by this researcher to analyse the leadership position in Aiyedade has helped to make some two points clear: It might be difficult to promote general community participation through only one leadership group in Aiyedade because resources might be in one hand rather than the other and neither the one nor the other may command the loyalty of the general community. Both positions may have implications for the success of community based programmes. There will be non-participation where the leadership is unpopular but has the resources. And where a popular but powerless leadership is used the programme will move to a halt because of lack of equipments and resources.

The best way through which community workers can secure general community participation therefore is to work through both groups of leaders simultaneously.

This could best be achieved through a formula used by Nugroho in Sumberlwang, Indonesia (see appendix A:4). Under this formula the village administration must be considered as being under two institutions, the traditional leadership institution and the local government institution (non-traditional leadership institution). The leaders in these two institutions and other local influentials must be co-ordinated in a joint effort to solve the problems of the community. This method could be identified under what may be described as the resource link approach postulated by Brieger (1978).

Defining resources broadly, he expressed the resource link in terms of:

a relationship between two groups or bodies resulting in an exchange of resources which will meet the self-determined needs of the parties involved while at the same time preserving their internal integrity.

As the authorities in community organization indicate that working through leaders would help to mobilize the subjects, working through all the leadership groups simultaneously would help to bring together the consumer group and the resource body for a productive relationship. And besides the resources that the non-traditional leaders will readily release, their followers will also join in the community work.

The advantage of this approach would be that it might not be necessary to wait until the educated elites take the leadership as suggested by Ajaegbu (1976). Nor would there be the need for a revolutionary transformation of traditional structures as Rostow would have us believe. The resource link approach if adopted will be a means through which both the traditional and modern structures will adjust for eventual progress.

5. Problems for the use of the Suggested Model of Community Involvement

This investigator was involved in practical Community Organization activities in the Aiyedade Community (Nigeria) and at Ewutu and Weija (Ghana) during his professional training as a health educator. He made the following observations which are likely to pose problems for the use of the suggested model for mobilizing the community leadership:

1. Not all organizations functioning in a local community are committed to involving citizens in the provision of services.
2. Different Organizations emphasise on and make estimates for different programmes in the same locality.
3. Some organizations may be unwilling to participate in programmes initiated by other agencies.
4. In most cases the community workers of the organizations intending to involve local communities and other organizations in a programme are junior workers. In such cases the community workers are unable to contact heads of other agencies on equal terms.



These are problems or factors that may work against the involvement of administrative structures in community based programmes in a given locality.

It appears in America these problems, especially the first one, were solved through federal government initiative and legislations (Davies, 1973). Through the U.S. government's 'war on poverty' resulting in such actions as the 'Grey Areas Project, 1961' and the 'Economic opportunities Act, 1964' agencies were required in a sort of legal way to involve citizens in all programmes that affect them.

In China and Tanzania, the problems have been solved through central government direction. In Tanzania, for instance, a Presidential circular requested all Ministries in the Regions and Districts to give priority assistance to Ujamaa village development (Collins, 1972). The Tanzanian and Chinese types are styled socialist. But the interesting point is that many African countries have no central government direction in either the American form or the Chinese form. The problem is that, as indicated by Collins in the case of Tanzania before 'the Presidential circular', community workers who want to involve communities experience difficulties in securing the co-operation of technical and other departments at all levels.



These problems could possibly be solved through the formation of a community development council at a district level of administration. Membership of such a council may include the heads of all administrative and technical departments and the traditional rulers. Community workers may have to submit their diagnostic reports to this council and all departments will debate it and indicate the extent to which they will be involved. From this level the various departments can advise their workers at the grass-root level to get involved with the community workers in carrying through the intended programme.

There may be need for a central government legislation to enforce this.

CONCLUSION

The study has thrown considerable light on the organization and structure of Aiyadade.

It appears that in the African setting, community organizers failed to analyse community problems in the historical, political and social context. In most cases where community organization efforts fail in the non-industrialised societies, there is the tendency to blame it on faulty methods of intervention. Batten (1975) blamed the failure of most of community organization efforts in some African countries on the use of the directive rather than the non-directive method of intervention.

In Uganda, an effort was made by the Makerere University to undertake community development in the way some American and British Universities go about theirs, i.e. action and research. In 1969, Junod enumerated the problems encountered during the Makerere experiment. This literature points to fundamental contradictions in Ugandan society. It appears what is lacking in community development on the African scene is a frame of reference, which could be developed only after an extensive study of African communities, in the African community organization field. This is to suggest that community development in Africa needs to have students, the same way as there are students of

African History or Economics etc. Until this is done, much cannot be achieved from the isolated generalizations that appear in Western community organization literature about African communities. These generalizations appear to limit the mode of operation on the African scene. For instance, the assumption that communities in the non-industrialised societies are integrated and cohesive tends to blur some forms of disintegration, e.g. disintegration in the leadership, that makes the task of community mobilization through leaders problematic.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:1

BASIS OF THE POWER AND INFLUENCE OF THE  
TRADITIONAL AND NON-TRADITIONAL LEADERS  
IN THE AIYEDADE COMMUNITY

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Status of Respondent: Chief/Councillor
2. Name of town: Ikire/Apomu/Ikoyi
3. Please can you help me indicate your Educational status?
  1. No formal education
  2. Finished Primary school
  3. Post primary education
  4. Post-secondary education
  5. University education
4. Can you please tell me your occupation besides being a councillor or a chief?
5. For how long have you stayed in this community?
- 6.a. Are you a member of any professional body?
  - b. If your answer to question 6a is yes, kindly tell me the name of the professional body
  - c. If your answer to question '6a' is yes, please tell me whether or not you hold any position in the named professional body.
  - d. What position.....

7. It may become necessary as a leader in this community to make high level contacts with government officials and politicians either at the state or national level or both. In such cases too lobbying may be necessary and sometimes local leaders may have to use friends, school-mates, business associates to get their case across.

- a. Do you think you could do this? Yes/No
- b. Would you say you have people who are in high administrative/political circles who are related to you in one, or all the following ways:
- i. Fellow businessmen.
  - ii. Belong to the same profession.
  - iii. In the same social club.
  - iv. Members of the same professional association.
  - v. Close relations or kinsmen.
  - vi. Others (please specify)

- 8 a. Are you a member of any social/voluntary organization(s) in this community? Yes/No.
- b. If your answer to question '8a' is yes, kindly name the organisation(s).



- c. Please, do you hold any position in the named organisation? Yes/No
- d. What position? -----
- e. Is the club/organization a local branch of a state or a national movement? Yes/No.
- f. Can you please help me say the main objectives of the organization in which you are a member
9. a. Are you a member of any social club or social organization outside the Aiyedade Community? Yes/No.
- b. If your answer to question '9a' is yes please tell me the name of the club and its location.
- i. Name -----
- ii. Location (i.e. town) -----
10. a. Are you a member of any group or movement (e.g. farmers co-operative) organised for business/trade etc. in this locality/outside this locality.
- Answers: i. This locality: Yes/No.
- ii. Outside: Yes/No.
- b. Please give me the name of the organization.
11. The Irewole Local Council is an important decision-making body in the Aiyedade Community. Do you

think there is another decision-making body (besides the councillors) who represent the interests of the people in the villages and towns in this local government area? Yes/No.

-----

12. Kindly name two people among the councillors who have great influence on decisions reached in the council.

1. ----- 2. -----

13. Can you give the names of about two persons who though not councillors are so influential that their voice is always heard in the council? Please give the most popular names by which they are known.

i. Name -----

ii. Address: (House No/Part of town where he stays/compound or work place.

-----

-----

-----

iii. Profession if Any -----

iv. Nature of Work -----

- 14 a. Do you think that the Irewole Local Council and the Council of Obas are two different decision-making bodies?
- 

- b. Please give reasons for your answer to question '14a'.
- 

15. What is the main concern of the chieftaincy committee about this community?

16. Do people in this area often come to see you about their problems? Yes/No.

17. Which of the following groups consult you.

- a. When they face problems arising out of council or government policies?

- i. Mostly educated people  
ii. Mostly illiterates.  
iii. Mostly farmers.  
iv. Mostly workers  
v. All above  
vi. None.  
vii. Others (specify)

b. When they want something done in this community.

- i. Mostly educated people
- ii. Mostly illiterates.
- iii. Mostly farmers
- iv. Mostly workers
- v. All above
- vi. None
- vii. Others (specify)

18. If you think about the past, would you say that the chiefs of today are as powerful as they used to be?

- a. Yes/No.
- b. Please give reasons for your answer.

19 a. If there are any deficiencies in the administration of this locality, would you say that these must be blamed on:

- i. The chiefs of this area?
- ii. The councillors or the councilmen?
- iii. Both the chiefs and the councillors?



- b. Why should or why should not the chiefs share the blame?
- c. Why should or why should not the councillors share the blame?
20. In your opinion which of the following two institutions:
1. The chieftaincy institution and
  2. The local government institution do most people living here understand better?
    - i. Chieftaincy
    - ii. Local council
    - iii. All
    - iv. None.
21. What is your opinion about the role of chiefs in the administration of this local government area?

QUESTIONNAIRES TO A SAMPLE OF THE PUBLIC

This questionnaire is designed to identify the leaders in your community and to investigate how best they could be brought together for community health work. Any information you give would be treated as confidential.

I should be grateful if you would contribute by giving the required informations that would help us to improve our methods of organizing the people in this community.

1. Name of town or village:

1. Apomu
2. Ikire
3. Ikoyi



2. Will you please tell me which of the following statements applies to you?

1. Born and bred in this town and have stayed here since.
2. Born and bred here, works somewhere but spends leaves and public holidays here.
3. Do not hail from the Ayidade community area at all, only work here, hope to go back to my town some day.
4. Comes from another area but have settled here permanently.
5. Just a visitor.



3. Are you employed by any organization or any individual to work in this town?

1. Yes

2. No

3

4. If your answer to question No.3 is 'yes', please tell me the work you have been employed to do.

Answer -----

5. If your answer to question No.3 is 'No' please tell me the work you do as self-employed.

Answer -----

6. Could you help me say the number of years you have spent in school?

1. Never attended school.

2. 1 - 6 years (i.e. received primary school education).

3. 1 - 11 years (i.e. went beyond primary school)

4. 11 years plus (i.e. went beyond secondary school)

4

7. Please can you help me say to which of the following religious groups you belong?

1. Islamic (i.e. Muslim)

2. Christian

3. None

4. Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

5

What do you think about the following statements making questions 8 and 9

8. Some families or people in this community think that it is only their relations or kinsmen who should always lead or be in authority in this town.

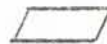
1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. Not sure
4. Don't know



6

9. Today leadership in this town must be given to the educated ones, illiterates or uneducated people cannot lead us in these modern times.

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. Not sure
4. Don't know




7


10. In your opinion, which of the following statement is right?

1. The chiefs and sub-chiefs (in-council) have more say in the way things happen in this town.
2. The Councillors and other men of the Irewole local council have more say in the way things happen in this town.



3. Not sure (i.e. whether the chiefs and sub-chiefs or the councilmen have more say).
4. The way things happen in this community is not in the hands of either chiefs or the councillors at all, everything is in the hands of either the Federal or state government.
5. Don't know.  9

11 (a) Please say which of the following will please you?

1. If the chiefs have more power to do things in this town.
2. If the councilmen have more power to do things in this town.
3. If both the chiefs and the councillors will share power equally to decide on what to do.
4. If both the chiefs and the councilmen are directed from outside.  10

(b) Please give reasons for your choice.

Reasons -----

12. Please tell me which of the following groups in this community you meet either more frequently or can have contact with regularly and easily?

1. The chiefs and elders.
2. Chairman and councillors.  11
3. None of them (i.e. Neither councillors nor chiefs)
4. All of them (i.e. both councillors and chiefs).

13. Some people staying outside this town say the men at the Irewole local council listen and attend to the problems of people like you. Others say the men at the council do not care very much about the problems of people like you. What do you think?

1. They listen and attend to the problems of people like me.
2. They do not care about the problems of people like me.  12
3. I am not sure.

14. Would you say you can influence or have a say in decisions about what the leaders in this town make and implement for the progress of the general community?

1. Yes
2. No  13
3. Not sure

15. We think the chiefs and elders help people in this town a great deal in contacting either the councilmen or the government about general problems of this town. Others say this is not true and that the chiefs are concerned with their own problems. What do you say?

1. The chiefs help us a great deal.
2. The chiefs make contacts for their own problems.
3. Not sure  14

16. In your opinion which of the following authorities is actually managing the affairs of this town?

1. The Irewole Local Government.
2. The Obas' councils.  15
3. Both '1' and '2' above.
4. Others (specify) -----

17. Among which of the following groups of leaders in this community can one find the most powerful leaders who have a strong voice in the affairs of this town?

1. Among the councillors.  16
2. Among the chiefs.
3. Among both the chiefs and the councillors.
4. Others (please specify) -----

18. Can you name just one or two very very influential people you know personally in this town? Please give the most popular names with which everybody in this town knows them.

- i. Name.....
- ii. Address/House No./Name of part of his/work place \_\_\_\_\_ town where he stays \_\_\_\_\_
- iii. Profession if any \_\_\_\_\_
- iv. Nature of work \_\_\_\_\_

Who makes decisions for this community in each of the following areas of decision-making? (20-21).

19. Allocation of money for projects, e.g. school building and pipe-borne water supply.

- 1. The men at the Irewole local council.
- 2. The Obas' councils.
- 3. Both the chiefs and the councilmen.
- 4. We the people in this town
- 5. Not sure □ 17
- 6. Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_



20. Deciding on what projects we need in this community.

1. The councilmen
2. The chiefs
3. We the people living here
4. Not sure
5. Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

18

Thank you

21. Will you please tell me your name and address?

(to be treated as confidential)

.....

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TABLES FOR THE RESPONSESTABLE 5

Educational Status of the Chiefs and the Councillors

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS	COUNCILLORS	CHIEFS	TOTAL
No Formal Education	0 (0%)	18 (75%)	18 (50%)
Primary School Education	4 (33.3%)	6 (25%)	10 (27.8%)
Post-Primary or Secondary School Education	5 (41.7%)	0 (0%)	5 (13.9%)
Post-Secondary and Above	3 (25%)	0 (0%)	3 (8.3%)
Total	12 100%	24 100%	36 100%

Index of Councillors' Impact on Decisions  
Made by the Irewole Local Government Council

Name and Address of Councillors* chosen	Choosers		Total No. of choices Received
	Chiefs	Councillors	
IO (Ikire)	1	0	1
OO (Ikire)	-	1	1
EOA (Ikire)	3	2	5
YOO (Ikire)	1	0	1
JO (Ikire)	0	1	1
KAS (Ikire)	1	0	1
LAY (Apomu)	1	1	2
LOK (Apomu)	0	1	1
KA (Apomu)	2	1	3
KAA (Orile-Owu)	0	1	1
EAO (Orile-Owu)	1	0	1
LL (Gbongan)	0	1	1
RG (Gbongan)	1	2	3
AI (Odeomu)	1	0	1
MAO (Odeomu)	-	1	1
MAA (Odeomu)	6	9	15
RB (Ikoyi)	3	2	5
OJ (Ikoyi)	1	0	1
LOA (Ikoyi)	0	1	1
T O T A L +	22	24	46

+ Responses were not mutually exclusive

\* To hide the identity of the individual councillors code letters were used. The letters represent the letters beginning the names of the councillors.

Table 7

A:3.3

Resident Status of the Respondents Towns

	Apomu	Ikire	Ikoyi	Total
Resident-Indigens	69 (74.2%)	172 (79.6%)	42 (76.4%)	283 (77.7%)
Non-Resident Indigens	4 (4.3%)	3 (1.4%)	1 (1.8%)	8 (2.2%)
Immigrant Workers	12 (12.9%)	21 (9.7%)	10 (18.2%)	43 (11.8%)
Settled Immigrants	8 (8.6%)	19 (8.8%)	2 (4%)	29 (8%)
Visitors	0	1 (.5%)	0	1 (.3%)
T o t a l	193 (100%)	216 (100%)	55 (100%)	364 (100%)

Table 8

Religious Background of the Respondents

	Apomu	Ikire	Ikoyi	Total
Muslims	65 (69.9%)	150 (69.4%)	33 (60%)	248 (68.1%)
Christians	21 (22.6%)	45 (20.8%)	17 (30.9%)	83 (22.8%)
Others	7 (7.5%)	21 (9.7%)	5 (9.1%)	33 (9.1%)
T o t a l	93	216	55	364



Table 9

A:3.4

Educational Background of the Respondents

Level of Education	Apoju	Ikire	Ikoyi	Total
No Formal Education	59 (63.4%)	119 (55.1%)	28 (50.1%)	206 (56.6%)
Received some Primary Education	21 (22.6%)	47 (21.8%)	14 (28.5%)	82 (22.5%)
Received Some Post- Primary School Education	7 (7.5%)	23 (13.4%)	6 (10.9%)	42 (11.5%)
Received Some Post- Secondary School Education	6 (6.5%)	21 (9.7%)	7 (12.7%)	34 (9%)
	93	216	55	364

Table 10.1

4:3.5

Opinions as to Whether It is the Irewole Local Government Council or the Obas' Councils that are Responsible for the Local Administration:

By Occupations

Occupation	Irewole Local Govt. Council	Obas' Councils	Jointly by Obas' Councils & Irewole Local Govt. Council	Others	Total
Farmers	109 (44.67%)	65 (23.64%)	47 (19.26%)	23 (9.43%)	244 (100%)
Skilled Workers/ Traders	29 (36.25%)	55 (41.25%)	10 (12.5%)	8 (10%)	80 (100%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical- Unskilled Workers	15 (37.5%)	10 (25%)	10 (15%)	5 (12.5%)	40 (100%)
T o t a l	53 (15%)	108 (29.77%)	67 (18.41%)	36 (9.9%)	364 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 8.785, \quad df = 6$$

$$0.10 < P < 0.20$$

Table 10.2

Opinions as to Whether it is the Irewole Local Government Council or the Obas' Councils that are Responsible for the Local Administration:

By Education

Education	Irewole Local Govt. Council	Obas' Councils	Jointly by Obas' and Irewole Local Govt. Councils	Others	Total
Received Some Formal Education	59 (37.3%)	50 (31.6%)	32 (20.3%)	17 (10.8%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	94 (45.6%)	58 (28.15%)	35 (16.99%)	19 (9.22%)	206 (100%)
T o t a l	153 (42%)	108 (29.7%)	67 (18.4%)	36 (9.9%)	364 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 2.555, \quad df = 3$

$0.30 < P < 0.50$

Table 11.1

Distribution of the Respondents By Occupations  
on Opinions as to Whether the Chiefs or the  
Councillors are the most Powerful Leaders with  
Strong Voice in Community Affairs

Occupation	Chiefs	Councillors	Both Chiefs and Councillors	Others	Total
Farmers	93 (38.1%)	75 (30.7%)	65 (26.6%)	11 (4.5%)	244 (100%)
Skilled Worker/ Traders	27 (33.75%)	31 (38.75%)	15 (18.75%)	7 (8.75%)	80 (100%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical- Unskilled Workers	15 (38%)	6 (15%)	13 (32%)	6 (15%)	40 (100%)
T o t a l	135 (37.1%)	112 (30.8%)	93 (25.5%)	24 (6.6%)	364 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 13.974; \quad df = 6$$

$$0.02 < P < .05$$



Table 11.2

Distribution of Respondents By Education on Opinions as to Whether the Chiefs or the Councillors are the most powerful with Strong Voice in Community Affairs

Education	Chiefs	Councillors	Both Chiefs and Councillors	Others	Total
Received Some Formal Education	46 (29.1%)	43 (27.2%)	54 (34.2%)	15 (9.5%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	89 (43.2%)	69 (33.5%)	39 (18.9%)	9 (4.4%)	206 (100%)
Total	135	112	93	24	

$$\chi^2 = 17.624, \quad df = 3$$

i.e.  $P < .001$

Table 11.3

Relationship Between Being Identified with Management of Community Affairs and Being Identified as a powerful Leader with Strong Voice in Community Affairs

	Chiefs are powerful and have strong voice in Community affairs	Councillors are powerful and have strong voice in community affairs	Chiefs and Councillors are equally powerful and strong in community affairs	Others are powerful and have strong voice in community affairs	Total
Management by ILGC	61 (45.2%)	45 (40.2%)	41 (44.1%)	6 (25%)	153
Management by the Obas' Councils and ILGC	40 (29.6%)	35 (31.3%)	28 (30.1%)	5 (20.8%)	108
Jointly managed by the Obas' Councils and the ILGC	21 (15.6%)	23 (20.5%)	16 (17.2%)	7 (29.2%)	67
Others	13 (9.6%)	9 (8%)	8 (8.6%)	6 (25%)	36
Total	135 (100%)	112 (100%)	93 (100%)	24 (100%)	364

$$\chi^2 = 11.438, \quad df = 9, \quad 0.20 < P < 0.30$$

\* ILGC represents Dewole Local Government Council

Table 11.4

A:3.10

Distribution of Respondents on Opinions as to  
Whether Chiefs or the Councillors who have  
more say in the Way things happen in the  
Community

	Number	%
Chiefs have more say	144	39.6
The Councilmen have more say	74	20.3
Not Sure	62	17
Federal or State Government	43	11.8
Don't Know	41	11.3
T o t a l	364	100

Distribution of Respondents on Opinions  
as to Who Decides on Projects Needed in  
the Community

	Number	%
Councilmen	127	34.9
Obas' Councils	77	21.2
Jointly by Local Government Council and Obas' Councils	48	13.2
We the People	31	8.5
Not Sure	72	19.7
Others	9	2.5
Total		



Table 2.1

A:3.12

Interaction With Leadership Types:  
By Occupational Categories

Occupation	Interaction with Chiefs	Interaction with Councillors	Interaction with both Chiefs and Councillors	Interaction with Neither Chiefs nor Councillors	Total
Farmers	80 (32.79%)	69 (28.28%)	61 (25%)	34 (13.93%)	244 (100%)
Skilled Worker/ Traders	29 (36.25%)	31 (38.75%)	15 (18.75%)	5 (6.25%)	80 (100%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical Unskilled Workers	11 (27.5%)	17 (42.5%)	5 (12.5%)	7 (17.5%)	40 (100%)
T o t a l	120 (33%)	117 (32.1%)	81 (22.5%)	46 (12.6%)	364 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 11.123, \quad df = 6$$

$$0.05 < P < .10$$

Table 12.2

Interaction with Leadership Types:  
By those with and those without  
formal Education

Education	Interaction with Chiefs	Interaction with Councillors	Interaction with both Councillors and Chiefs	Interaction with neither Councillors nor Chiefs	Total
Received Some formal Education	45 (28.5%)	63 (39.9%)	21 (13.3%)	29 (18.3%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	75 (36.4%)	54 (26.2%)	25 (12.1%)	52 (25.2%)	206 (100%)
Total	120	117	46	81	364

$$\chi^2 = 9.372, \quad df = 3$$

i.e.  $0.02 < p < 0.05$

Table 13.1

A:3.14

Opinions as to Whether Decisions of the  
Authorities could be Influenced by  
Community Members as Indicated by  
Different Occupational Groups

Occupation	Yes	No	Not Sure	Total
Farmers	115 (47.13%)	79 (32.38%)	50 (20.49%)	244 (100%)
Skilled Workers/ Traders	38 (47.5%)	29 (36.25%)	13 (16.25%)	80 (100%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical- Unskilled Workers	17 (42.5%)	14 (35%)	9 (22.5%)	40 (100%)
Total	170 (46.7%)	122 (33.5%)	72 (19.8%)	364 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 1.173, \quad df = 4$$

$$\text{i.e. } 0.70 < p < 0.80$$

Table 13.2

Opinions as to Whether the Decisions of the Authorities in the Community could be Influenced as Indicated by those with and those without Formal Education

Education	Yes	No	Not Sure	Total
Received Some Primary Education	77 (48.73%)	47 (29.74%)	34 (21.51%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	93 (45.14%)	75 (36.41%)	38 (18.45%)	206
Total	170	122	72	364

$$\chi^2 = 1.853, \quad df = 2$$

$$0.30 < p < 0.50$$



Table 13.3

Relationship Between the Distribution of Respondents by the types of Leaders they Interact with and their Distribution on their Opinions as to whether they can Influence Decisions made by the Leaders

Types of Leaders	Can Influence Decisions	Cannot Influence Decisions	Not Sure	Total
Access to Chiefs	40 (33.3%)	44 (36.7%)	36 (30%)	120 (100%)
Access to Councillors	69 (58.9%)	25 (21.4%)	23 (19.7%)	117 (100%)
Access to Both Chiefs and Councillors	53 (65.4%)	23 (28.4%)	5 (6.2%)	81 (100%)
Access to None	8 (17.4%)	30 (65.2%)	8 (17.4%)	46 (100%)
Totals	170 (46.7%)	122 (33.5%)	72 (19.8%)	364

$$\chi^2 = 57.204, \quad df = 6$$

$$p < .001$$

Table 14.1

Distribution of Respondents on their  
Opinions about the role of Chiefs in  
the Solution of Community Problems:

By Occupations

Occupation	Chiefs help Us a Great Deal	Chiefs are concerned with their own Problems	Not Sure	Total
Farmers	123 (50.31%)	64 (26.23%)	57 (23.36%)	244 (100%)
Traders	21 (43.75%)	10 (20.83%)	17 (35.42%)	48 (100%)
Unskilled Workers	6 (30%)	8 (40%)	6 (30%)	20 (100%)
Skilled Workers	14 (43.75%)	11 (34.38%)	7 (21.87%)	32 (100%)
Administrative or Professional/Clerical Workers	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	7 (35%)	20 (100%)
Total	171 (47%)	99 (27.2%)	94 (25.8%)	364 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 8.552, \quad df = 8$$

$$0.30 < p < 0.50$$

Table 14.2

Distribution of Respondents on their  
Opinions about the role of Chiefs in  
the Solution of Community Problems:

By Education

Education	Chiefs Help Us a Great Deal	Chiefs are Concerned with their own Problems	Not Sure	Total
Received Some Formal Education	67 (42.41%)	43 (27.22%)	48 (30.38%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	104 (50.49%)	56 (27.18%)	46 (22.33%)	206 (100%)
Total	171	99	94	364

$$\chi^2 = 2.215; \text{ df} = 2; 0.30 < p < 0.50$$

Distribution of the Respondents on their Opinions as to Whether the Irewole Local Councilmen Listened and Attended to their Problems:

By Occupation

Occupation	Listen and attend to problems of people like me	Don't care about problems of people like me	Not Sure	Total
Farmers	109 (44.7%)	65 (26.6%)	70 (28.7%)	244 (100%)
Traders	30 (62.5%)	8 (16.7%)	10 (20.8%)	48 (100%)
Unskilled Workers	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	20 (100%)
Skilled Workers	7 (21.9%)	19 (59.4%)	6 (18.7%)	32 (100%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical Workers	9 (45%)	6 (30%)	5 (25%)	20 (100%)
	162 (44.5%)	105 (28.8%)	97 (26.7%)	364 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 22.914, \quad df = 8$$

$$\text{i.e. } .001 < P < .01$$



Table 15.2

Distribution of Respondents on their Opinions  
as to Whether the Councilmen Listened and  
Attended to their Problems:

By Education

Education	Listen and attend to Problems of people like me	Don't care about the Problems of people like me	Not Sure	Total
Received Some Formal Education	63 (39.87%)	50 (31.64%)	45 (28.48%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	99 (48.1%)	55 (26.1%)	52 (25.24%)	206 (100%)
Total	162	105	97	364

$$\chi^2 = 2.454, \quad df = 2$$

$$0.20 < P < 0.30$$

Table 16.1

Distribution of Respondents on their Opinions  
About Whether Certain Families See Leadership  
as Their Prerogative:

By Occupational Groups

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know	Total
Farmers	126 (51.64%)	78 (31.96%)	40 (16.39%)	244 (100%)
Traders	25 (52.1%)	11 (22.9%)	12 (25%)	48 (100%)
Unskilled Workers	7 (35%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)	20 (100%)
Skilled Workers	16 (50%)	6 (18.75%)	10 (31.25%)	32 (100%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical Workers	5 (25%)	9 (45%)	6 (30%)	20 (100%)
Total	179 (49.2%)	112 (30.8%)	73 (20%)	364 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 13.474, \quad df = 8$$

$$0.05 < P < 0.10$$

Table 16.2

Distribution of Respondents on their Opinions About Whether Certain Families See Leadership as Their Prerogative:

By Education

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know	Total
Received Formal Education	70 (44.3%)	55 (34.81%)	33 (20.89%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	109 (52.91%)	57 (27.67%)	40 (19.42%)	206 (100%)
Total	179	112	73	364

$$\chi^2 = 2.921, \quad df = 2$$

$$0.20 < P < 0.30$$

Distribution of Respondents on their Opinions  
About Whether Leadership must be given to the  
Educated Ones:

By Different Occupational Groups

Occupation	Agree	Disagree	Not sure Don't Know	Total
Farmers	133 (54.5%)	64 (26.22%)	47 (19.26%)	244 (100%)
Traders	28 (58.3%)	8 (16.7%)	12 (25%)	48 (100%)
Unskilled Workers	9 (45%)	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	20 (100%)
Skilled Workers	18 (56.25%)	6 (18.75%)	8 (25%)	32 (100%)
Administrative/ Professional/ Clerical Workers	9 (45%)	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	20 (100%)
Total	197 (54.1%)	88 (24.2%)	79 (21.7%)	365 (100%)

$$\chi^2 = 5.083, \text{ df} = 8$$

$$0.70 < P < 0.80$$

Table 17.2

Distribution of Respondents on their Opinions About  
Whether Leadership Must be given to the Educational  
Ones:

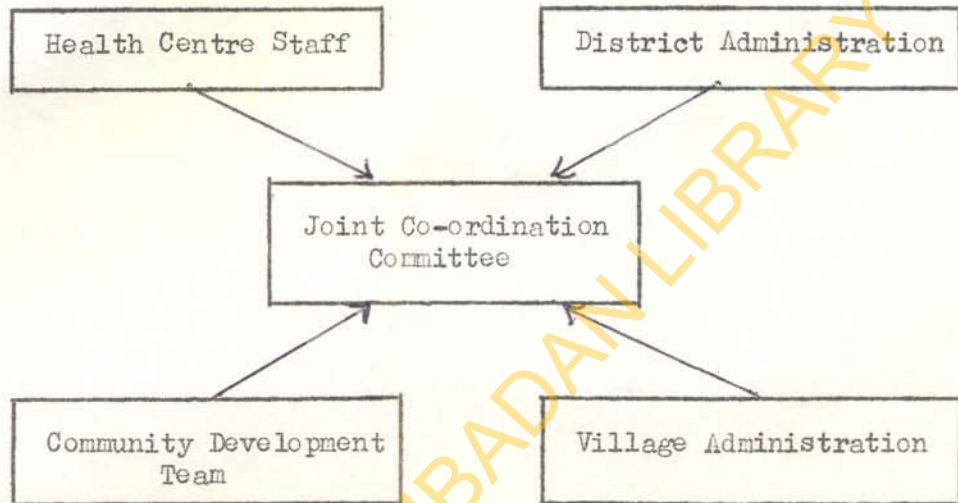
By Education

Education	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know	Total
Received Formal Education	84 (53.2%)	38 (24%)	36 (22.8%)	158 (100%)
No Formal Education	113 (54.8%)	50 (24.3%)	43 (20.9%)	206 (100%)
Total	197	88	79	364

$$\chi^2 = 0.197, \text{ df} = 2$$

$$0.90 < P < 0.95$$



APPENDIX A:4STRUCTURAL MODEL FOR INVOLVING  
LOCAL AGENCIES IN COMMUNITY  
BASED PROGRAMMES

The representatives on the "joint co-ordination committee" are drawn from four administrative units. This formula will be helpful if what has been described as "village administration" is a distinctive village administration evolved by the villages themselves (Dickson, 1968). If the village administration is made up of two leadership (structures), then, it might be necessary to bring the two units together into the joint committee. Besides, all interests in the village (farm labourers and others) might need representation. In other words, while the barrier to the traditional leadership's participation in decision-making need to be addressed, there is also the need to find other groups whose interests might not be represented by the visible leadership groups in the community.